HISTORY

OF THE

PURITANS,

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Protestant Non-Conformists,

FROM THE

Beginning of the C /IL WAR in the Year 1642. to the Death of King CHARLES I. 1648.

WITH

An Account of their Principles; their Attempts for a further REFORMATION in the CHURCH; their Sufferings; and the Lives and Characters of their Principal DIVINES.

By DANIEL NEAL, M. A.

VOL. III.

Think not that I am come to send Peace on Earth, I came not to send Peace but a Sword, Matth. x. 34.

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PREFACE.

TO period of Civil History has undergone a more critical examination than the last seven years of King Charles I, which was a scene of such confusion and inconsistent management between the King and Parliament, that 'tis very difficult to discover the motives of action on either fide; the King feems to have been directed by fecret springs from the Queen, and her council of Papifts, who were for advancing the Prerogative above the Laws, and vefting his Majesty with such an absolute sovereignty as might rival his brother of France, and enable him to establish the Roman Catholick Religion in England, or fome how or other blend it with the Protestant. This gave rife to the unparalell'd feverities of the Star-chamber and High Commission, which after twelve years triumph over the laws and liberties of the subject. brought on a fierce and bloody war, and after the loss of above a hundred thousand Lives ended in the sacrifice of the King himself, and the subversion of the whole Constitution.

Though all men had a veneration for the person of the King, his Ministers had render'd themselves justly obnoxious, not only by setting up a new form of Government at home, but by extending their jurisdiction to a neighbouring kingdom, under the government of distinct laws, and inclined to a form of Church Discipline very different from the English: This raised such a storm in the North, as distressed his Majesty's Administration; exhausted his treasure; drained all his arbitrary springs of supply; and after an intermission of twelve years, reduced him to the necessity of returning to the constitution, and calling a Parliament; but when the publick grievances came to be opened, there appeared such a collection of ill humours, and so general a diffrust

ftrust between the King and his two Houses, as threaten'd all the mischief and desolation that followed. Each party laid the blame on the other, and agreed in nothing, but in throwing off the Odium of the Ci-

vil War from themselves.

The affairs of the Church had a very confiderable influence on the welfare of the State: The Episcopal character was grown into contempt, not from any defect of learning in the Bishops, but from their close attachment to the Prerogative, and their own infatia; ble thirst of power, which they strained to the utmost in their Spiritual Courts, by reviving old and absolete cuftoms, levying large fines on the people for contempt of their Canons, and profecuting good men and zealous protestants for rites and ceremonies tending to fuperstition, and not warranted by the laws of the The King supported them to the utmost; but was obliged after some time to give way first to an Act for abolishing the High Commission, by a clause in which the power of the Bishops Spiritual Courts was in a manner deftroyed; and at last an Act depriving them of their Seats in Parliament. If at this time any methods could have been thought of to restore a mutual confidence between the King and his two Houses, the remaining differences in the Church might eafily have been compromited; but the spirits of men were heated, and as the flames of the Civil War grew fiercer, and spread wider, the wounds of the Church were enlarged, till the diffress of the Parliament's affairs obliging them to call in the Scots with their Solemn League and Covenant, they became incureable.

When the King had lost his cause in the field, he put himself at the head of his Divines, and drew his learned pen in defence of his Prerogative and the Church of England; but his arguments were no more successful than his sword. I have brought the debates between the King and Mr. Henderson, and between the Divines of both sides at the treaties of Uxbridge and Newport upon the head of Episcopacy, into as narrow a compass as possible; my chief design being to trace

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the proceedings of the Parliament and their Assembly at Westminster, which (whether justifiable or not) ought to be placed in open view, though none of the Historians of those times have ventured to do it.

The Westminster Assembly was the Parliament's grand Council in matters of Religion, and made a very considerable figure both at home and abroad through the course of the Civil War, 'till they disputed the power of the keys with their superiors, and split upon the rocks of Divine Right and Covenant Uniformity. The records of this venerable Assembly were lost in the fire of London, but I have given a large and just account of their proceedings, from a manuscript of one of their members, and some other papers that have fallen into my hands, and have entered as far into their debates with the Erastians, Independents, and others, as was consistent with the life and spirit of the History.

Whatever views the Scots might have from the beginning of the war, the Parliament would certainly have agreed with the King upon the foot of a limited Episcopacy, till the calling the Assembly of Divines, after which the Solemn League and Covenant became the standard of all their treaties, and was designed to introduce the Presbyterian Government in its full extent, as the established Religion of both kingdoms. This tied up the Parliament's hands from yielding in time to the king's most reasonable concessions at Newport, and render'd an accommodation impracticable; I have therefore transcribed the Covenant at large, with the reasons for and against it; whether such obligations upon the consciences of men are justifiable from the Necessity of Affairs, or binding in all events and revolutions of government, I shall not determine; but the impoling them upon others was certainly a vety great hardship.

The remarkable trial of Archbishop Laud, in which the antiquity and use of the several innovations complained of by the Puritans are stated and argued, has never been published entire to the world. The Archbishop left in his diary a summary of his answer to the

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Charge of the Commons, and Mr. Prynne in his Canterbury's Doom has published the first part of his Grace's Trial, relating principally to points of Religion; but all is imperfect and immethodical. I have therefore compared both Accounts together, and supplied the defects of one with the other; the whole is brought into a narrow compass, and thrown into such a method as will give the Reader a clear and distinct view of the equity of the Charge, and how far the

Archbishop deserved the usage he met with.

I have drawn out Abstracts of the several Ordinances relating to the rife and progress of Presbytery, and traced the proceedings of the Committee for plundered and scandalous Ministers, as far as was necessary to my general defign, without descending too far into particulars, or attempting to justify the whole of their conduct; and though I am of opinion that the number of Clergy who fuffered purely on the account of Religion was not very confiderable, 'tis certain that many able and learned Divines, who were content to live quietly, and mind the duty of their places, had very hard Meafure from the violence of parties, and deferve the compaffionate regards of posterity; some being discharged their Livings for refusing the Covenant, and others plunder'd of every thing the unruly Soldiers could lay their hands upon, for not complying with the change of the Times.

In the latter end of the reign of Queen Anne, Doctor Walker of Exeter published "An attempt to recover "the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy of the "Church of England;" but with notorious partiality, and in language not fit for the lips of a Clergyman, a Scholar, or a Christian; every page or paragraph almost labours with the cry of Rebellion, Treason, Parricide, Faction, stupid Ignorance, Hypocrify, Cant, and downright Knavery and Wickedness on one side; and Loyalty, Learning, primitive Sanctity, and the glorious spirit of Martyrdom on the other. One must conclude from the Doctor, that there was hardly a wife or honest Patriot with the Parliament, nor a weak or dishonest Gentleman

Gentleman with the King. His Preface is one of the Preface, most furious invectives against the seven most glorious P. 8,9, 10. years of Queen Anne that was ever published; it blackens the memory of the late King William III. to whom he applies that paffage of Scripture, "I gave " them a King in my Anger and took him away in " my Wrath;" It arraigns the great Duke of Marlborough, the Glory of the English Nation, and both Houses of Parliament, as in a confederacy to destroy the Church of England, and dethrone the Queen. " Rebellion (fays the Doctor, was esteemed the most p. 11; " necessary requisite to qualify any one for being intrufted with the Government, and Disobedience the " principal recommendation for her Majesty's Ser-" vice. Those were thought the most proper per-" fons to guard the Throne, who on the first dislike " were every whit as ready to guard the Scaffold; yea, " her Majesty was in effect told all this to her face in "the greatest Assembly of the Nation; and to say all " that can be faid of this matter, all the Principles of 1641, and even those of 1648, have been plainly " and openly revived."

Thus has this obscure Clergyman dared to affront the great Author, under God, of all our present Blessings; and to stigmatize the Marlboroughs, the Godolphins, the Stanhopes, the Sunderlands, the Cowpers and others, the most renowned Heroes and States-

men of the Age!

It must be confessed, that the tumults and riotous assemblies of the lower fort of people are insufferable in a well regulated Government; and without all question, some of the leading Members of the Long Parliament made an ill use of the Populace, as tools to support their secret designs; but how easy were it to turn all this part of the Doctor's Artillery against himself and his friends; for Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, in their return from their several prisons, were not attended with such a numerous cavalcade as waited upon the late Dr. Sacheverel in his triumphant progress through the western Counties of England and

Wales; nor did they give themselves up to the same excess of licentiousness and rage. If the mob of 1641 insulted the Bishops, and awed the Parliament, so did the Doctor's retinue in 1710; nay their zeal outwent their predecessors, when they pulled down the Meeting-houses of Protestant Dissenters, and burnt the materials in the open streets, in maintenance of the Doctrines of Passive-obedience and Non resistance, which Hist. p. 537 their pious Confessor had been preaching up; "a bold

"infolent man (says Bishop Burnet) with a very small measure of Religion, Virtue, Learning, or good Sense!" but to such extremes do men's passions carry them when they write only to serve a Cause! I have had occasion to make some use of Dr. Walker's consused heap of Materials, but have endeavoured

carefully to avoid his spirit and language.

No man has declaimed so bitterly against the proceedings of the Parliament upon all occasions as this Clergyman; nor complained more loudly of unspeakable damage the liberal Arts and Sciences sustained by their purging the two Universities; the new Heads and Fellows of Oxford are called "a Colony of Presubstrain and Independent Novices from Cambridge; a tribe of ignorant Enthusiasts and Schismaticks; an

"illiterate Rabble swept from the Plough-tail, from Shops and Grammar Schools, &c." The University of Cambridge is reported by the same author "to be reduced to a meer Munster by the Knipperdolings of the Age, who broke the heart-strings of Learning and learned men, who thrust out one of the Eyes of

the Kingdom, and made Eloquence dumb, Philosophy sottish, widowed the Arts, drove the Muses from their ancient habitation, and plucked the reverend

"and orthodox Professors out of their Chairs. -- They turned Religion into Rebellion, and changed the

" apostolical Chair into a Desk for Blasphemy.--- They took the Garland from off the Head of Learning

" and placed it on the dull Brows of Ignorance. And having unhived a numerous (warm of labouring

"Bees, they placed in their room swarms of senseless
"Drones.---" Such is the language of our Historian, transcribed

Walker's Introduct. p. 139,140.

Walker's Introduct. p. 115. Querela Cant. transcribed from Dr. Barwick! I have carefully look'd into this affair, and collected the characters of the old and new Professors from the most approved writers, that the disinterested Reader may judge how far Reli-

gion and Learning suffered by the exchange.

The close of this Volume, which relates the disputes between the Parliament and the Army; the ill success of his Majesty's Arms and Treaties; the seizure of his Royal Person a second time by the Army; his trial before a pretended High Court of Justice, and his unparalelled execution before the gates of his Royal Palace by the military Power, is a most melancholy and affecting scene; in which, next to the all-disposing Providence of God, one cannot but remark the King's inflexible temper, together with the indifcretion of his Friends, especially his Divines, at a time when his Crown was loft by the fortune of War, and his very Life at the mercy of his Enemies: nor is the unwarrantable stiffness of the Parliament less unaccountable, when they faw the victorious Army drawing towards London flushed with the defeat of the Scots and English Loyalists, and determined to set aside that very Uniformity they were contending for. If his Majesty had yielded at first what he did at last, with an appearance of Sincerity; or if the two Houses had complied with his concessions while Cromwel was in Scotland; or if the Army had been made easy by a general Indulgence and Toleration, with the distribution of some Honours and Bounty-money among the Officers, the Crown and Constitution might have been faved;

"but so many miraculous circumstances contributed vol. v.

"to his Majesty's Ruin (says Lord Clarendon) that men P. 258.
"might well think that Heaven and Earth confpir'd it."

The Objections to the first Volume of the History of the Puritans, by the Author of the Vindication of the Government, Doctrine and Worship of the Church of England, obliged me to review the principal facts in a small Pamplet, wherein I have endeavoured to discharge myself as an Historian, without undertaking the defence of their several principles, or making myself an advocate for the whole of their con-

duct.

duct. I took the liberty to point out the mistakes of our first Reformers as I past along, but with no design to blacken their memories; for with all their foibles they were glorious instruments in the hand of Providence to deliver this Nation from Anti-christian Bondage; but they were free to confess, the work was left imperfect; that they had gone as far as the times would admit, and hoped their successors would bring

the Reformation to a greater perfection.

But the state of the Controversy was entirely changed in the time of the Civil Wars; for after the coming in of the Scots the Puritans did not fight for a reformation of the Hierarchy, nor for the generous principles of Religious Liberty to all peaceable Subjects: but for the same spiritual power the Bishops had exercifed; for when they had got rid of the oppression of the Spiritual Courts under which they had groaned almost fourscore years, they were for setting up a number of Presbyterial Consistories in all the Parishes of England, equally burdenfome and oppressive. Unhappy extream! That wife and good men should not difcover the beautiful confiftency of Truth and Liberty! Dr. Barrow and others have observed, that in the first and purest ages of Christianity, the Church had no coercive power, and apprehend that it may still sublist very well without it.

The body of Protestant Dissenters of the present age have a just abhorrence of the persecuting spirit of their Predecessors, and are content that their Actions be set in a fair light as a warning to Posterity. They have no less a dread of returning into the hands of Spiritual Courts sounded on the bottomless deep of the Canon Law, and see no reason why they should not be equally exposed, till they are put upon a better soot; though it is an unpardonable crime in the opinion of some Churchmen to take notice, even in the most respectful manner, of the least blemish in our present establishment, which how valuable soever in itself, is allowed by all to be capable of amendments. Some little Essays of this kind have fired the zeal of the Bi-

shop of Litchfield and Coventry, who, in a late charge to the Clergy of his Diocese, is pleased to declaim against the Times in the following mournful language: At so critical a juncture (says his Lordship) when Charge; common Christianity is treated with an avowed 44, 42, " contempt and open profaneness; when an undifguised immorality prevails so very generally; when there is scarce honesty enough to save the Nation " from ruin; when with regard to the established "Church in particular, the Royal Supremacy is pro-" fessedly exposed, as inconsistent with the rights of "Conscience, even that Supremacy which was the " ground work of the Reformation among us from " Popery, which was acknowledged and fworn to by " the Old Puritans, though now inconfiftently enough " disowned and condemned in the new History and Vindication of them and their Principles,----When " fo destructive an attempt has been made on the le-" gal maintenance of the Clergy, by the late Tithe " Bill, and consequently, on the Fate of the Christian " Religion among us .---- When an attempt has been " lately made on the important out-works of our ecclesiastical Establishment, the Corporation and Test " Acts, with the greatest insolences towards the Church, " and most undutiful menaces to the Civil Govern-" ment .---- When the Episcopal Authority has been " well nigh undermined, under a pretence of reform-" ing the Ecclefiastical Courts; and if that Order had been render'd useless, as it must have been when it " had loft its Authority, then the Revenues would have been soon thought uleless; and in the result of things " the Order itself might have been considered as suor persuous, and perhaps in due time thought fit to be abolished .---- When Churches have been put " into fuch a method of repair as would end in their " ruin in a little time; and when the correction of " the abuses of the matrimonial Licenses has been la-" bour'd in so absurd a manner as to permit the mar-" riage of Minors without consent of their Parents or "Guardians: When these melancholy circumstances

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P. 46.

" have so lately concurr'd, it is natural to infer, our " zeal for the Church should be in proportion to its " danger; and if these are not proper occasions for zeal for our ecclefiastical Constitution; it is not easy " to affign circumstances that may justly demand it .--" How fine and fubtile are these speculations! I have not observed any Insolences towards the Church, or undutiful Menaces to the Civil Government in the late writings of the Diffenters; but if one Pin of the Hierarchy Examination be removed by the wisdom of the Legislature, the whole Building is supposed to fall, and all Religion along with dex Juris

Eccl. Angl. it. His Lordship therefore advises his Clergy to study the Bishop of London's Codex in order to defend it: and it can do them no real prejudice to examine at the fame time, the principles of Law and Equity on which it is founded. As to the Differers his Lordship adds, "However, it will become us of the Clergy in point of " Prudence, not to give any just Suspicions of our dis-" guft to the legal Toleration of them, while they keep within due bounds; that is, while they do not break " in upon the Privileges and Rights of the establish'd " Church, by declaring against all legal Establishments, " or the legal Establishment of the Church of England " in particular, or by not being quiet with the present " limits of their toleration, or by affecting posts of au-"thority, and thereby breaking down the fences of the "Church, and placing themselves on a level with it."

> The Differenters have no envy nor ill-will to the Churches of England or Scotland established by Law (attended with a Toleration of all peaceable Differenters) any further than they encroach on the natural or focial Rights of Mankind; nor are they so stupid as not to diftinguish between high Dignities, great Authority, and large Revenues secured by law, and a poor maintenance arising from the voluntary contributions of the people, that is between an Establishment and a Tole-

> But whether this would remain a point of Prudence with his Lordship, if the Boundaries of his Episcopal Power

were enlarged, is not very difficult to determine.

ration.

But .

But I am to attend to the charge of inconfiftency Hift. Por. brought against myself: I had observed upon the reign of the bloody Q. Mary, that an absolute supremacy over the consciences of Men lodged with a fingle perfon might as well be prejudicial as ferviceable to true Religion: And in the beginning of the reign of Q. 1b. p. 129, Elizabeth, that the powers then claimed by the Kings 130. and Queens of England were in a manner the fame with those claimed by the Popes in the times preceding the Reformation, except the administration of the spiritual offices of the Church. This was that Supremacy which was the ground-work of the Reformation; of which I say, let the reader judge how far these high powers are agreeable or confiftent with the natural rights of mankind. His Lordship call this a professed exposing the Royal Supremacy, and the rather because "that Supremacy was acknowledged and fworn to by " the old Puritans themselves, though now inconsis-" tently enough disowned and condemned by their "Historian." But furely his Lordship should have informed his Clergy at the same time, in what sense the Puritans took the oath, when it was before his eyes, in the same page; my words are these: "The whole Hist. Pur. 66 body of the Papists refused the oath of Supremacy, Vide " as inconfiftent with their allegiance to the Pope, but Strype's the Puritans took it under all these disadvantages, p. 159. "with the Queen's explication in her injunctions, that " is, that no more was intended than that her Majesty " under God had the fovereignty and rule over all per-" fons born in her Realm, either ecclefiaftical or tem-" poral, fo as no foreign power had, or ought to have " any superiority over them." Where is the inconfiftency of this conduct of the old Puritans or their new historian? Or, where is the Dissenter in England who is not ready to fwear to it with this explication?

But his Lordship is pleased to reason upon this head, and in order to support that absolute supremacy, which was the ground-work of the Reformation, affirms, that "all Christian Kings and Emperors have the same charge, power of reforming Religion, and are under the P-20.

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"fame obligations, as the Jewish Kings were in cases of the like nature," without producing the least evidence or proof; whereas his Lordship knows, that the government of the Jews was a Theocracy; that God himself was their King, and the laws of that Nation strictly and properly the laws of God, who is Lord of Conscience, and may annex what sanction he pleases; their Judges and Kings were chosen and appointed by God, not to make a new Codex or book of laws either for Church or State, but to keep the people to the strict observation of those laws and statutes that he himself had given them by the hand of Moses.

P. 21.

His Lordship is pleased to ask, " If any high pre-" tender to spiritual liberty, and the rights of Con-" science, should enquire what authority the respec-" tive Jewish and Christian Powers had to interpose " in matters that regarded the rights of conscience? Since in fact their assumed supremacy was an usur-" pation of those natural rights-" I answer, that with regard to the Jews, it was no usurpation, for the reasons beforementioned; and when his Lordship shall prove a Transfer of the same power to all Christian Princes, the controversy will be brought to a short issue. " -But will it not be replied (fays the Bishop) that "those Kings and Emperors were intrusted by God " with the care of the ecclefiaftical as well as civil " Constitution—" If by the care of the Constitution be meant no more than the preserving their Subjects in the enjoyment of their unalienable Rights, nobody denies it; but if under this pretence they assume a fovereign and arbitrary power of modelling the ecclefiaftical Conflitution according to their pleasure, and of enforcing their Subjects obedience by canons and penal laws, I should doubt whether they are obliged to comply, even in things not absolutely finful in themselves, because it may derogate from the Kingly Office of Christ, who is fole King and Lawgiver in his own Kingdom, and has not delegated this branch of his authority to any Vicar General upon earth. But I readily agree with his Lordship, that if any high Pretender Pretender to the rights of conscience should have asked the First Christian Emperors by what authority they took on themselves the alteration or change of Religion? They would have thought the question unreafonable, and worthy of cenfure; they would have affirmed their own Sovereignty, and have taught the bold enquirers as Gideon did the men of Succoth, with briars and thorns of the Wilderness.

The Bishop goes on, " Let us now transfer this Charge,

power of Jewish Kings and Christian Emperors to P. 22. " our own Kings, and the case will admit of an easy " decision .- " If indeed an absolute supremacy in matters of Religion is the natural and unalienable right of every Christian King and Emperor, the difpute is at an end; but if it depends upon a Transfer, we must beg pardon, if we defire his Lordship to produce his commission for transferring the same Powers that Almighty God gave the Jewish Kings of his own appointment, to the first Christian Emperors, who were neither chosen by God, nor the People, nor Senate of Rome, but usurped the supreme authority, by the affiftance of the military arm, and were some of them the greatest tyrants and scourgers of mankind.

His Lordship adds, " Have not the English Kings Ibid. "fince the Reformation actually been invested with " the same Supremacy, as the Jewish Kings and " Christian Emperors were?" I answer, such a Supremacy is in my judgment inconfiftent with our prefent Constitution and the laws in being. The Supremacy claimed by King Henry VIII, and his fucceffors at the Reformation was found by experience too excessive, and therefore abridged in the reigns of King Charles I. and William III. No one doubts, but the Kings of England are obliged to protect Religion, and defend the Establishment as long as the Leigislature think fit to continue it; but as they may not fuspend or change it by their sovereign pleasure, so neither may they publish edicts of their own to enforce it. as was the case of the first Christian Emperors. Reader will excuse this digression, as necessary to support a principal fact of my history. Iama

I am fufficiently aware of the delicacy of the affairs treated of in this volume, and of the tendernels of the ground I go over; and though I have been very careful of my temper and language, and have endeavoured to look into the mysterious conduct of the several parties with all the indifference of a Spectator, I find it very difficult to form an exact judgment of the most important events, or to speak freely without offence, therefore if any passionate or angry Writer should appear against this, or any of the former volumes, I humbly request the Reader to pay no regard to personal reflections, or to infinuations of any ill defigns against the established Religion, or the publick peace; which are entirely groundless. I am as far from vindicating the spirit and conduct of the warmer Puritans, as of the governing Prelates of those times; there was hard measure on both sides, though if we separate politicks from principles of pure Religion, the balance will be very much in favour of the Puritans. In hiftorical debates nothing is to be received upon trust, but facts are to be examined, and a judgment formed upon the authority by which those facts are supported; by this method we shall arrive at truth; and if it shall appear that in the course of this long history there are any confiderable miftakes, the world may be affured I will take the first opportunity to retract or amend them, having no private or party views, no prospect of preferment or other reward for my labours, than the fatisfaction of doing some service to truth, and to the religious and civil liberties of mankind; and yet after all, I must be peak the indulgence and candour of my readers, which those who are sensible of the labour and toil of collecting so many materials, and ranging them in their proper order, will readily allow to one who fincerely withes the prosperity and welfare of all good men, and that the violence and outrage of these unhappy times, which brought fuch confusion and mifery both on King and People, may never be imitated by the present or any future age.

London, Nov. 4, 1735. DAN. NEAL.



THE

HISTORY

THE

PURITANS.

CHAP. I.

From the Battle of Edge-Hill to the Calling the Affembly of Divines at Westminster.



HE King having recruited his Army at Oxford, after the battle of Edge-Hill, by the assistance of the University, who now gave his Majesty all their Money, The King as they had before done their Plate, re-pursues his folved to pursue his march to London, March to in order to break up the Parliament, and London. furprize the City; while the Earl of

Essex imagining the campaign was ended, lay quiet about Warwick, till being informed of the King's defigns, he posted to London, and ordered his forces to follow with all The Earl arrived November 7, and was honourably received by both Houses of Parliament, who presented him with a gratuity of five thousand pounds, and VOL. III.

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King Charles I. 1642.

Rushw. Vol. V. p. 58.

Whitlock, p. 62.

to strengthen his army passed an Ordinance, that such apprentices as would lift in their fervice should be entitled to a freedom of the City at the expiration of their apprenticeship, equally with those twho continued with their masters. In the beginning of November the King took possession of Reading without the least resistance, the Parliament Garrison having abandon'd it, which alarmed both Houses, and made them send an express to defire a fafe conduct for a Committee of Lords and Commons to attend his Majesty with a petition for peace; the Committee waited on his Majesty at Colnbrook, fifteen miles from London, and having received a favourable anfwer, reported it to the two Houses, who immediately gave orders to forbear all acts of hostility, and fent a messenger to the King, to defire the like forbearance on his part; but the Committee had no fooner left Colnbrook, than his Majesty, taking the advantage of a thick mist, advanced to Brentford within feven miles of London, which he attacked with his whole army, Nov. 13, and after a fierce and bloody Rencounter with the Parliament Garrison, wherein considerable numbers were driven into the Thames and slain, he got possession of the Town, and took a great many prisoners. The consternation of the Citizens on this occasion was inexpressible, imagining the King would be next morning at their gates; upon which the Lord Mayor was ordered to fend the Train'd Bands immediately to join the Earl of Essex's forces, which were just arrived at Turnham Green, under the command of Major General Skippon; and there being no further thoughts of peace, every one spirited up his Neighbour, and all refolved as one Man to live and die together. Major Skippon went from Regiment to Regiment, and encouraged his Troops with fuch short Soldier-like speeches as these; " Come, my Boys! my brave Boys! I will run the same hazards with you; reer member the cause is for God and the defence of your-" felves, your Wives and Children. Come, my honest " brave Boys! let us pray heartily, and fight heartily,
" and God will blefs us." When they were drawn up they made a body of about twenty four thousand Men eager for battle, but their orders were only to be on the defensive, and prevent the King's breaking through to the City. The two Armies having faced each other all day, his Majesty retreated in the Night to Kingston, and from Vol. V. p. thence to Reading, where having left a Garrison, he re-

Rushw.

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turned to Oxford about the beginning of December with his Brentford prisoners, the chief of whom were con-Charles I. demned to die, and had been executed for High Treason, if the two Houses had not threaten'd to make reprifals. The Parliament, to prevent a like surprize of the City for the future, impowered the Lord Mayor to cause lines of circumvallation to be drawn around it, and all the avenues fortified.

It was not without reason that the two Houses com- Motives of plained of the King's extraordinary conduct on this occasi-it. on, which was owing to the violent counsels of Prince Rupert and Lord Digby, animated by some of his Majesty's Friends in the City, who imagined, that if the Royal Army appeared in the neighbourhood of London, the Parliament would accept of his Majesty's pardon and break up; or elfe the confusions would be fo great, that he might enter and carry all before him; but the project having failed, his Majesty endeavoured to excuse it in the best manner he could: he alledg'd, that there being no cessation of arms agreed upon, he might justly take all advantages against his enemies. He infifled further upon his fears of being hemm'd in by the Parliament's forces about Colnbrook, to prevent which, it feems, he marched seven miles nearer the City. Lord Clarendon fays, Prince Rupert having advanced to Hounflow without order, his Majesty at the desire of the Prince marched forward, to disengage him from the danger of the forces quartered in that neighbourhood; which is fo very improbable, that in the opinion of Mr. Rapin, it is needless to refute it. Rapin, Upon the whole, it is extreamly probable, the King came vol. XII. from Oxford with no other defign but to furprize the City of p. 38. London before the Earl of Effex's army could arrive; but having missed his aim, he framed his best pretences to perswade the people that his marching to Brentford was only in his own defence.

Though his Majesty took all occasions to make offers of Remarks, peace to his Parliament, in hopes the Nation would compel them to an agreement, by leaving him in possession of all his prerogatives, it is fufficiently evident he had no intentions to yield any thing to obtain it; for in his letter to Duke Hamilton, dated December 2, 1642, he fays, " He had Hamil M. " fet up his rest upon the Justice of his Cause, being resol- Book IV. " ved that no extremity or misfortune should make him p. 203. " yield, for (fays his Majesty) I will be either a glorious

" King

King Charles I. 1642.

Rapin. P. 44, 45. King or a patient Martyr; and as yet not being the first, " nor at this present apprehending the other, I think it no " unfit time to express this my resolution to you." The justice of the cause, upon which his Majesty had set up his rest, " was his Declaration and Promise to govern for the " future according to the laws of the Land;" but the point was to know whether this might be relied upon. The two Houses admitted the laws of the Land to be the Rule of Government, and that the executive power, in times of Peace, was with the King; but his Majesty had so often set aside the laws by the advice of a corrupt Ministry, after repeated affurances to the contrary, that they durst not confide in his Royal Word, and therefore infifted upon some additional fecurity for themselves, and for the Constitution. But his Majesty averr'd the Constitution was in no danger from him, but from themselves, who were acting every day in defiance of it, to which it was answer'd, that it was impossible the laws should have their due course in time of War as in the height of Peace, because this must effectually tie up their hands. Neither party by law could raife money upon the Subject, without each others confent; the King could not do it without confent of Parliament, nor the Parliament without the Royal Affent, and yet both had practifed it fince the opening of the War. To have recourse therefore to the laws of a well fettled Government in a time of fuch confusion, was weak and impracticable. Befides, his Majesty refused to give up any of his late Ministers to the justice of Parliament; for in his letter to Duke Hamilton he fays, "That his abandoning the Earl of Straf-" ford had gone so near him, that he was resolved " no consideration should make him do the like again." Upon these Resolutions he declined the Mediation of the Scots Commissioners, which gave the several parties engaged against him a fair opportunity of uniting their interests with that Nation.

This was a nice and curious affair; for the friends of the Parliament, who were agreed in the cause of civil Liberty, were far from being of one mind in points of Church Discipline; the major part were for Episcopacy, and desired no more than to secure the Constitution, and reform a few exorbitances of the Bishops; some were Erastians, and would be content with any form of Government the Magistrate should appoint; the real Presbyterians, who were for an entire change of the Hierarchy upon the foot of divine Right, were as yet but few, and could carry no-

thing in the House; it was necessary therefore, in treating with the Scots, who contended earnestly for their Kirk go-Charles I. vernment, to deliver themselves in such general expressions, that each party might interpret them as they were inclined, or as should be expedient. This contented the Scots for the present, and left the Parliament at full liberty, till they faw what terms they could make with the King. Nor could the Church-men be diffatisfied, because they knew, if they could put a period to the War without the Scots, the two Houses would not call in their affistance, much less submit to a Kirk Discipline, they had no manner of acquaintance with; and therefore Lord Clarendon was of opinion, that even at the treaty of Uxbridge, if the Parliament could have obtained an Act of Oblivion for what was past, and good fecurity for the King's governing by law, the affair of Religion might easily have been compromised; but it required all the prudence and fagacity the two Houses were masters of, to keep so many different interests in points of Religion, united in one common cause of Liberty and the Constitution, at a time when great numbers of the King's friends in the very City of London, were forming conspiracies to reffore him, without any terms at all.

The King's affairs had a promiting afpect this Winter; Encourse his forces in the North under the Earl of Newcastle, were ging pro superior to those of Sir Thomas Fairfax. In the Western King's and mid-land Counties there were several Sieges and Ren- affairs. counters with various Success, but nothing decisive. Di-Rushw. vers Counties enter'd into affociations for their mutual de- 66. fence on both fides. The four northern Counties, of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, and Durham, affociated for the King; after which the two Houses en-16. p. 94couraged the like in those that owned their authority, and appointed Generals to command their Troops; the chief of which was the Eastern Association of Essex, Cambridge-shire, the Isle of Ely, Hertford, Norfolk, Suffolk, and the City of Norwich, whose Militia were trained, and ready to march where necessity should require within their several limits. In some parts of England the inhabitants re-

fuch agreements.

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As the two Houles depended upon the affiftance of the Scots, his Majesty had expectations of foreign aids from the Queen, who had endeavoured, by the influence of her B 3

folved to stand neuter, and not be concerned on either

fide; but the Parliament condemned and disannulled all

King Charles I. 1642.

Son-in-law, the Prince of Orange, to engage the States of Holland in the King's interest, but they wisely declared for a neutrality; however, they connived at her private negotiations, and gave her a general passport, by virtue whereof the transported a very large quantity of arms and ammunition to Burlington Bay, and conveyed them to the King at York. His Majesty also, in order to bring over the Irish forces under the command of the Duke of Ormond, confented to a truce with the Irish Rebels, sign'd Sept. 15. 1643.] in which he allow'd the Catholicks to remain in possession of what they had conquered since the Rebellion, to the great grief of the Protestants, who by this means were legally dispossessed of their Estates: A most unpopular action in favour of a people who by their late Massacre were become the very reproach and infamy of human nature! Thus the whole Kingdom was marshalled into parties, with their drawn Swords eager to plunge them into each others breafts.

Ordinance of the Parliament exhorting to

Rushw. Vol. V. p.

539.

537, 538,

The Parliament Cause having a dark and threatening aspect, the Lords and Commons were not forgetful to implore the divine Blessing upon their Counsels and Arms; for which purpose they published an Ordinance, Feb. 15, 1642-3, exhorting to the duty of Repentance, as the only remedy to prevent publick Calamities. It was drawn up by some of the Puritan Divines; and because Bishop Kennet has branded it with the reproachful characters of Cant, broad Hypocristy, and a Libel against the Church, I will transcribe the Substance of it in their own Words.

Rushw. Vol. V. p. 141. "That flourishing Kingdoms have been ruined, by impenitent going on in a course of sin, the sacred story plainly tells us; and how near to ruin our sinful Nation now is, the present lamentable sace of it does too plainly shew. And mough we should seel the heavy strokes of God's Judgments yet seven times more, it is our duty to accept the punishment of our iniquities, and to say, "Righteous art thou, O Lord, and just are thy Judgments." Yet, because the Lord, who is just, is also merciful, and in his infinite mercy has left the excellent and successful remedy of repentance, to Nations brought near to the gates of destruction and definair, O! let not England be negligent in the application of it. Humble addresses of a penitent people to a second seco

King

" merciful God have prevailed with him: They prevailed for Nineveh when fentence feemed to be gone out a- Charles I.

" gainst her; and may also prevail for England.

"It is therefore thought necessary, by the Lords and " Commons in Parliament affembled, that all his Majesty's " Subjects be stirred up to lay hold of this only, and un-" failing remedy of Repentance, freely acknowledging, " and heartily bewailing, with deepest humiliation, both " their own personal sins, and those of the Nation; a con-" fession of national sins being most agreeable to the 66 national Judgments under which the Land groans, " and most likely to be effectual for the removing of

" Among the national fins are to be reckoned, " The " contempt of God's Ordinances, and of Holiness itself; " gross ignorance, and unfruitfulness under the means of Grace; multitudes of oaths, blasphemies, profanation " of the Sabbath by sports and games; luxury, pride, " prodigality in apparel, oppression, fraud, violence, &c. "A connivance, and almost a toleration of the idolatry " of Popery, the Massacre of Ireland, and the Bloodshed " of the Martyrs in Queen Mary's Time," which ha-" ving been a national fin, still calls for a national confesse fion.

"Now, that all the fin and misery of this polluted and " afflicted Nation may be bitterly forrowed for, with such " grief of heart, and preparedness for a thorough Refor-" mation, as God may be pleased graciously to accept, it " is ordained that all preachers of God's Word do ear-" nestly inculcate these duties on their hearers, that at " length we may obtain a firm and happy peace, both " with God and Man, that glory may dwell in our Land; " and the prosperity of the Gospel, with all the privileges " accompanying it, may crown this Nation unto all fuc-" ceeding ages."

The Reverend Prelate abovementioned makes the following remark upon this Ordinance. "When once the two "Houses could descend to have such fulsome penitential " forms put upon them, to adopt, and to obtrude in their " name upon the Nation, it was a fure fign, that all that was found and decent in faith and worship was now to be " commanded into Enthusiasm and endless Schisms." I leave the Reader to examine, whether he can find any

ground for fo fevere a censure.

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King Charles I. 1642-3. Treaty of Oxford. Though the King had rejected the Scots Mediation, and, "fet up his Rest upon the Justice of his Cause," he was pleased, before the beginning of the Campaign, to admit of a Treaty with his two Houses, for which purpose he sent a safe conduct to six Lords, and as many Commoners, with their attendants, to repair to him at Oxford, who being admitted to an audience in one of the Colleges, produced the following Proposals, which were read by the Earl of Northumberland.

The Parliament's propositions. Rushw. Vol. V. p. 165, 166.

1. " That the Armies may be disbanded on both sides, " and the King return to his Parliament.

2. " That Delinquents may submit to a legal trial, and

" judgment of Parliament.

3. " That all Papists be disbanded and disarmed.

4. " That his Majesty will please to give his consent to,

" the five Bills hereafter mentioned.

5. "That an oath may be established by A& of Parlia-"ment, wherein the Papists shall abjure and renounce the

" Pope's Supremacy, Transubstantiation, Purgatory, worshiping the consecrated Host, Crucifixes and Images, and

the refusing such oath lawfully tender'd shall be a sufficient conviction of recusancy.—That your Majes-

"ty will graciously please to consent to a Bill for the education of the Children of Papists in the Protestant Religi-

on.—And to another Bill for the better putting the

" Laws in Execution against them.

6. "That the Earl of Bristol, and Lord Herbert, may be removed from your Majesty's Counsels, and from the

" Court.

• (...

7. "That the Militia may be fettled in such manner as

" shall be agreed upon by both Houses.

8. "That the chief Justices and Judges of the several Courts of Law may hold their places" Quam diu se be-

" ne gesserint."

9. "That fuch persons as have been put out of the com-"mission of the Peace since April 1st, 1642, may be restored, and that those whom the Parliament shall except

" against be removed.

10. "That your Majesty will please to pass the Bill now presented, to secure the Privileges of Parliament from

" the ill consequences of the late Proceedings against the

" Lord Kimbolton and the five Members.

II. " That

11. "That an act may be passed for satisfying such publick debts as the Parliament has engaged the publick faith for.

King Charles I. 1642-3.

12. "That your Majesty will please to enter into Alliances with foreign Protestant Powers, for the defence of the Protestant Religion, and recovering the Palatinate.

13. "That in the general pardon, all offences committed before the 10th of Jan. 1641, which have been, or
fhall be questioned in the House of Commons before the
the 10th of Jan. 1643. be excepted.----That all persons
concerned in the Irish Rebellion be excepted; as likewise,
William Earl of Newcastle, and George Lord Digby.
14. "That such Members of Parliament as have been

turned out of their places fince the beginning of this Parliament may be restored, and may have some Repa-

" ration, upon the petition of both Houses."

These things being granted and performed, we shall be enabled (say they) to make it our hopeful endeavour, that your Majesty and your people may enjoy the blessings of peace, truth, and justice.----

The Bills mentioned in the fourth proposition were these:

The first is entitled, an "Act for the Suppression of di-Bill against vers innovations in Churches and Chapels in and about Innovations. Husband's

"the Worship of God; and for the due observation of the Collect.
"Lord's Day, and the better advancement of preaching Fol. 119.

"God's holy word in all parts of this Kingdom.

It enacts, "That all Altars and Rails be taken away out of Churches and Chapels before April 18, 1643,

" and that the Communion Table be fixed in some convein nient place in the body of the Church. That all Ta-

" pers, Candlesticks, Basons, Crucifixes, Crosses, Images, Pictures of Saints, and superstitious Inscriptions in Churches, or Church Yards, be taken away or defaced.

"That all damages done to the Churches, or Windows of Churches, by the removal of any of the aforesaid Innovations, be repaired by the proper Officers of the Parish

" or Chapel.

" This Act is not to extend to any Image, Picture, or

" Monument for the dead.

It enacts further, "That all Bowing towards the Altar, or at the Name of Jesus, shall be forborn; and for the

better observation of the Sabbath, that all Dancing, "Gaming,

King Charles I. 3642-3.

"Gaming, Sports and Pastimes, shall be laid aside. That " every Minister that has cure of Souls shall preach, or " expound the Scriptures, or procure some other able Di-" vine to preach to his Congregation every Lord's Day in " the Forenoon; and it shall be lawful for the Pa-" rishioners to provide for a Sermon in the Afternoon, " and a Lecture on the Week-Day, where there is no " other Lecture, of preaching at the same time; and if " any person oppose or hinder them he shall forfeit forty " shillings to the poor.

Hufb. Coll. Fol. 124.

The fecond, entitled an "Act for the utter abolishing. " and taking away of all Archbishops, Bishops, their Chan-" cellors, and Commissaries, &c. has been already inserted " in the former part of this history, Vol. II. p. 464.

The third is entitled, an " Act for punishing scandalous

" Clergymen, and others.

For punishing fcandalous Clergy. Hufb. Coll. Fol. 129.

It ordains, " That the Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keep-" er, for the time being, shall award Commissions under " the great Seal, to persons of worth and credit in every-" County of England and Wales; which Commissioners, " or any three, or more of them, shall have power to en-" quire by the oaths of twelve lawful Men of the faid "County of the following offences in the Clergy (viz.) Not oreaching fix times at least in a year, by any ecclesi-" aftical person having cure of Souls under the age of fixty, " and not hindered by fickness or imprisonment: Of Blas-"phemy, Perjury, or Subornation of Perjury, Fornica-" tion, Adultery, common Ale-house or Tavern hunting, "Drunkenness, prophane Swearing or Cursing, done or " committed within three years past, by any Parson or Vi-" car, or other person having cure of Souls, or by any " Lecturer, Curate, Stipendiary, School-master, or Usher " of any School. The Commissioners shall take informa-"tion by articles in writing; the party complaining to be "bound in a recognizance of ten pounds to profecute at a time appointed; the articles of complaint being first " delivered to the party complained of, twenty days before " the trial, that he may prepare for his defence. Upon " Conviction, by the verdict of twelve men, the party complained of shall be deprived of his spiritual promo-"tions, and be adjudged a disabled person in Law, to have and enjoy the same incumbency or ecclesiastical promotion. This Act to continue till Nov. 1, 1645, and " no longer. The

1642-3-

The fourth is entitled, an "Act against the enjoying "Pluralities of Benefices by spiritual persons, and Non-

" Residence,

It enacts, "That all persons that have two or more Be-Against Plumefices with cure of Souls, of what yearly value soever ralities and Non-Residence."
they be, shall resign them All but one, before April 1, dence.

1643, any Licence, Toleration, Faculty or Difpensation Husb. Coll.

" to the contrary notwithstanding.

"That if any spiritual person, having cure of Souls, so shall be absent from his cure above ten Sundays, or eighty days in a year, except in case of sickness, im-

or prisonment, or except he be a Reader in either University, or be summoned to Convocation; and be thereof

" lawfully convicted in any Court of Justice, that his Liv" ing shall be deemed void, and the Patron have power to

"nominate another person, as if the former Incumbent

" was dead.

The fifth, "For calling an Assembly of learned and godly Divines to be consulted with by the Parliament, for the settling of the Government and Liturgy of the Church, and for the vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the Church of England from salse aspersions and interpretations," will be inserted at large, when we come to the sitting of the Assembly.

To the forementioned Propositions and Bills, his Majesty, after a short reply to the preamble, returned the following answer; That though many of them were destructive of his just power and prerogative, yet because they might be mollisted and explained upon debates, he is pleased to agree, that a time and place be appointed for the meeting of Commissioners on both sides to discuss them, and to consider of the following proposals of his own.

1. "That his Majesty's Revenues, Magazines, Towns, The King's

" Forts, and Ships, may be forthwith restored.

2. "That whatsoever has been done, or published con- Vol. V. "trary to the known laws of the Land, and his Majesty's p. 169.

" legal Rights, may be renounced and recalled.

3. "That whatever illegal power over his Majesty's Sub-"jects has been exercised by either, or both Houses, or "any Committee, may be disclaimed, and all persons

66 that have been imprisoned by virtue thereof be forthwith

" discharged.

4. " That

1642-3.

4. "That a good bill may be framed, for the better pre-" ferving the Book of Common Prayer from the Scorn " and Violence of Brownists, Anabaptists, and other Sec-" taries, with such Clauses for the ease of tender consci-

" ences as his Majesty has formerly offered.

5. "That all perfons to be excepted out of the general " pardon shall be tried per pares, according to common " course of Law, and that it be left to that, to acquit or

" condemn them.

6. " That in the mean time there be a cellation of arms, " and free trade for all his Majesty's Subjects for twenty " days."

His Majesty desired the last article might be first settled. by which he proposed not only to gain time, but to provide himself with several Necessaries from London, and to convoy fafely to Oxford the Ammunition and other Stores, the Queen had lately landed at Burlington Bay; but the Parliament were too fensible of his designs to consent to it. They therefore empowered their Commissioners to begin with the first Proposition, concerning " restoring the "Revenues of the Crown, and the delivery of his Magazines, Towns, Forts, and Ships, &c." All which they were authorized to agree, on condition the persons with whom he would intrust them were such as they could confide in. To which the King replied, that the oaths of the Officers were a fufficient security, and if they abused their trust he would leave them to the Law. The Commissioners then went upon the other Articles, and spun out the treaty till the 12th of April, without concluding one fingle point. The King would be restored to the condition he was in before the war, upon a bare promife, that he would govern for the future according to Law; but the Parliament were refolved not to trust themselves, nor the Constitution into his hands, without the redrefs of fome grievances, and a better fecurity. Mr. Whitlock fays, That the Commissioners (of which he was one) having been with the King one Evening till Midnight, gave his Majesty such reafons to confent to a very material point, which would have much conduced to an happy iffue, and fuccess of the Treaty, that he told them, "He was fully fatisfied, and Mem p. 65. " promised to let them have his Answer in writing, accord-" ing to their defire, next morning." But when the Commissioners were withdrawn, some of the King's Bed-Cham-

ber, and they went higher, fearing the King's Concessions would tend to peace, never left perswading him, till he had Charles I. altered his Resolution, and gave orders for the following Anfwer to be drawn up directly contrary to what he had promifed the Commissioners,

King

"As foon as his Majesty is satisfied concerning his Rushw. own Revenue, Magazines, Ships and Forts, in which he Vol. V. P. desires nothing, but that the just known legal Rights of 259, 260.

" his Majesty, devolved to him from his Progenitors, and

of the Persons trusted by him, which have violent-" ly been taken from both, be reflered to him and

" them-

" As foon as all the Members of both Houses shall be " restored to the same Capacity of sitting and voting in " Parliament, as they had on the 1st of Jan. 1641, the " fame Right belonging unto them by their Birthrights, " and the free Elections of those that sent them; and having " been voted from them for adhering to his Majesty in " these Distractions; his Majesty not intending that this " should extend either to the Bishops, whose Votes have been taken away by Bill or to fuch in whose Places, upon

" new Writs new Elections have been made.

"As foon as his Majesty and both Houses may be secur-" ed from fuch tumultuous Affemblies, as to the great " Breach of the Privileges and the high Dishonour of Par-" liaments, have formerly affembled about both Houses, " and awed the Members of the same; and occasioned " two feveral complaints from the House of Lords, and " two feveral Defires of that House to the House of Com-" mons, to join in a Declaration against them, the com-" plying with fuch defire might have prevented all the mi-" ferable Distractions which have ensued; which securi-"ty his Majesty conceives can be only settled by adjourn-" ing the Parliament to some other place, at the least twen-" ty Miles from London, the choice of which his Majesty " leaves to both Houses.

"His Majesty will then most chearfully and readily con-" fent, that both Armies be immediately disbanded, and " give a prefent meeting to both his Houses of Parliament, at the same time and place, at, and to which the Parlia-" ment shall agree to be adjourned.

" His Majesty being confident, that the Law will then " recover the due Credit and Estimation, and that upon a

King Charles I. 1642-3.

" free debate, in a full and peaceable Convention of Par-" liament, fuch provisions will be made against feditious " Preaching and Printing against his Majesty, and the esta-" blished Laws, which hath been one of the chief causes " of the present Distractions; and such care will be taken concerning the legal and known Rights of his Maje-" fty, and the Property and Liberty of his Subjects, that " whatfoever hath been published or done in, or by colour " of any illegal Declarations, Ordinances, or Order of " one or both Houses, or any Committee of either of them, " and particularly the power to raise Arms without his Ma-" jesty's Consent, will be in such manner recalled, dis-" claimed, and provided againft, that no Seed will remain " for the like to fpring out of for the future, to disturb " the Peace of the Kingdom, and to endanger the very " Being of it-

Compl. Hift. p. 135.

This resolute Answer broke off the Treaty, and left the Quarrel to be decided by the Sword; upon which Bishop Kennet makes the following Remark, "'Tis to be la-" mented, that some of the King's most intimate Friends " were against concluding a Peace, and others were against " his obtaining an absolute Victory. They were afraid he " should comply, lest his Prerogative might not be great " enough to protect him; and yet afraid he should conquer, left he might be tempted to assume an arbitrary "Power," 'Tis plain from hence, that by Peace the King meant nothing but being reftored to all the Prerogatives of his Crown as before the War, without any additional fecurity; and that there was no room for a Treaty till the previous Question was determined, "Whether there was just reason to confide in the King, and restore him " to his Rights upon his bare Promise of governing by Law " for the future?" For all the Propositions necessarily lead to this point, and till this was decided it was in vain to lofe time upon the others.

Death and Character

Thus ended the year 1642, in which died the famous Tobias Crifp, D. D. third Son of Ellis Crifp, of London, of Dr. Crisp. Esq; He was born in Bread-Street, London, 1600, educated at Eaton School, and having took the Degree of Batchelor of Arts at Cambridge retired to Oxford, and was incorporated into Baliol College in the beginning of Feb. 1626. In the year 1627, he became Rector of Brinkworth in Wiltshire, and a few years after proceeded D. D. At Brinkworth he was much followed for his edifying manner of preaching,

and for his great hospitality. Upon the breaking out of the war he was obliged to fly to London, to avoid the Infolencies of Charles I. the King's Soldiers; where his peculiar Sentiments about the Doctrines of Grace being discovered, he met with a vigorous Opposition from the City Divines. The Doctor in his younger years had been a Favourer of Arminianism, but changing his Opinions, he ran into the contrary Extream of Antinomianism. He was certainly a learned and religious Person, modest and humble in his Behaviour, fervent and laborious in his ministerial Work, and exact in his Morals. Mr. Lancaster, the Publisher of his Works, says, "That his Life was so innocent and harmless from all " Evil; fo zealous and fervent in all good, that it feemed " to be defigned as a practical Confutation of the flander " of those who would infinuate, that his Doctrine tended " to Licentiousness." The Doctor was possessed of a very large Estate, with which he did a great deal of Good; but being engaged in a grand Dispute against several Opponents (if we may believe Mr. Wood) he over-heated himself, and fell fick of the Small-pox, of which he died Feb. 27, 1642, and was buried in the Family Vault in Bread-street, London. In his last Sickness he was in a most comfortable and refigned Frame of Mind, and declared to them that stood by, his firm Adherence to the Doctrines he had preached; that as he had lived in the Belief of the Free-Grace of God through Christ, so he did now with Considence and great Joy, even as much as his prefent Condition was capable of, refign his Life and Soul into the Hands of his heavenly Father. He published nothing in his Life-time, but after his Death his Sermons were published in three Volumes from his own Notes, which with fome Additions, were reprinted by his Son, in one Volume Quarto, about the year 1689, and gave Occasion to some intemperate Heats among the Non-conformist Ministers of those times.

Towards the end of this year died Robert Lord Brooke, Lord a virtuous and religious Gentleman, a good Scholar, and Brooke's Patriot of his Country, but a determined Enemy of the Death. Hierarchy. In the Beginning of the War he took part with the Parliament, and being made Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of Warwick and Stafford, put himself at the head of twelve hundred Men, and marched against the Earl of Chesterfield at Litchfield, whom he dislodged from the Town, March 1. but next Day as he was looking out of a window with his Beaver up, and giving Direction to

1642-3.

P. 272.

his Soldiers to affault St. Chad's Church, adjoining to the Close where the Earl of Chesterfield's Forces lay, a Mulket Ball struck him near the left Eye, of which he instantly died. The Parliamentary Chronicle calls him "the " most noble, and ever to be honoured, and renowned, " pious Lord Brooke, whose most illustrious Name and "Memory, both for his Piety, Prudence, incomparable "Magnanimity, and heroick martial Spirit, for his Loyal-" ty to the King, and Fidelity to his Country, deserves to " remain deeply engraven in Letters of Gold on high erec-" ted Pillars of Marble." On the other hand Archbishop Laud in his Diary, has some very remarkable Obfervations upon his Death, which shew the Superstition of that Prelate. "First, (says his Grace) observe, that this " great and unknown Enemy to Cathedral Churches died thus fearfully, in the affault of a Cathedral; a fearful manner of Death in such a Quarrel! Secondly, That 66 this happened upon St. Chad's Day, of which Saint Thirdly, That this " the Cathedral bears the Name. "Lord coming from dinner about two years fince from " the Lord Herbert's House in Lambeth, upon some discourse of Paul's Church then in their Eye upon the "Water, faid to some young Lords that were with him, That he hoped to live to fee that one Stone of that Building should not be left upon another; but that Church " stands yet, and that Eye is put out, that hoped to see the

Diary, p. BOI.

Tomkins's Plot. Rushw. Vol. V. p. 322. Rapin, p. 150, 154.

" Ruins of it." While the Treaty of Oxford was depending, his Majefty's Friends in the City were contriving to bring him to London, and deliver the Parliament into his Hands. Mr. Tomkins, Chaloner, and Waller a Member of the House of Commons, in Conjunction with some others were to carry off the King's Children, to fecure the most active Members of the House of Commons, as Mr. Pym, Hampden, Strode, &c. to seize the Tower and the Gate of the City with the Magazines, and to let in a Party of the royal Forces, who were to be at hand; for all which they had the King's Commission, dated March 16, 1643. Day of Rifing was the last Wednesday in May: but the Plot was discovered by a Servant of Tomkins's before it was ripe for Execution, upon which the Conspirators were apprehended and tried; Tomkins and Chaloner confessed the Facts, and were executed; but Waller purchased his Life for ten thousand Pounds, and was banished.

Upon

King

Upon this discovery both Houses resolved to strengthen themselves by a new Covenant or Vow, which was tender-Charles I. ed first to their own Members, then to the Army, and fuch of the people as were willing to take it. In it they de- A new Oath clare, " Their abhorrence of the late Plot, and engage not or Cove-" to lay down their Arms as long as the Papifts were pro-Rushw. " tected from justice, but to assist the Parliament according Vol. V. p. " to their abilities in the just defence of the Protestant Re- 325. " ligion, and the Liberties of the Subject, against the forces " raised by the King, without their consent." Nevertheless the King's Friends were not disheartened from entring into several other combinations against the Parliament; one was discovered in August, and another towards the latter end of the year: Even the lower fort of Women, to the Rushw. number of two or three thousand, with white filk ribbons Vol. V. p. in their hats, went in a body to Westminster with a petiti-357. on for Peace upon the King's terms, and could not be difperfed without the military Arm: All which was occasioned by the correspondence the King held in London, in defiance of the Ordinance the Parliament had published in April last, to prevent Spies and Intelligences from Oxford or the Royal Army, coming to any part of the Parliament's quarters.

The King having failed in his defigns of furprizing the Proclamatia City, refolved at last to starve the Citizens into their duty, one against the City of for which purpose he issued a Proclamation, July 17, pro-London. hibiting all intercourse of trade and commerce with them, Husb. Col. and expresly forbidding all persons to travel to London, or Fol. 237, to carry any goods, merchandize, or provisions thither, 366. without special licence from himself. By another Proclamation, [Octob. 17.] his Majesty forbids his Subjects of Scotland, and all foreign Kingdoms and States in amity with him, to bring any ammunition, provision, goods, or merchandize, of any fort to London, or any other Town or City in rebellion against him. The prohibiting foreign merchandizes had very little influence upon the trade of the City, because the Parliament were masters of the Seas; but the Town of Newcastle being garrisoned by the King, the Londoners were distressed the following Winter for Coals, which obliged them to have recourse to the digging Turf, and cutting down all fell Wood on the Estates of Delinquents within fixty miles of London. By another Proclamation his Majesty forbid all his Subjects, upon pain of high Treason, to obey the orders of Parliament; and all VOL. III.

1643. reduc'd to great hard-

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tenants to pay their rents to fuch Landlords as adhered to the Rebellion, but to referve them for his Majesty's use.

After this account of things 'tis reasonable to suppose, The People that very extraordinary burdens must be laid upon the people on both fides to support the expences of the War. The Parliament at Westminster excised everything, even the necessaries of Life: All Butchers meat paid one Shilling in twenty; every Rabbit an halfpenny; and Pigeons one penny in the dozen. The King's Parliament at Oxford did the like in his Majesty's quarters; and by an Ordinance of March 26, following, all persons and families within the Cities of London and Westminster, and the bills of Mortality, were to pay the weekly value of one Meal a Week, on every Tuesday, for the publick Service, which they were supposed to abate in their Families. Such were the hardships of the times!

Success of the King's Affairs. Rapin, P. 98, 99.

The King's affairs this Summer went very prosperous, and threaten'd the ruin of his enemies; for besides his Army, which had been recruiting in the Winter, the Queen furnished him with foreign Money, and with two thousand Foot, a thousand Horse, a hundred Waggons laden with Ammunition of all forts, fix pieces of Cannon, and two Mortars. Upon which the House of Commons impeached her of High Treason, for levying Forces without consent of Parliament. In the month of April the Earl of Effex belieged and took the Town of Reading, from whence he marched within ten miles of Oxford, where Prince Rupert with a party of Horse beat up his Quarters, and killed the famous Mr. Hampden in Chalgrave Field, after which Essex retired, and put his fickly Forces into quarters of Refreshment. In the North the King's Armies had a train of Successes. Lord Fairfax was defeated by the Earl of Newcastle at Atherston Moor, June 30, and Sir William Waller at the battles of Lanfdown and Roundaway Down, July 5th and 13th, which was followed with the lofs of Weymouth, Dorchester, Portland Castle, Exeter, and almost all the West. About the latter end of July Prince Rupert besieged and took the City of Bristol, and the King himself sat down before Gloucester [Aug. 10th.] which so alarmed the two Houses, that the shops in London were ordered to be shut till the Siege was raifed, and a strong body of the Train'd Bands dispatched to join the Earl of Essex's broken Troops, who, by this means, was in a condition in fifteen days to march. to the relief of that important City; upon the Earl's approach

King Charles I.

proach the King raised the Siege, and Essex enter'd the Town, when reduced to the last extremity; and having supplied it with all necessaries, after three days returned towards London. The King being joined by Prince Rupert Rushw. with five thousand Horse, got before him to Newbury, Vol. V. p. where both Armies engaged with pretty equal success, till Night parted them, when his Majesty retired toward Oxford, and left the way open for the Earl to purfue his march. In this battle the City Trained Bands, by their undaunted bravery, are faid to have gained immortal honour. But it is the opinion of most Historians, that if instead of sitting down before Gloucester, the King had marched his victorious Army directly to London after the taking of Briftol, he might have put an end to the War, the Parliament being in no readiness to oppose him; however 'tis certain, that about this time the King's cause was in the height of its prosperity, and the Parliament's at so low an ebb, that they were obliged to throw themselves into the hands of the Scots. But it is no part of my defign to give a particular description of fieges and battles, or a recital of the warlike exploits of the heroes of these times, any further than to inform the Reader of the true fituation of affairs, and to enable him to form a just idea of the grounds and reasons of those extraordinary measures that each party took for the support of their cause. Let us now attend the affairs of the Church.

The Clergy on both fides had a deep share in the calami- Sufferings ties of the times, being plunder'd, harras'd, imprison'd, of the Puri-and their Livings sequester'd, as they fell into the hands of the enemy. The King's party were greatly incenfed against the Puritan Clergy, as the chief incendiaries of the people and trumpeters of Rebellion. Such as refused to read the King's Proclamations and Orders against the Parliament were apprehended, and shut up in the common gaols of York, and other places within his Majesty's Quarters. When any parties of the Royal Army got possession of a Town that adher'd to the Parliament, they enquired prefently for the Minister's House, which was rifled and plunder'd of every thing that was valuable, and himfelf imprifoned, if he could be found; but the Incumbents usually took care to avoid the danger, by flying to the next Parliament Garrison. Above thirty Puritan Ministers took shelter in the City of Coventry after the fight of Edge-Hill. Great numbers came to London with their Families in a naked and starving condition, leaving their Books and every

King Charles I. 1643.

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Walker's Suff. Cler. Part II. p. 180. thing they could not bring away, to the mercy of the King's Soldiers. The prisoners underwent uncommon hardships, and would have been executed as Rebels, if the Parliament had not threaten'd reprifals.

On the other hand, the Episcopal Clergy were no less harass'd by the Parliament Soldiers; these being in possesfion of the best Livings in the Church were liable to suffer most damage; multitudes of them left their Cures, and took fanduary in the King's Armies or Garrisons, having disposed of their goods and chattles in the best manner they could. Others that had render'd themselves obnoxious by their Sermons, or Declarations for the King, were put under confinement in Lambeth, Winchester, Ely, and most of the Bishops Houses about London; and for want of room about twenty (according to Dr. Walker) were imprifoned on board of Ships in the River Thames, and shut down under Decks, no friend being suffered to come to them. The same Writer observes, that about one hundred and ten of the London Clergy were turned out of their Livings in the years 1642, and 1643, and that as many more fled to prevent imprisonment; but it ought to be remember'd, that none were turned out or imprisoned, for their adhering to the Doctrine or Discilpine of the Church of England, till after the imposing of the Scots Covenant, but for immorality, false Doctrine, Non-Residence, or for taking part with the King against the Parliament. However it is to be lamented, that feveral pious and good Bishops, and other Clergymen, who withdrew from the World, and were defirous to live peaceably without joining either fide, fuffered afterwards in common with the rest of their Brethren; their estates and livings being sequester'd, their houses and goods very often plunder'd by ungovernable Soldiers, and themselves reduced to live upon the Fifths, or a small pension from the Parliament, either because they could not take the Covenant, or comply with the new Directory for publick Worship. Among these we may reckon the most Reverend Archbishop Usher, Bishop Morton, Hall, and many others. When the Bishops Lands were seized for the service of the War, which was called Bellum "E-"piscopale" or the Bishops War, it was not possible to shew favour to any under that character; and though the two Houses voted very considerable pensions to some of the Bishops, in lieu of their Lands that were sequester'd, due care was not taken of the payment; nor would several of their Lordships so far countenance the votes of the Houses as to apply for it.

King

In order to account for these things, it will be necessary to fet before the reader the proceedings of the feveral Committees of Religion from the beginning of the present Parliament. It has been remembered, that a grand Commit- Committees tee, confisting of the whole House of Commons, was ap- for Religion. pointed Novem. 6th, 1640, to enquire into the fcandalous Walker's immoralities of the Clergy, of which the famous Mr. Attempt, White, Member of Parliament for Southwark, a good P. 63. lawyer, and, according to Mr. Whitlock, an honest, learned, and faithful fervant of the publick, was Chairman, Great numbers of petitions, with articles of misbehaviour were brought before them, relating to superstition, herefy, or the immorality of their Ministers, infomuch that the House was forced to branch the Committee into several subdivisions, for the quicker dispatch of business. Nov. 19, Committee 1640. a Sub-committe was appointed " to confider how for feanda-" there may be preaching Ministers set up where there are fters " none; how they may be maintained where there is no " maintenance, and all other things of that nature; also " to enquire into the true grounds and causes of the great " fearcity of preaching Ministers throughout the kingdom, " and to confider of some way of removing scandalous "Ministers, and putting others in their places," For which purpofes the Knights and Burgesses of the several corporations were ordered to bring informations within fix weeks, of the state of Religion in their respective counties. Sub-Committee confifted of fixty one Members, together with the Knights and Burgesses of Northumberland, Wales, Lancashire, Cumberland, and the Burgesses of Canterbury. Mr. White was Chairman of this, as well as of the Grand Committee; they had their regular meetings in the Court of Wards, and from the Powers abovementioned, were fometimes called the Committee for preaching Ministers, but more usually for scandalous Ministers. They had the inspection of all Hospitals and Free-Schools, and were authorized to confider of the expediency of fending Commissions into the several counties, to examine such Clergymen as were accused, and could not with convenience be brought up to London.

But Presentments against the Clergy came in so fast, that Walker's for the dispatch of business they were obliged to divide a- Attempt, gain into feveral smaller Committees, which from the names P. 65. of the gentlemen in the respective chairs, were called Mr. White's, Corbet's, Sir Robert Harlow's, and Sir Edward Deering's Committees, &c. Within a short space above

King Charles I. 1643.

Ibid. p. 81.

two thousand petitions were brought before them, of which Mr. Corbet's Committee had no less than nine hundred, But great complaints have been made of their feverity, by those who will not believe the Clergy were so corrupt as really they were; nor remember the political principles for which most of them suffered. The orders of the Committees were certainly unexceptionable, for they were obliged to give proper notice to the party accused to make his appearance; the witnesses were usually examined upon oath in his presence; a copy of the articles were given him if defired, and a reasonable time assigned to prepare for his defence. The articles of enquiry on which they proceeded were, 1. Scandalous immoralities of life, as drunkenness, fwearing, incontinency, and fometimes blasphemy, and fodomy. 2. False and scandalous Doctrines, i. e. Popish and Arminian, these being understood to be inconsistent with the Articles of the Church of England. 3. Profanation of the Sabbath, by reading and countenancing the book of Sports. 4. Practifing and pressing the late innovations, after they had been censured by the Parliament as illegal. 5. Neglect of their Cures, by not preaching according to their duty. 6. Malignancy and difaffection to the Parliament, discovered by their assisting his Majesty with money, and perswading others to do so; by reading the King's Declaratioos, and refusing to read the Parliament's; by not observing the Parliament's Fasts, but calling them Rebels, Traitors, and "wishing the curse of "God upon them and their Cause." These were apprehended reasonable matters of enquiry, and just grounds of exception, as matters flood between the King and the two Houses. But after all, the final determination was not with the Committee; their opinion, with the evidence, was first laid before the grand committee, then it was reported to the whole House, and finally referred to the House of Lords before it was decifive. One would think, here should be little room for complaint, and yet there was too much passion and prejudice on both sides, which was owing to the confusion of the times, and the violent refentments of each party. The Commissioners were sometimes too forward in exposing the failings of the Clergy, and encouraging witnesfes of slender credit; on the other hand, the Clergy were infufferably rude to the Committee, defaming the witnesses, and threatening revenge, for being obliged to plead their cause before Laymen. However, few Clergymen were fequefter'd by the Committee for scandalous Ministers before it was

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King 1643.

was joined with that for plundered Ministers; an account of which I shall lay before the Reader, after I have given two or three Examples of the Proceedings of the prefent Committee, from the Relations of those Clergymen who have left behind them an account of their own Sufferings.

The first is Mr. Symmonds of Rayne in Essex, who ac-Reverend knowledges, That he was fequestered for preaching and Mr. Symmonds of publishing, that " the King being the supreme Magistrate Rayne, his " hath immediate dependance on God, to whom alone he Cafe. is accountable --- That Authority is a facred Thing, and Suff. Cler-" essential to the King's Person--- That Residence is against " the Way of God, destructive to the whole Law of God, " inconfistent with the Spirit of the Gospel, the perpetual " Practice of Christianity, the Calling of Ministers, com-" mon Prudence, the Rule of Humanity, Nature itself, "Reason, the Oath of Allegiance, and even the late Pro-" testation." Besides, he had notoriously defamed the Parliament, and press'd his Auditors to believe the King's Declarations, "because a divine Sentence was in his mouth, " and he cannot err." And that if David's heart smote him for cutting off Saul's Garment, what would it have done if he had kept him from his Castles, Towns, Ships, &c? For which Reasons the Lords and Commons in Parliament affembled, ordered [March 3, 1642.] his Living to be fequestered into the hands of Robert Atkins, M. A. who was appointed to preach every Lord's Day till further order. Mr. Symmonds endeavoured to discredit the Evidence, but was fo far from disowning the Charge, that he afterwards vindicated it in a Pamphlet entitled, The loyal Subject's Belief.

A fecond Gentleman, who has left an account of his fuf-Revd. Mr. ferings, is the Reverend Mr. Squire of Shoreditch; he was Squire's of Shoreditch. articled against for " practifing and pressing the late Inno-Suff Clergy,

" vations, for faying the Papists were the King's best Sub-p. 67. " jects, because of their Loyalty and Liberality; for de-" claring that none should come to the Sacrament, unless "they were as well affected to the King as the Papists; " for comparing his Majesty to the Man that fell among " thieves, being wounded in his Honour, and robbed of his Castles, and of the hearts of his People; that the " Priest passing by, was the Protestant; the forward Pro-" fessor the Levite, but the Papist was the good Samari-" tan; and for affirming, that the King's Subjects, and all "that they had were at his command." Mr. Squire denied some of these Articles, and extenuated others; he proKing Charles I. 1643. Ib. p. 176. cured a Certificate from several of his Parishioners of his diligence in Preaching, in Catechising, and in beating down Popery, for thirty years past, all which might be true; but Dr. Walker admits, that from the beginning of the War he was a most strenuous Champion for Allegiance; that is, for Passive-Obedience and Non-Resistance, and most earnestly exhorted his People to the Practice of it, which, as the times then were, might be a sufficient Reason for the Parliament to silence him.

Revd. Mr. Finch of Christ Church. Walker's Attempt, p. 71.

p. 72

The other Clergyman is Mr. Finch of Christ Church, who was articled against for Extortion, Superstition, Non-Residence, and neglect of his Cure, and for being a common Swearer, Tavern-hunter, and Drunkard, which was proved by very substantial evidence. Dr. Walker's defence of this Gentleman is very remarkable, " Common " Charity (fays he) will oblige every one to give more credit to the bare word of a Clergyman, though in his own vindication, than to that of his known and professed Ene-" mies." And yet in the next page he owns, he was not satisfied in Mr. Finch's Character, nor in some parts of his defence, in which he thinks, he does by no means acquit himself from having been a man of an ill Life. His Case was reported by the grand Committee to the House of Commons, and by them to the Lords, who all agreed that he was unfit to hold any ecclefiaftical Living.

It must be left with the impartial World to judge, Whether the Parliament had reason to sequester these Clergymen, in their own desence? The last was a man of an immoral life, and the two former, allowing them to be otherwise good Men, were certainly Incendiaries against the two Houses, and preached up those Doctrines which were inconsistent with the Constitution and Laws of their Country, as most of the

parochial Clergy at that time did.

Committee for plundered Ministers.

The Committee for plundered Ministers took its rise from those Puritan Clergymen, who being driven from their Cures in the Country by the King's Soldiers fled to London with their Families, leaving their substance and houshold furniture to the mercy of the enemy: These being reduced to very great poverty, applied to the Parliament for relief; the Commons first ordered a charitable Collection for them at their monthly Fast, and four Days after, viz. December 31, 1642. appointed a Committee to consider of the fittest Way " for the relief of such godly and well affected " Ministers as have been plundered; and what malignant Clergymen have Benefices in and about the Town, "whose

King 1643.

" whose Benefices being sequestered may be supplied by others who may receive their profits." The names of Charles I. the Committee were Mr. Solicitor, Mr. Martyn, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Sir William Armyn, Mr. Prideaux, Mr. Holland, Mr. Rouse, Mr. Case, Mr. Knightly, Sir William Hayman, Mr. Wentworth, Mr. Ruthen, Mr. Wheeler, and Mr. Spurstow, to whom were afterwards added some others; among whom Dr. Walker supposes was the famous P. 73. Mr. White, who fat in the Chair of this Committee, March 2, 1642-3. The Commissioners were upon their oath; any four had a power to act; they were distinguished by the name of the Committee for plundered Ministers; but the Royalists, by way of reproach, called them the Committee for plundering Ministers. They began their meetings in the Court of Exchequer, Jan. 2, in the Afternoon; two days after, they were ordered to examine the complaints against Dr. Soam, Minister of Twittenham and Stains, to send for parties and Witnesses, to consider of proper persons to fupply the Cures, to apply the Revenues to their use if they found it necessary, and to report the whole to the House. July 27, 1643, they were impowered to confider of Informations against scandalous Ministers, though there were no malignancy proved against them, and to put out such whose scandal was sufficiently proved; from which time the Committee for scandalous and plundered Ministers were in a fort united, and fo continued to the end of the long Parliament.

In order to silence the clamours of the Royalists, and White's cenjustify the severe proceedings of these Committees, it was tury of scanresolved to print the cases of those whom they ejected, and dalous Minifubmit their conduct to the publick censure; accordingly, towards the latter end of the year Mr. White the Chairman published a Pamphlet, entitled, "The first century of " fcandalous malignant Priests, made and admitted into " Benefices by the Prelates, in whose hands the Ordina-"tion of Ministers, and Government of the Church hath " been; or, a Narration of the Causes for which the Par-" liament has ordered the sequestration of the Benefices of feveral Ministers complained of before them, for " vitiousness of life, Errors in Doctrine, contrary to the " Articles of our Religion, and for practifing and preffing " fuperstitious innovations against Law, and for malignancy

" against the Parliament." The Author in his preface " fays, The reason of his appearing in print was, " That " the Parliament might appear just in their doings, that

King 1643.

of the mouth of Iniquity might be stopt; that all the world might fee, that the tongues of them that speak evil of the Parliament are set on fire of Hell; that they hide "themselves under falshood, and make lies their refuge." And then adds, "That the groffest faults which were " charged on the Clergy were proved by many witnesses, feldom less than fix." The whole Century were convicted of malignity, or disaffection to the Parliament? and about eighty of them of fcandalous immoralities in their lives. Dr. Walker has endeavoured to recover the reputation of feven or eight, and would infinuate that the rest were convicted upon too slender evidence, the witnesses not being always upon oath, nor in his opinion, of fufficient credit to impeach a Clergyman; that some of the crimes were capital, and therefore if they had been proved, must have touched not only the livings but the lives of the criminals; and that the Parliament who fet up for precise morals, accepted the meer verbal evidence of the most infamous people. However the Doctor himself has admitted and confirmed the Centurist's account of many of these fcandalous Ministers, by the enquiries he has made into their characters in the places from whence they were ejected. Other Telli- Mr. Fuller confesses, " That several of the offences of the "Clergy were fo foul, that it is a shame to report them, " crying to justice for punishment," But then adds in favour of others, " That witnesses against them were seldom examined on oath. That many of the complainers were factious people. That fome of the Clergy were " convicted for delivering Doctrines that were disputable, " and others only for their loyalty." Bishop Kennet says, That several of them were vicious to a scandal. And Mr. Archdeacon Eachard is of the fame mind. But Mr. Baxter's testimony is more particular and decifive, who fays, "That in all the Countries where he was acquainted fix " to one at least, if not many more, that were sequester'd by the Committees, were by the oaths of witneffes " proved infufficient or fcandalous, or especially guilty of "drunkenness and swearing. This I know (says the Re-" verend Author) will displease the Party, but I am sure

racter. Hift. p. 207.

monies of their Cha-

Baxter's Life. P. 74.

Their pro-

Suff. Cler.

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P. 65.

" that this is true." 'Tis impossible to account for the particular proceedings ceedings cen- of all the Committees, of which great outcries have been made by the friends of the Sufferers. " If the meanest and " most vicious Parishioners could be brought to prefer a " petition against their Parson to the House of Commons,

King Charles I. 1643.

how falfly foever, (fays Lord Clarendon) he was fure to " be profecuted for a scandalous Minister." His Lordship adds, " That the Committees accepted of the evidence not only of mean people, but of them who were professed enemies of the discipline of the Church; that they " baited the Clergy with rude and uncivil language; that " they obliged them to a long and tedious attendance, " and were very partial in voting them out of their Livings, " right or wrong." In another place he fays, "That thefe " complaints were frequently exhibited by a few of the " meanest of the people against the judgment of the Pa-" rish." The like account is given by most of the Royalifts; but the writers on the fide of the Parliament deny the charge, and complain as loudly of the contemptuous behaviour of the Kings Clergy to the Commissioners, treating them as a combination of illiterate laymen, who had nothing to do with the Church; nay, as rebels and traytors. Some refused to obey their summons, and others that appeared took up their time in examining the spelling of Words, the propriety of Grammar, and other little evasions, foreign to the purpose. They declared roundly, they did not own the tribunal before which they flood; they infulted the witnesses, and threatened reprisals out of Court, when things should revert to their former Channel; and upon the whole behaved as if they had engroffed all the Law, Learning, and good Sense of the Nation to themselves. The Commissioners provoked with this usage, were obliged to behave with some sharpness, in order to support their own authority; they would not indulge them the peculiar privilege they claimed as Clergymen, nor allow them as Scholars to debate the truth of those Doctrines of which they were accused, but confined them to matters of fact. When they excepted against the witnesses as ignorant Mechanicks, factious, schismatical, enemies to the Church. &c. they over-ruled their exceptions, as long as there were no legal objections to their Competency or Credibility.

With regard to the Country Committees, the Commif-Country fioners were chosen out of the Deputy Lieutenants, and Committees, the best Country Gentlemen in the Parliament Interest. Most of the crimes for which the Clergy were sequester'd were confessed by themselves; Superstition and false Doctrine were hardly ever objected, but far the greatest part, if not all, were cast out for malignity; and yet the proceedings of the Sequestrators were not always justifiable; for where-

royal

King Charles L. 1643. as a Court of Judicature should rather be Counsel for the Prisoner, the Commissioners considered the King's Clergy as most dangerous enemies, and were therefore ready to lay hold of all opportunities to discharge them their Pulpits.

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But whatever might be the excesses, or partiality of particular Committees, no reasonable blame can be laid upon the two Houses, whose Instructions were, in my opinion, unexceptionable: The Words of the Ordinance are these, -" And to the end that those who will appear before the "Committee may have the witnesses examined in their orefence, it is further ordained, that Summonfes, with f' fufficient warning of the time and place, when and " where the charge against them shall be proved, be either " given to their persons, or left at their houses; and if " they defire it, they shall have a copy of the articles against them, with a convenient time to give in their " answer under their hands, which, together with their " charge, and the proofs upon every particular of it, the " faid Deputy Lieutenants, and Committees of Parliament, " shall fend up to the Committee of this House, appointed to provide for plundered Ministers; which Committee " shall from time to time transmit them to this House." And further to prevent all abuses, 'tis ordained in the Ordinance for Sequestration, " That if any person or persons " find themselves agrieved with any Acts done by the Se-" questrators, upon complaint made to them, or any two " or more of them; then upon information given to both " Houses of Parliament, or to the Committee of Lords " and Commons aforementioned, fuch further order shall be taken therein as shall be agreeable to Justice." Here was an appeal from a lower to a higher Court; and to prevent too fevere a scrutiny into the lives and manners of the Clergy, they were limited in their enquiries, to fuch crimes as had been committed within three years before the beginning of the present Parliament; so that if the Committees observed their orders there could be no just ground of Complaint; but as no one will undertake to vindicate all their proceedings, we must not, on the other hand, give ear to the petulant and angry Complaints of every discontented Clergyman. I shall only observe further, that these Country Committees hardly began to sit till the year 1644. That they exercised their power very fparingly while the war was in suspence, but when the

Suff. Cler. p. 84. royal Forces were beat out of the field, and victory declared on their fide, they proceeded with more freedom, especial-Charles I. ly against those who had made themselves parties in the war.

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Very different accounts are given of the numbers and Quality of quality of the ejected Clergy by their feveral friends. Lord Persons Clarendon fays, That all the learned and orthodox Divines ejected. of England were deemed fcandalous. And Dr. Walker has taken a great deal of pains to encrease their numbers, and vindicate their characters. By his account one would think most of them were of the first rank and character; but Mr. Baxter, who was much better acquainted with the Clergymen of these times, says, "That when the Parlia- p. 95.] " ment purged the Ministry they cast out the groffer fort " of infufficient and fcandafous ones, and also some few "civil men who had affifted in the wars against the "Parliament, or fet up bowing to Altars, and fuch in-" novations, but they left in near one half of the Mini-" fters that were not good enough to do much fervice, " nor bad enough to be utterly intolerable. These were " a company of poor weak Preachers who had no great " skill in divinity, nor zeal for godliness, but preached " weekly that that was true, and were free from noto-" rious fins." This feems a pretty fair relation of the matter; but we shall have occasion to consider it more

fully hereafter. Besides the sequestration of Benefices the Parliament sequestraconsidered the King's Clergy as Parties in the War, and tion of their feized their estates both real and personal under that cha-Estates. racter, to help to bear the expences of it; for this purpose lect. Fol. 13. they passed the following Ordinance, April 1, 1643. the preamble to which fets forth, That it is most agreeable to " common justice, that the estates of such notorious De-" linquents as have been the causers or instruments of the

" publick calamities, which have hitherto been employed to " the fomenting and nourishing of this miserable distraction,

" should be converted and applied towards the support of

" the Commonwealth."

"DE it therefore enacted, that the estates, as well real "D and personal, of all such Bishops, Deans, Deans " and Chapters, Prebends, Archdeacons, and of all other " persons ecclesiastical or temporal, who have, or shall raise " arms against the Parliament; or have been, or shall be " in actual war against the same; or who have, or shall " voluntarily contribute Money, Horse, Plate, Arms, Ammunition,

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King Charles L. 1643.

munition, or other Aid or Affistance, towards the mainte-" nance of any force raifed against the Parliament, or for the of plundering of the King's subjects, who have willingly contributed or yielded obedience to the commands of both Hou-" fes of Parliament, and of all fuch who have joined, or shall ioin in any Oath or Affociation against the Parliament, &c. " shall be seized into the hands of sequestrators, to be named " by both Houses of Parliament, which sequestrators, or " their deputies, are to feize into their hands, as well all " the money, goods, chattels, debts, and personal estates, " and all the manors, lands, tenements, hereditaments, " rents, revenues, and profits, of all the faid delinquents before specified; and also, two parts of all the personal " and real estates of every Papist, and to let, set, and de-" mife the same from year to year, as the respective landfollowing lords or owners thereof might have done. And the au-" thority of both Houses is engaged to save them harmless " from paying any rents to their landlords being delina " quents: And all the monies, rents, and revenues, that " shall arise from this ordinance, shall be applied to the " maintenance of the army and forces raifed by the Parlia-" ment, and fuch other uses as shall be directed by both " Houses of Parliament for the benefit of the Common-" wealth."

Scobel's Collect. P.

A further August 19th, 1643. this Ordinance was further explain-Explanation ed, as including in the number of delinquents, " Such as " absented from their usual places of abode, or betook "themselves to the King's forces, such as should embezzle " or conceal any of their effects, to avoid payment of " taxes, and affeffments to the Parliament; or who kept out of the way so that no tax could be levied upon them; " or who concealed or harboured the goods or persons of " delinquents; or who should feize or molest any person " for obeying or executing any of the Parliament's orders." A clause was then added to the Ordinance, empowering the Commissioners to allow to the wives and children of fuch delinquents for their maintenance, any portion of their goods, provided it did not exceed one fifth part. This clause was construed to extend to the wives and children of all Clergymen who were ejected their Livings on any account whatfoever. The Commissioners were also to seize two thirds of the estates of Papists, both real and personal, and for the discovering of them, were to tender such whom they fuspected, the following Oath

King

A.B. do abjure and renounce the Pope's Supremacy, and Authority over the Catholick Church in general, " and over myself in particular. And I do believe that there is not any Transubstantiation in the Sacrament of the Abjuration "Lord's Supper, or in the Elements of Bread and Wine Oath. " after Confecration thereof by any person whatsoever. " And I do also believe that there is not any Purgatory, or that the confecrated Hoft, Crucifixes, or Images, " ought to be worshipped; or that any worship is due to any of them. And I also believe, that Salvation cannot " be merited by works; and all Doctrines in affirmation of " the faid points, I do abjure, and renounce, without any " equivocation, mental refervation, or fecret evalion what-" foever, taking the words by me spoken according to the

" common meaning of them. " So help me GOD."

Divers Clergymen of good learning, and blamelefs lives, The Effects found Protestants, and good Preachers, lost their estates and of this Ordinance. livelihoods, by falling within the compass of this Ordinance. How far fuch severities are justifiable by the law of arms, in a time of civil war and confusion, I shall not determine. It had been well, if those who would have given security for their peaceable behaviour, could have been diffinguished. But what could the Parliament do with men that were always dealing in politicks, privately fending the King money, preaching publickly that he was above Law, and stirring up the people to fedition and disaffection to those powers by whom they were protected? If Others fuffered in this manner it was very hard Measure; their Estates might have been double taxed, as those of Papists and Nonjurors have fince been; but to take away their whole property, and reduce them to a Fifth, and this at the mercy of Sequestrators,

However, his Majesty did the like, and gave directions to The King feize the lands and goods of the Parliamentarians, as appears makes Reby his Proclamation of April 7, and May 8. wherein he prisals. forbids all his Subjects to submit to their orders; and by another dated May 15, 1643, complains, " That divers of Husb. Col-

" his Clergy, eminent for piety and learning, because they lea. p. 177. " publish his royal and just Commands and Declarations, " and will not (against the known laws of the Land, and

was extremely rigorous and severe.

" their own consciences) submit to contributions, nor pub-" lickly pray against us and our assistants, but conform to " the

1643.

" the Book of Common-prayer established by Law, and or preach God's word according to the purity of it, and in their fermons will not teach fedition, nor publish illegal commands and orders for fomenting the unnatural war er levied against us, are some of them driven from their "Cures and Habitations, others filenced and discharged " from their Cures, and perfecuted, and their Curates, if Orthodox, displaced, in whose places factious and sedi-"tious persons are introduced,----His Majesty therefore forbids all his Subjects to hinder any of his Clergy from ex-" ercifing their functions, or to displace them; and if any " transgress this command his Majesty declares them affiftants of the Rebellion, and will proceed against them " according to law, as foon as he can apprehend them, and " in the mean time will give direction for taking their " Lands and Goods into fafe custody." Such were the extremities on both fides!

The filencing fo many Clergymen at once made it very

Vacant Be-

nefices filled difficult to find persons qualified to fill the vacant Pulpits. This was an inconvenience that attended the Reformation of Queen Elizabeth, and was the case of the established Church again in the year 1662. when near two thousand Ministers were ejected for Non-conformity. Lord Clarendon, with his usual candor, says, "That from the beginning of this Parliament he is confident not one 66 learned or orthodox Man was recommended by them to any Church in England;" and yet some of the greatest ornaments of the Church for learning and good fense, in the Reign of King Charles II. were of their promotion, as Bishop Reynolds, Bishop Wilkins, Dr. Light-Hift of Life foot, Dr. Cudworth, Dr. Wallis, and others. Mr. Baxter, who was a more competent judge in this respect, says, "That though now and then an unworthy person, by " finister means, crept into the places of the ejected Mi-" nisters, yet commonly those whom they put in were such as fet themselves laboriously to seek the saving of Souls. " Indeed the one half of them were very young, but that " could not be helped, because there were no others to be 46 had; the Parliament could not make men learned or god-" ly, but only put in the learnedest and ablest that they could have; and tho' it had been to be wished, that they might have had leisure to ripen in the Universities, yet many of " them did (as Ambrose) teach and learn at once so success-" fully, as that they much encreased in learning themselves

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VOL. III.

" whilft they profited others, and proportionably more than 'King' " many in the Univertities do." Those Clergymen who had Charles 1. been filenced and imprisoned by Archbishop Laud were fet at liberty and encouraged; some who had fled to Holland and New-England on the account of Non-conformity returned home, and were preferred to confiderable Lectures in the City, or to the Livings of those who were fequestered. The Parliament entertained and promoted feveral Scots Divines, and yet after all, they wanted a Supply for feveral vacant Benefices, which obliged them to admit of fome unlearned perfons, and pluralifts, not of choice, but of necessity, for when things were more fettled the Assembly of Divines declared against both; and it deferves to be remembered, that the Parliament did not give their Divines an absolute and full possession of the sequestered Livings, but reserved to themselves a right in their warrants to displace them if they saw occasion, which shews their great prudence and caution; for by this means it was in their power, upon the conclusion of a peace, to restore those who had been ejected, meerly for their attachment to the King, without any injury to the present posfessor. And to put some stop to the clamours of the Royalists at Oxford, who gave out, that the Parliament admitted Butchers, Coblers, Bricklayers, and those who had no call from God or Man, they ordained, July 27, 1643. "That the Committees should not nominate any persons to " vacant Benefices, but such as should be examined and " approved by the Affembly of Divines then fitting at "Westminster." Upon the whole it is evident, that the two Houses did the best they could in their present circumstances, and perhaps better than the Royalists did at the Reftoration 1660, when according to Dr. Walker, all the fequestered Clergy that survived were restored to their Liv- Suff. Cler. ings, even those who had been convicted of the most scan- & alibi. dalous Immoralities, without any marks of repentance or amendment.

The Parliament's affairs being low, and their counfels divided, they not only applied to Heaven by extraordinary Fastings and Prayers, but went on vigorously with their intended Reformation. They began with the Sabbath, and Strict Obseron March 22, 1642-3, fent to the Lord Mayor of the Sabbath. City of London, to defire him to put in execution, the Hush. Coll. statutes for the due observation of the Lord's Day; his p. 7: Lordship accordingly sent his precept the very next day to the Aldermen, requiring them to give strict charge to the

King Charles L. 1643. Church-wardens and Constables within their several Wards, that from henceforth " they do not permit or fuffer any " person or persons, in time of divine Service, or at any " time on the Lord's Day, to be tipling in any tavern, "Inn, Tobacco-shop, Ale-house, or other Victualling " house whatsoever; nor suffer any Fruiterers or Herb-" women to stand with Fruit, Herbs, or other Victuals or Wares in any Streets, Lanes, or Allies, or any other " ways to put those things to sale, at any time of that day, or in the evening of it; or any Milk-Women to cry Milk; nor to fuffer any persons to unlade any Vessels of "Fruit, or other goods, and carry them on shoar; or to " use any unlawful Exercises or Pastimes; and to give exof press charge to all Inn-keepers, Taverns, Cook-shops, "Ale-houses, &c. within their Wards, not to entertain any guests to tipple, eat, drink, or take Tobacco in their "houses on the Lord's Day, except Inn-keepers, who " may receive their ordinary Guests or Travellers, who " come for the dispatch of their necessary Business; and " if any persons offend in the Premisses, they are to be " brought before the Lord Mayor, or one of his Majesty's " Justices of Peace to be punished as the law directs." This order had a very confiderable influence upon the City, which began to wear a different face of Religion to what it had before. May 5, the book tolerating Sports on the Lord's Day was ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common Hangman in Cheapfide, and other usual Places; and all persons having any in their hands were required to deliver them to one of the Sheriffs of London to be burnt.

Manner of keeping the

Monthly

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P. 159.

Next to the Lord's Day they had a particular regard to their monthly fast: April 24, all Constables or their Deputies, were ordered to repair to every house within their respective Liberties, the day before every publick fast, and charge all persons strictly to observe it according to the said Ordinances. And upon the day of the publick Fast they were enjoined to walk through their said Liberties, to search for persons who either by following the work of their Calling, or sitting in Taverns, Victualling, or Alehouses, or any other ways should not duly observe the same; and to return their names to the Committee for examination, that they may be proceeded against for Contempt. The Fast was observed the last Wednesday in every Month, the publick Devotions continued with little or no Intermission from nine in the Morning till four in the After-

noon.

hoon, and (as has been already observed) with uncommon king Charles I.

strictness and rigour. Besides these stated Fasts, it was usual upon extraordinary Emergencies to appoint occasional ones; as when the Occasional Army was going upon any hazardous enterprize, or within Fatts. fight of the enemy, or under very difadvantageous circum- p. 534. stances. When the Earl of Essex was shut up in Cornwal, the two Houses appointed a day of Fasting and Prayer in fix Churches within the Lines of Communication, and in fuch other Churches where it should be defired; and the crowds of ferious and attentive hearers on fuch occasions is

almost incredible.

The King apprehending the Parliament's monthly Fast Kingdissolves was perverted from its original defign, and turned into a the Parliament Fast, nursery of Rebellion, was pleased to dissolve it, and ap- and appoints point another, for the Reasons contained in the following another. Proclamation from Oxford, dated Oct. 5, 1643. "When P. 353. " a general Fast was first pronounced to us in contempla-tion of the miseries of our Kingdom of Ireland, we " readily consented to it.——But when we observe what " ill use has been made of these publick meetings, in " Pulpits, in Prayers, and in the Sermons of many fedi-" tious Lecturers, to ftlr up and continue the Rebellion " raised against us within this Kingdom .- We thought " fit to command that fuch an hypocritical Fast, to the dif-" honour of God, and flander of true Religion, be no " longer continued and countenanced by our Authority.-"And yet we being desirous to express our own humilia-" tion, and the humiliation of our People, for our own " fins, and the fins of the Nation, are resolved to continue 66 a monthly Fast, but not on the day formerly appointed. 66 -We do therefore hereby command, that from " henceforth no Fast be held on the last Wednesday in the " month, as for many months it has been; nor on any " other day than is hereby appointed by us.—But we " do expresly charge and command, that in all Churches " and Chapels, &c. there be a folemn Fast religiously " observed on the second Friday in every month, with pub-" lick Prayers and Preaching where it may be had, that as " one man we may pour out our Prayers to God, for the " continuance of his gracious Presence and Blessing upon us, " and for establishing a happy Peace; for which purpose we " have caused devout Forms of Prayer to be composed and printed, and intend to disperse them, that they may be used

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King Charles I. 1643. Rufhw, Vol V. p. 380.

" used in all parts of our Kingdom." Agreeably to this Proclamation the King's Friends in the Counties of Cornwall and Devonshire took an oath, and entered into an Asfociation upon lundry Articles, of which this was one, That if any Minister shall refuse, or wilfully neglect to observe the Fast appointed by his Majesty, or shall not read the Service and Prayers appointed for that Fast, and being carried before a Justice of Peace, shall not promise and protest for their future Conformity, he shall be forthwith secured, and his Estate sequestered; the like Course to be taken with such Ministers as absent themselves that Day, unless upon Sickness, or other Cause allowed by two Justices of Peace; and with those that will not read such books as shall be appointed to be read by his Majesty; and the Conflables are to certify their defaults to the next Justice of Peace. This was a new hardship upon Clergy and People, for the Parliament having enjoined the contimuance of the Fast on Wednesday, the Royalists were obliged to an open separation, by changing it to Friday. Thus the Devotions of the Kingdom were divided, and Almighty God called into the quarrel on both fides. The next thing the Parliament undertook was the remo-

Romoval of Monuments of Supersti-

val of those Monuments of Superstition out of Churches, &c. which had been voted down the last year, but without any considerable effect, because of the differt of the House of Lords; but in the beginning of May, Sir Robert Harlow, by order of the two Houses took down the Crosses in Cheapfide, Charing Crofs, and St. Paul's Crofs, which was a Pulpit of wood covered with lead, in form of a Cross, and mounted on several steps of stone about the middle of St. Paul's Church Yard, where the first Reformers used to preach frequently to the People; and upon a further Representation of the Assembly of Divines, they part the following Ordinance, " That before the first of for that pur- November all Altars and Tables of Stone shall be utterly " taken away and demolished; and all Communion Tables removed from the east end of every Church, Chapet, or " Place of public Worship, and be set in some other fit and convenient place or places of the Body of the Church or " Chapel; and all rails whatfoever which have been erected " near to, or before, or about any Altar or Communion Table, in any of the faid Churches or Chapels, shall before the faid day be taken away, and the Chancel Ground of every such Church, or Chapel, or other Place

Ordinance pofe. Husb. Coll. Fel. 307.

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"publick Prayer, which has been within these twenty years " raised for any Altar or Communion Table to stand upon, " shall before the said Day be laid down and levelled as it was before; and all Tapers, Candlesticks, and Ba-" fins, shall before the faid Day be removed and taken a-" way from the Communion Table in every Church, " Chapel, or Place of publick Prayer, and not be used " again afterwards. And all Crucifixes, Croffes, Images, " and Pictures, of any one or more Persons of the Trinity, " or of the Virgin Mary; and all other Images, and Pic-"tures of Saints, or Superstious Inscriptions in, or upon " any of the faid Churches, Church Yards, or other Places, " belonging to the faid Churches or Church Yards, or in any " other open Place, shall before the said first of November, " be taken away and defaced by the proper Officers that have " the care of fuch Churches. And it is further ordained. "that the Walls, Windows, Grounds, and other Places "that shall be broken, impaired, or altered by any the " Means aforefaid, shall be made up and repaired in good "and fufficient manner, in all and every the faid Parish "Churches, Chapels, or Places of publick Prayer be-" longing to the Parish, by the Church Wardens for the " time being, and in any Cathedral or Collegiate Church " or Chapel by the Deans or Sub-Deans; and in the Inns " of Court, by the Benchers and Readers of the fame, " at the Cost and Charge of all and every such Person " or Persons, Bodies Politick, or Corporations, to whom "the Charge of Repair does usually belong, upon penalty " of forty Shillings to the Use of the Poor, for the space " of twenty days after such default; and if default be " made after December 1, the Justice of Peace of the " County or City shall have Power to perform it. "vided that this Ordinance shall not extend to any " Image, Picture, or Coat of Arms in Glass, Stone, or " otherwise in any Church, Chapel, or Church Yard, set " up by, or engraven for a Monument of any King, Prince, "Nobleman, or other dead Person, which has not been " commonly reputed or taken for a Saint."

This Ordinance is almost the same with the Bill against Manner of Innovations presented to the King at the Treaty of Oxford, on of it. and does not much differ from Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions at the Reformation; there were some Disorders and Tumults in putting it in Execction, and great neglect of repairs; but if the Reader will look back to the supesti-

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King Charles I. 1643.

Hift. Pref. P. 45. tious Decorations and Ornaments of the Cathedrals, mentioned in the former Volume of this Work, p. 186, he will see there was some need of a Reformation. December 14, the Commissioners cleared the Cathedral of Canterbury of all the Images and Paintings in the Windows. Heylin fays, the Rabble violated the Monuments of the Dead, spoiled the Organs, took down the Rails, &c. and affronted the Statue of our bleffed Saviour. December 30, they removed the Pictures, Images and Crucifixes in Henry the Seventh's Chapel; and about Lady Day the Paintings about the Walls and Windows were defaced, and the Organs taken down in presence of a Committee of the House. The Cathedral of Saint Paul's was ftripped about the same time, the Candlesticks, Crucifixes, and Plate, being fold for the Service of the War; and within a few Months most of the Cathedral's throughout England underwent the same Fate. If the Parliament, inflead of leaving this Work to the Officers of every Parish, had put into the hands of some skilful Persons, to give directions what might remain, and what was fit to be removed, all the mischies that have been complained of might have been prevented; the Monuments of the dead might have remained entire, and a great many fine Paintings preserved; Dr. Heylin charges the Officers with Sacrilege, and fixes the divine Vengeance upon them as a Terror to others, one of them being killed in pulling down the Crofs in Cheapfide, and another hanged foon after he had pulled down the rich Cross in Abingdon. But without remarking on the Doctor's Prognostications, it was very proper to remove these Images and Crosses, because of the superstitious Resort of great Numbers of People to them; which might have been done in a peaceable manner, without any damage to the other venerable Remains of Antiquity.

Orders for Restraining the Press. The Paper Combat between the two Parties at Oxford and London was carried on with no less Fury than the War it self; numberless Pamphlets were scattered up and down the City of London and the Countries, big with Disassection and Scandal against the two Houses; to put a stop to which the Commons, by an order of March 6th, 1642-3, had impowered the Committee of Examinations to search for printing Presses in such places where they had Cause to suspect they were employed against the Parliament, and to break them in pieces, and destroy all the materials.

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aals. terials. They were also to seize the Pamphlets, and to King commit the Printer and Vender to Prison. But this Order Charles L. not being effectual, another was published June 14, 1643, the Preamble to which fets forth, " That the former Or- Rushw. " ders of Parliament to prevent the Printing and Dif-Vol. V. " perfing scandalous Pamphlets having been ineffectual, P. 335. " it is ordained, That no Person or Persons shall print any " Book or Pamphlet without Licence, under the Hands of " fuch Persons as shall be appointed by Parliament; nor " shall any Book be reprinted without the Licence and " Confent of the Owner, and the Printer to put his Name " to it; the Company of Stationers, and the Committee " of Examinations are required to make strict enquiry af-" ter private Presses, and to search all suspected Shops " and Warehouses for unlicensed Books and Pamphlets, " and to commit the Offenders against this Order to Pri-" fon to be punished as the Parliament shall direct." The Names of the Licenfers appointed by this Ordinance were thefe;

For Books of Divinity.

Mr. Tho. Gataker, Mr. J. Downham, Mr. Callicut Downing, Dr. Tho. Temple, Mr. Jos. Caryl, Mr. Edmund Calamy,	The Reverend	Mr. Carter, of York- fhire, Mr. Ch. Herle, Mr. Ja. Cranford, Mr. Obad. Sedgwick, Mr. Batchelor, Mr. John Ellis, Jun.
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For Law Books.

Sir John Brampston, Mr. Serj. Phesant, Mr. Serj. Rolls, Mr. Serj. Jermyn.

For Physick and Surgery.
The President and sour Censors of the College of Physicians, for the time being.

For Civil and Canon Law,
Sir Nath. Brent, or any three Doctors of the Civil
Law.

For Heraldry, Titles of Honour, and Arms, One of the three Kings at Arms.

For

King Charles L. 1643. For Philosophy, History, Poetry Morality and Arts. Sir Nath. Brent, Mr. Langley, and Mr. Farnaby, School-masters of St. Paul's.

For small Pamphless, Pictures, &c.
The Clerk of the Company of Stationers, for the time
being; and,

For Mathematicks, Almanacks and Prognostications. The Reader of Gresham College for the time being.

But neither this, nor any other Regulation of the Press, could restrain the Oxonians from dispersing their Mercuries and Diurnals over the whole Kingdom as long as the University was in the King's Hands.

CHAP. II.

From the calling the Assembly of Divines at Westminster to the Oxford Parliament.

T has been observed, That at the setting down of this A Parliament, the Resolution of the leading Members was to remove the Grievances of the Church as well as State, and for this purpose to address the King to call an Assembly of Divines to reform the Liturgy and Discipline of it. To forward this design the London Ministers in their Petitions in the year 1641, prayed the Houses to be Mediators to his Majesty for a free Synod, and the Commons accordingly mentioned it in their grand Remonstrance of Dec. 1, 1641. "We defire (fay they) that there may be a " general Synod of the most grave, pious, learned, and " judicious Divines of this Island, affisted with some from " foreign parts professing the same Religion with us, "who may consider of all Things necessary for the Peace " and good Government of the Church, and to reprefent the result of their Consultations to be allowed and " confirmed, and to receive the Stamp of Authority," In the Treaty of Oxford a Bill was presented to the same Purpose but rejected: Some Time after Dr. Burges, at the Head of the Puritan Clergy, applied again to Parliament, but the Houses were unwilling to take this Step without the King, till they were reduced to the Necessity of calling in the Scots, who infifted, that there should be an Uniformity of Doctrine and Discipline between the two Na-34: T.L.

tions. To make way for which the Houses turned their Bill into an Ordinance, and convened the Assembly by their Charles I. own authority.

King

The Ordinance bears date June 12, 1643, and is the very fame with the Oxford Bill, except in the point of Lay-Affeffors, and of restraining the Assembly from exercissing any jurisdiction, or Authority Ecclesiastical whatsoever. It is entitled.

"An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons in Parlia- Ordinance ment, for the calling of an Affembly of learned and for calling godly Divines, and others, to be consulted with by the of Divines. "Parliament, for settling the Government and Liturgy Rushw. of the Church of England, and for vindicating and Vol. II.
clearing of the Doctrine of the faid Church, from false p. 337. " afperfions and interpretations.

The Preamble fets forth,

"That whereas amongst the infinite bleffings of Al-" mighty God upon this Nation, none is, or can be more " dear to us, than the purity of our Religion; and for as " much as many things as yet remain in the Discipline, Li-"turgy, and Government of the Church, which necessa-" rily require a more perfect Reformation. And whereas " it has been declared and resolved, by the Lords and "Commons affembled in Parliament, that the present "Church Government by Archbishops, Bishops, their " Chancellors, Commissaries, Deans, Deans and Chap-"ters, Archdeacons, and other ecclefiaftical Officers de-"pending on the Hierarchy, is evil, and justly offensive " and burdensome to the Kingdom, and a great impedi-" ment to Reformation, and growth of Religion, and " very prejudicial to the State and Government of this "Kingdom, that therefore they are refolved, that the " same shall be taken away, and that such a Government " shall be settled in the Church as may be most agreeable " to God's holy Word, and most apt to procure and pre-" ferve the peace of the Church at home, and nearer " agreement with the Church of Scotland, and other re-" formed Churches abroad. And for the better effecting " hereof, and for the vindicating and clearing of the Doc-" trine of the Church of England from all false calumnies " and aspersions, it is thought fit to call an assembly of " learned, godly, and judicious Divines, to confult and distance.

(daysa) A

King " advise of such matters and things touching the premises, Charles L " as shall be proposed to them by both, or either Houses " of Parliament; and to give their advice and counsel therein to both, or either of the faid Houses, when, and as often as they shall be thereunto required."

" D E it therefore ordained by the Lords and Commons " D in this present Parliament assembled, that all and every the persons hereafter in this Ordinance named [the "Ordinance here names the persons] and such other " persons] as shall be nominated by both Houses of ⁶⁶ Parliament, or fo many of them as shall not be letted by fickness, or other necessary impediment, fhall meet and affemble, and are hereby required and ense joined upon Summons figned by the Clerks of both "Houses of Parliament, left at their several respective " dwellings, to meet and affemble at Westminster, in the " Chapel called King Henry the Seventh's Chapel, on the " first of July, 1643, and after the first meeting, being at least of the number of forty, shall from time to time " fit, and be removed from place to place; and also, that " the faid affembly shall be dissolved in such a manner as by " both Houses of Parliament shall be directed. "And the " faid Affembly shall have power and authority, and are " hereby enjoined from time to time, during this prefent " Parliament, or till further order be taken by both the " faid Houses, to confer and treat among themselves of such " matters and things concerning the Liturgy, Discipline, " and Government of the Church of England, or the vin-" dicating and clearing of the Doctrine of the same from " all false aspersions and misconstructions, as shall be proof posed by either or both Houses of Parliament, and no "other;" and to deliver their advices and opinions touch. ing the matters aforefaid, as shall be most agreeable to " the Word of God, to both or either Houses from time to " time, in fuch manner as shall be required, and not to "divulge the fame by printing, writing, or otherwise, " without confent of Parliament."

If any difference of opinion arose they were to represent it to Parliament with their reasons, that the Houses might give further Direction. Four Shillings per day was allowed for each one during his attendance. Dr. William Twiffe of Newbury was appointed Prolocutor, and in case of his sickness or death the Parliament reserved to themselves the choice of another. The Ordinance concludes with the fol-

lowing

lowing Proviso: " Provided always, that this Ordinance " shall not give them, nor shall they in this Assembly as-" fume or exercise any jurisdiction, power, or authority ec-" clefiastical whatsoever, or any other power than is herein

King Charles I. 1643.

Then follow the names of thirty Lay-Affessors, (viz.) ten Lords, and twenty Commoners, and one hundred twenty one Divines.

roam must N. B. The Lay-Affesfors had an equal liberty of debating and voting with the Divines, and were these;

Algernoon E. of Northum- Humphry Salway, Efq; berland, William E. of Bedford, Sir Benj. Rudyard, Knt. William E. of Pembrook John Pym, Efq; and Montgomery, William E. of Salifbury, Sir Tho. Barrington, Knt. Henry E. of Holland, Edward E. of Manchester, William Lord Visc. Say and Edward Lord Visc. Con-Philip Lord Wharton Edward Lord Howard of Efcrick.

" particularly expressed."

Commoners. John Selden, Efq; Francis Rouse, Esq; Edmund Prideaux. Efq; Sir Henry Vane, Knt. Sen. Sir Henry Vane, Knt. Jun. John Glynne, Esq; Recorder of London, John White, Efq;

Peers. Bulftrode Whitlocke, Efq; Names of the Lay-Affelfors. Oliver St. John, Efg; Sir John Clotworthy, Knt. William Wheeler, Efq; William Pierpoint, Efg; Sir John Evelyn, Knt. John Maynard, Efq; M. Serjeant Wild, Mr. Young, Sir Matth. Hale, afterwards Lord Chief Justice of the King's-Bench [appeared, fays Anthony Wood, among the Lay-Affesfors.

> Lay-Affeifors from Scotland. Lord Maitland, after Duke Lauderdale, E. Lothian, A. Johnston, called Lord Warriston.

The Divines were chosen out of such lists as the Knights and Burgesses brought in, of Persons best qualified in their feveral Counties, out of which the Parliament agreed upon two; though according to Dr. Calamy fome Counties had but one

A Lift

Charles L. 1643

A List of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, in Alphabetical Order.

Those with two ** gave constant attendance; those with one * fat in the Assembly and took the Protestation, but withdrew, or seldom appear'd; those with no Star did not appear at all.

To supply the Vacancies that happen'd by death, desertion, or otherways, the Parliament named others from time to

time, who were called Superadded Divines.

* The Rev. Dr. William Twiffe, of Newbury, was appointed by Parliament, Prolocutor,

** The Rev. Dr. Cornelius Burges, of Watford, Mr. John White, of Dorchefter, A. M.

Names of the Divines.

Art. Dere.

The Rev.

Mr. Henry Roborough, Scribes, but A. M.

Scribes, but had no Votes.

** The Rev. John Arrowsmith, of Lynne, afterwards D. D. and Matter of Peter House, Cambridge,

** Mr. Simeon Ash, of St. Brides, or Basingshaw,

** Mr. Theodore Backhurst, of Overton Waterville,

** Mr. Tho. Bayly, B. D. of Manningford Bruce,

** Mr. John Bond, a superadded Divine,

* Mr. Boulton, superadded,

** Mr. Oliver Bowler, B. D. of Sutton,

Mr. William Bridge, A. M. of Yarmouth,
The Right Rev. Dr. Ralph Brownrigge, Bp. of Exon,
Mr. Richard Buckley,

** Mr. Antony Burges, A. M. of Sutton Coldfield.

** Mr. Jer. Burroughs, A. M. of Stepney, ** Mr. Richard Byfield, A. M. superadded, ** Edmund Calamy, B. D. Aldermanbury,

** Mr. Tho. Case, Milk-street, Mr. Richard Capel, of Pitchcombe, A. M.

** Mr. Joseph Caryl, A. M. Lincoln's Inn,

** Mr. William Carter, of London,
** Mr. Thomas Carter, of Oxon,

** Mr. William Carter, of Dynton, Bucks,

** Mr. John Cawdrey, A. M. St. Mart. Fields, superadded,

** Humph. Chambers, D. D. of Claverton,

** Francis

King Charles L.

- ** Francis Cheynel, D. D. of Petworth,
- ** Mr. Peter Clarke, A. M. of Carnaby,
- ** Mr. Richard Clayton, of Showel,
- ** Mr. Francis Coke, of Yoxhall,
- ** Mr. Tho. Coleman, A. M. of Bliton,
- ** John Conant of Lymmington, D. D. afterwards Archdeacon of Norwich, and Preb. of Worcester,
- ** Mr. Edw. Corbet, A. M. Merton Coll. Oxon,
- * Rob. Crosse, D. D. afterwards Vicar of Chew, Somerset,
- ** Mr. Philip Delmé, superadded, Mr. Tho Dillingham, of Dean,
- * Calibute Downing, D. D. of Hackney, Mr. William Dunning, of Godalston,
- ** The Rev. Mr. John Drury, superadded, Mr. Edward Ellis, B. D, Gilfield, Mr. John Erle, of Bishopstowne,
- Dan. Featley, D. D. of Lambeth,
- ** Mr. Tho. Ford, A. M. superadded,
- ** Mr. John Foxcraft, of Gotham, Mr. Hannibal Gammon, A. M. of Cornwall,
- ** Tho. Gataker, B. D. Rotherhithe,
- ** Mr. Samuel Gibson, of Burleigh,
- ** Mr. John Gibbon, of Waltham,
- ** Mr. George Gippes, of Aylston,
 ** Tho. Goodwin, D. D. of Lond. aft. Presi. Mag. C. Oxon,
- ** Mr. William Goad, superadded,
- ** Mr. Stanly Gower, of Brampton Bryan,
- ** William Gouge, D. D. of Black-Fryars,
- ** Mr. William Greenhill, of Stepney,
- ** Mr. Green, of Pentecomb,
 John Hacket, D. D. of St. Andrew's Holborn, afterwards
 Bishop of Litchfield,
- Henry Hammond, D. D. of Penshurst, Kent,
- ** Mr. Henry Hall, B. D. Norwich,
- ** Mr. Humphry Hardwicke, fuperadded,
- John Harris, D. D. Preb. Winch. Warden of Wickham,
- ** Robert Harris, D. D. of Hanwel, Prefi. Trin. Col.Oxon,
- ** Mr. Charles Herle, A.M. Winwick, afterwards Proloc.
- ** Mr. Rich. Heyrick, A. M. of Manchester,
- ** Thomas Hill, D. D. of Tichmarsh, afterwards Master of Trin. Coll. Cambridge,
 - Samuel Hildersham, B. D. of Felton,
- ** Mr. Jasper Hickes, A. M. of Lawrick,
- Mr. Tho. Hodges, B. D. of Kenfington, Richard Holdtworth, D.D. Mast. Eman. Coll. Camb.
 - Joshua

1643.

Mr. Henry Hutton, MILE TOTAL CHARGE THE

** Mr. John Jacksou, A. M. of Queen's Coll. Camb.

Mr. Johnson, Mr. Lance, Harrow, Middlesex,

** Mr. John Langley, of West Tuderly, Preb. Glou.

** Mr. John Ley, A. M. Great Budworth,

** The Rev. John Lightfoot, D. D. of Ashby, M. Cath. H.

New Property Ooks, of

* Rich. Love, D. D. of Ekinton,

* Mr. Christoph. Love, A. M. superadded, Mr. William Lyford, A. M. Sherbourne,

* Mr. John de la March, Minister of the French Church,

** Mr. Stephen Marshal, B. D. of Finchingfield,

Mr. William Maffam, superadded, Mr. John Maynard, A. M. fuperadded,

Mr. William Mew, B. D. of Effington, ** Mr. Tho. Micklethwait, Cheriburton,

George Morley, D. D. afterwards Bp. of Winchester, Mr. William Moreton, Newcastle,

* Mr. Moore,

** Mr. Matth. Newcomen, Dedham,

* Mr. William Newscore, superadded, William Nicholfon, D. D. afterwards Bp. of Gloucester, Mr. Henry Nye, of Clapham,

Mr. Philip Nye, of Kimbolton,

Mr. Herbert Palmer, B. D. Ashwel, afterwards Assessor, Mr. Henry Painter, of Exeter, Mr. Christopher Parkly, of Hawarden,

** Mr. Edw. Peal, of Compton,

** Mr. Andrew Pern, of Wilby, Northampton,

** Mr. John Philips, Wrentham,

** Mr. Benj. Pickering, East Hoatly, * Mr. Samuel de la Place, Minist. of the French Church,

** Mr. Will. Price, of St. Paul's Covent Garden, John Prideaux, D. D. Bishop of Worcester,

Mr. Nicolas Proffet, of Marlborough, Mr. John Pyne, of Bereferrars,

Mr. William Rathband, of Highgate, ** Mr. William Reyner, B. D. Egham,

** Edw. Reynolds, of Brampton, D.D. afterw. Bp. Norwich,

... Mr. Arthur Salway, Severn Stoke,

Rob. Saunderson, D. D. afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, ** Mr. Henry Scudder, of Colingbourne,

** Lazarus Seaman. B. D. of Lond. M. Peter Hall. Camb.

** Mr. Obadiah Sedgwick, B. D. Coggeshall, suchoi

Mr. Jolias

King Charles L 1643.

Mr. Josias Shute, B. D. Lombard-Street,

** The Rev. Mr. Sydrach Sympson, London,

** Peter Smith, D. D. of Barkway,

** William Spurstow, D. D. of Hampden,
** Edmund Staunton, D. D. of Kingston.

** Mr. Peter Sterry, London,

** Mr. John Strickland, B. D. New Sarum, superadded,

** Matth. Styles, D. D. Eastcheap,

* Mr. Strong, Westminster, superadded.

* Mr. Strong, Westminster, superadded, ** Mr. Francis Taylor, A. M. Yalding,

** Tho. Temple, D. D. of Battersey,

** Mr. Tho. Thoroughgood, Massingham,

** Mr. Christoph. Tisdale, Uphurst Bourne,

* Mr Henry Tozer, B. D. Oxon,

** Henry Tuckney, D. D. of Boston, afterwards Master of Saint John's Coll. Oxon, and Regius Professor,

** Mr. Tho. Valentiue, B. D. Chalfort, Saint Giles's,

** Mr. Rich. Vines, A, M. of Calcot. M. Pemb. H. Camb.
The most Rev. Dr. James Usher, Archb. of Armagh,

** Mr. George Walker, B. D. St. John Evans, Samuel Ward, D. D. Master of Sidney Coll. Camb.

** Mr. John Wallis, afterwards D. D. and Scribe,

** Mr. John Ward, superadded, Mr. James Welby, Sylatten,

* Thomas Westfield, D. D. Bishop of Bristol,

** Mr. Jeremiah Whitaker, A. M. Stretton, Mr. Francis Whiddon, Moreton,

** Henry Wilkinson, sen. D. D. Waddesdon, afterwards
Margaret Professor, Oxon,

** Mr. Henry Wilkinson, jun. B. D. St. Dunstans,

** Mr. Tho. Wilfon, Otham,

* Tho. Wincop, D. D. Elefworth,

** John Wincop, D. D. St. Martin's in the Fields,

** Mr. Francis Woodcock, Proctor of the Univ. of Camb.

** Mr. Thomas Young, Stow Market.

Ministers from Scotland.

** M. Alexander Henderson,

** Mr. George Gillespie,

** Mr. Samuel Rutherford,

* Mr. Robert Bayly.

Before the Assembly sat, the King by his royal Proclamation of June 22, forbid their meeting, for the purposes therein mentioned; and declared, that no Acts done King Charles I. 1643. by them ought to be received by his Subjects; he also threatened to proceed against them with the utmost severity of the law; nevertheless, Sixty nine assembled in King Henry the Seventh's Chapel the first day, according to summons, not in their canonical Habits, but chiefly in black Coats and Bands, in imitation of the foreign Protestants. Few of the Episcopal Divines appeared, and those, after some time withdrew, for the following reasons.

Reasons of the Episcopal Divines against the Assembly. Obj. 1. "Because the Assembly was prohibited by the "royal Proclamation; which Dr. Twisse in his Sermon, at the opening the Assembly lamented, but hoped in due

time his Majesty's confent might be obtained,

Answ. To which it was replied, "That the Constitution" at present was dissolved; that there were two sovereign contending Powers in the Nation; and if the War in which the Parliament was engaged was just and necessary, they might assume this branch of the prerogative,

till the Nation was fettled, as well as any other.

Obj. 2. "Because the Members of the Assembly were "not chosen by the Clergy, and therefore could not appear as their representatives.

Answ. To which it was answered, "That the Assembly was not designed for a National Synod, or Representa-

"tive Body of the Clergy, but only as a Committee, or Council to the Parliament, to give their opinion touching

"fuch Church matters as the Houses should lay before them; they had no power of themselves to make Laws

or Canons, or to determine controversies in matters of Faith, They were to enter upon no business but what

"the Parliament appointed, and when they had done they were to offer it to the two Houses only as their humble

"Advice; and furely the Parliament might choose their own Council, without being obliged to depend upon the

" nomination of the Clergy.

Obj. 3. "But as great an exception as any, was their dislike of the Company, and of the Business they were to transact; there was a Mixture of Laity with the Clergy; the Divines were for the most part of a puritanical Stamp, and enemies to the Hierarchy: and their business (they apprehended) was to pull down that which

" they would uphold.

Aniw, "This being not designed for a legal Convocation, but for a Council to the Parliament in the Reformation of the Church, they apprehended they had a power to join some of their own Members with

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Charles I.

1643.

" fuch a Committee or Council, without intrenching upon "the Rights of Convocation .- The Divines, except the "Scots and French, were in Episcopal Orders, educated "in our own Universities, and most of them Graduates; " their business was only to advise about such points of " Doctrine and Church Discipline as should be laid before "them, in which the Episcopal Divines might have been " of fervice, if they had continued with the Assembly, to

" which they were most earnestly invited."

I believe no fet of Clergy fince the beginning of Christianity have suffered so much in their Characters and Reputations, as these, for their Advices to the two Houses of Parliament. In his Majesty's Proclamation of June 22, the Character of far greatest part of them are said to be men of no Learn-the Assembly. ing or Reputation. Lord Clarendon admits, " about twen- Vol. I. "ty of them were reverend and worthy persons, and Epis- p. 530. " copal in their Judgments; but as to the Remainder, they were but Pretenders in Divinity; fome were infa-"mous in their Lives and Conversations, and most of "them of very mean parts and learning, if not of fcanda-" lous Ignorance, and of no other Reputation than of "Malice to the Church of England." His Lordship would infinuate, that they understood not the original Text, because the learned Mr. Selden sometimes corrected the English Translation of their little Pocket Bibles, and put them into confusion, by his uncommon acquaintance with Jewish Antiquities; as if that great Man would have treated a Convocation with no more decency or respect. But Archbishop Laud's account is still more extravagant; for though 'tis notorious the Affembly would not allow a toleration to those whom they called Sectaries, yet his Grace fays, "The greatest part of them were Brownists, or In-" dependants or New England Ministers, if not worse, or " at best enemies to the Doctrine and Discipline of the " Church of England;" whereas in truth there were not above fix Independants in the Assembly, and not one New England Minister that I know of. If the Reader will carefully peruse the Lift, he will find in it some of the most confiderable Lawyers and ablest Divines of the last age; and though they might have mistaken notions of Church Discipline, and were no better acquainted with the Rights of Conscience and private Judgment, than their predecesfors the Bishops, yet with all their faults, impartial Posterity will admit the far greatest number were Men of exemplary Piety and Devotion, who had a real zeal for the VOL. III. Glory

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King Charles I. 1643. Glory of God, and the Purity of the Christian Faith and Practice. Mr. Eachard contesses, that Lord Clarendon had perhaps, with too much severity said, that some of these Divines were infamous in their Lives and Characters; but Mr. Baxter, who was better acquainted with them than his Lordship, or any of his followers, adds, "That they were Men of eminent Learning, Godliness, ministerial Abilities, and Fidelity."

The Affembly opens.

The Assembly was opened on Saturday July 1, with a Sermon preached by Dr. Twisse in King Henry the VIIth's Chapel, both Houses of Parliament being present. The Ordinance for their Convention was then read, and the names of the Members called over, after which they adjourned to Monday, and agreed on the following Rules.

Rules agreed to by the Affembly. (1.) " That every Session begin and end with Prayer.

(2.) " That after the first Prayer the Names of the Af" fembly be called over, and those that are absent marked;

a bassavoras, ave contributo at the

" but if any Member comes in afterwards he shall have

" liberty to give in his name to the Scribes.

(3.) "That every Member before his admission to sit and

" vote do take the following Vow or Protestation.

I A. B. do feriously and folemnly, in the Presence of Almighty God, declare that in this Assembly whereof

"I am Member, I will not maintain any thing in matter

" of Doctrine but what I believe in my Conscience to be most agreeable to the Word of God; or in point of

" Discipline, but what I shall conceive to conduce most

" to the Glory of God, and the Good and Peace of his "Church."

And to refresh their Memories this Protestation was read in the Assembly every Monday Morning.

(4.) "That the appointed hour of Meeting be ten in the Morning; the Afternoon to be referved for Com-

mittees.

(5.) "That three of the Members of the Affembly be appointed weekly as Chaplains, one to the House of Lords, another to the House of Commons, and a third to the Committee of both Kingdoms." The usual Method was to take it by turns, and every Friday the Chaplains were appointed for the following Week.

Thomas Ch. Louis Mail Va (6.)

(6.) "That all the Members of the Assembly have li-" berty to be covered, except the Scribes;" who some time after had also this Liberty indulged them.

King 1643.

Besides these, the Parliament on Thursday following sent them some further Regulations. As,

(1.) "That two Assessors be joined with the Prolocutor, Regulations to supply his Place in case of Absence or Sickness, (viz.) the Parlia-

Dr. Cornelius Burges and the Reverend Mr. John White ment.

of Dorchester.

(2.) "That Scribes be appointed, who are not to vote " in the Assembly, viz. the Reverend Mr. Roborough and

" Mr. Byfield.

(3.) " That every Member at his first entrance into the "Affembly take the forementioned Protestation.

(4.) " That no Resolution be given upon any Question

the fame day wherein it was first proposed.

(5.) "What any Man undertakes to prove as a necessary " Truth in Religion he shall make good from the Holy

" Scriptures.

(6.) " No Man shall proceed in any dispute, after the "Prolocutor has enjoined him filence, unless the Assembly

" defire he may go on.

(7.) "No Man shall be denied the liberty of entering his " Diffent from the Assembly, with his Reasons for it, after " the point has been debated; from whence it shall be " transmitted to Parliament, when either House shall

" require it.

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(8.) "All things agreed upon, and prepared for the " Parliament, shall be openly read, and allowed in the " Affembly, and then offered as their Judgment, if the " Majority affent; provided, that the opinions of the " Persons dissenting, with their Reasons, be annexed, if " they defire it, and the Solution of those Reasons by the

" Affembly."

The Proceedings being thus fettled, the Parliament fent the Allembly an Order to review the XXXIX Articles of the Church; but before they enter'd upon business they petitioned the two Houses for a Fast. Upon which Bishop Kennet passes the following severe Censure, " Impartially " speaking, 'tis stufft with Schism, Sedition and Cruelty, I will therefore fet the Substance of the Petition before the Reader in their own Language, that he may form his own Judgment upon it, and upon the State of the Nation

To

King Charles I. 1643

To the Right Honourable the Lords and Commons affembled in Parliament,

The humble Petition of divers Ministers of Christ, in the Name of themselves, and fundry others,

Afferably's Petition for a Fast. Rushw. Vol. V. P. 344: Humbly sheweth,

"THAT your Petitioners upon serious consideration,

and deep Sense of God's heavy Wrath lying upon

us, and hanging over our heads, and the whole Nation,

manifested particularly by the two late sad and unex
pected defeats of our Forces in the North and in the

West, do apprehend it to be our duty, as Watchmen

for the good of the Church and Kingdom, to present to

your religious and prudent Consideration these ensuing

Requests, in the Name of Jesus Christ, your Lord and

ours.

First, "That you would be pleased to command a pub-"lick and extraordinary Day of Humiliation this Week, "throughout the Cities of London and Westminster, the "Suburbs of both, and places adjacent within the weekly

"Bills of Mortality, that every one may bitterly bewail his own fins, and cry mightily to God, for Christ sake, to remove his Wrath, and to heal the Land; with pro-

" fessedly new Resolution of more full Performance of the

14 late Covenant, for the Amendment of our Ways.

Secondly, "That you would vouchfafe inftantly to take into your most serious Consideration, how you may more speedily set up Christ more gloriously in all his Ordinances within this Kingdom, and reform all things amiss

"throughout the Land, wherein God is more specially, and more immediately dishonoured, among which we

humbly lay before you these particulars.

1. "That the brutish Ignorance, and palpable Darkness" possessing the greatest part of the People, in all Places of the Kingdom may be remedied, by a speedy and strict Charge to all Ministers, constantly to catechize all the Youth and ignorant People within their Parishes.

2. "That the grievous and heinous Pollution of the Lord's Supper, by those who are grosly ignorant, and notoriously profane, may be henceforth with all Christian

" Care, and due Circumspection prevented.

3. "That the bold venting of corrupt Doctrines, direct14 ty contrary to the facred Law of God, may be speedily
15 suppressed.
16 That

4. "That the profanation of any part of the Lord's Charles I. day, and the days of folemn fasting, by buying, felling, working, sporting, travelling, or neglecting of God's Ordinances, may be remedied, by appointing special Officers in every place for the due Execution of all good Laws and Ordinances against the same.

That there may be a thorough and speedy proceeding against blind Guides, and scandalous Ministers; and
that your Wisdom would find out some way to admit into the Ministry such godly and hopeful Men as have prepared themselves, and are willing thereunto, without
which there will suddenly be such a scarcity of able and
faithful Ministers, that it will be to little purpose to
cast out such as are unable, idle, or scandalous.

" That the Laws may be quickened against swearing and drunkenness, with which the Land is filled and defi-

se led, and under which it mourns.

7. That some severe Course be taken against Formication, Adultery and Incest, which do greatly abound.

8. "That all Monuments of Idolatry and Superstition, but more especially the whole body and practice of Popery, may be totally abolished.

9. "That justice may be executed on all Delinquents,

" according to your religious Vow and protestation to that

Purpose.

10. "That all possible means may be used for the speedy relief and release of our miserable, and extreamly differested Brethren, who are prisoners in Oxford, York, and elsewhere, whose heavy Sufferings cry aloud in the Ears of our God; and it would lie very heavy on the Kingdom should it miscarry, suffering as they do for the

" Cause of God.

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"That so God, who is now by the Sword avenging the quarrel of his Covenant, beholding your integrity and zeal, may turn from the fierceness of his Wrath, hear our Prayers, go forth with our Armies, perfect the Work of Reformation, forgive our fins, and settle truth and peace throughout the Kingdom.

" And your Petitioners shall ever pray, &c."

Pursuant to this Petition, Friday, July 27, was appointed for a Fast, when the Reverend Mr. Bowles and Newcomen preached before both Houses of Parliament and the Assembly

E 3

Charles I. nity in all the Churches within the limits above-men-

Alterations in the XXXIX Articles

Next day a Committee of Divines was appointed to confider what amendments were proper to be made in the doctrinal Articles of the Church of England, and report them to the Assembly, who were ten Weeks in debating upon the first fifteen, before the arrival of the Scots Commissioners; the design was to render their sense more express and determinate in favour of Calvinism. 'Tis not necessary to trouble the Reader with the theological debates; but the Articles, as they were new modell'd, being rarely to be met with, I have placed them in the Appendix, with the original Articles of the Church, in opposite Columns, that the Reader by comparing them may judge, whether the Alterations are for the better or not.

Cenfures of Antinomianifm.

Appendix, No. I.

As the Assembly were for strengthening the Doctrines of the Chnrch against Arminianism, they were equally solicitous to guard against the opposite extream of Antinomianism, for which purpose they appointed a Committee to peruse the Writings of Dr. Crisp, Eaton, Saltmarsh, and others; who having drawn out some of their most dangerous positions, reported them to the Assembly, where they were not only condemned, but consuted in their publick Sermons and Writings.

Parliament and Affemby apply to the Scots.

At this time the interest of the Parliament was so reduced that they were obliged to call in the affifiance of the Scots. The Conservators of the Peace of that Kingdom had appointed a Convention of the States, June 22, under pretence of securing their Country against the power of the Royal Army in the North; and a general Assembly, Aug. 2d, to confider the Stat of Religion. His Majesty would have forbid their meeting, but that being impracticable, he gave orders to limit their Confultations to the concerns of their own Country; but the Parliament of England fent the Earl of Rutland, Sir William Armyn, Sir H. Vane, Mr. Hatcher, Mr. Darley, and two Divines from Westminster, (viz.) Mr. Marshal and Mr. Nye, with Letters to each of these Assemblies, desiring their assistance in the War, and the affistance of some of their Divines with those at Westminster, to settle an Uniformity of Religion and Church Government for the two Nations. To enforce these requests they delivered a Letter from the Assembly, " Setting forth the deplorable condition of the Kingdom of England, which was upon the Edge of a most desperate

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Rushw. Vol. V. p. 463, 466,

Charles L.

1643.

"Precipice, ready to be swallowed up by Satan and his instruments; they represent the cruelty of their Ene-" mies against such as fall into their hands, being armed " against them, not only as Men, but as Christians, as "Protestants, and as Reformers; and that if they should " he given up to their rage, they fear it will endanger the " fafety of all the Protestant Churches. In a deeper sense

of this danger (fay they) than we can express, we address "you in the Bowels of Christ, for your most fervent Pray-" ers and Advice, what further to do for the making our

" own and the Kingdom's peace with God, and for the " uniting the Protestant Party more firmly, that we may all " ferve God with one confent, and stand up against Anti-" christ as one Man."

The Commissioners arrived at Edinburgh Aug. o, and were favourably received by the Affembly, who propofed, as a Preliminary, that the two Nations should enter into a perpetual Covenant for themselves and their Posterity. that all things might be done in God's House according to his Will; and having appointed some of their number to confult with the English Commissioners about a proper form,

they chose Delegates for the Westminster Assembly, and unanimously advised the Convention of States to affift the Parliament in the War, for the following Reasons.

1. " Because they apprehended the War was for Religi- Reasons of "on. 2. Because the Protestant Faith was in danger. the G. Af " 3. Gratitude for former Affiltances at the time of the scotland for "Scots Reformation, required a fuitable Return. 4. Be-affitting the cause the Churches of Scotland and England being im-English Par-" barked in one bottom, if one be ruined the other can't Rushw.

" fubfift, 5. The prospect of an uniformity between the vol. v. p. " two Kingdoms in Discipline and Worship will strengthen 472.

" the Protestant Interest at home and abroad. 6. The " present Parliament had been friendly to the Scots, and " might be so again. 7. Though the King had so lately

" established their Religion according to their desires, yet

" they could not confide in his Royal Declarations, having " so often found " facta verbis contraria."

The Instructions of the Commissioners sent to the Assembly at Westminster, were to promote the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, Herefy, Schisin, Scepticism and Idolatry, and to endeavour an Union between the two Kingdoms in one Confession of Faith, one form of Church Government, and one Directory of Worship.

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Bithon

Bishop

1643.1 Committee frame a Solemn League and Covenant. Hamil. M. p. 239.

The Committee for drawing up the folemn League and Covenant delivered it into the Affembly, Aug. 17, where it was read, and highly applauded, by the Ministers and Lay-Elders, none oppoling it but the King's Commissionappointed to ers; fo that it pass'd both the Assembly and Convention in one day, and was dispatched next morning to Westminster, with a letter to the two Houles, wishing that it might be confirmed, and folemnly fworn, and fubscribed in both Kingdoms, as the furest and strictest Obligation to make them stand and fall together in the cause of Religion and biberty, and the Lingdom's page with God, condytage

Mr. Marshal and Nye's Letter to the Affembly at Wellminfter.

Mr. Marshal and Nye in their letter to the Assembly of Aug. 18, affure their Brethren, the Scots Clergy were entirely on the fide of the Parliament in this quarrel, against the Popish and Episcopal Faction; that there were between twenty and thirty of the prime Nobility prefent when the Covenant pass'd the Convention; and that even the King's Commissioners confessed, that in their private capacity they were for it, though as his Majesty's Commissioners they were bound to oppose it. So that if the English Parliament (fay they) comply with the form of this Covenant, we are perswaded the whole body of the Scots Kingdom will live and die with them, and speedily come to their assistance.

Debates upon it.

When their Commissioners arrived at London they prefented the Covenant to the two Houses, who referred it to the Assembly of Divines, where it met with some little oppolition; Dr. Featly declared, he durft not abjure Prelacy absolutely, because he had sworn to obey his Bishop in all things lawful and honest, and therefore proposed to qualify the second Article thus, " I will endeavour the extirpation of Popery, and all Antichristian, Tyrannical, or Independent Prelacy;" but it was carried against him. Dr. Burges objected to feveral Articles, and was not without some difficulty persuaded to subscribe, after he had been fuspended. The Prolocutor, Mr. Gataker, and many others, declared for primitive Episcopacy, or for "One " flated President with his Presbyters to govern every " Church;" and refused to subscribe till a Parenthesis was inferted, declaring what fort of Prelacy was to be abjured, (viz.) [Church Government by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other ecelefialtical Officers depending upon them. The Scots, who had been introduced into the Assembly Sept. 14, were for abjuring Episcopacy as simply unlawful, but the English Divines were generally against it.

Abridg. p. 81.

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Bishop Burnet says, our Commissioners pressed chiefly for a Civil League, but the Scots would have a Religious Charles L One, to which the English were obliged to yield, but took care, at the same time, to leave a Door open for a Latitude Hamil. M. of Interpretation. Sir Henry Vane put the Word League P. 237, 240. into the Title, as thinking that might be broken fooner than a Covenant; and in the first Article he inferted that general phrase, of Reforming " according to the Word of "God;" by which the English thought themselves secure. from the Inroads of Presbytery; but the Scots relied upon the next Words, "And according to the Practice of the best "Reformed Churches;" in which they were confident their Discipline must be included. When Mr. Coleman read the Covenant before the House of Lords, in order to their subfcribing it, he declared, That by Prelacy all forts of Epifcopacy was not intended, but only the Form therein described. Thus the wife Men on both fides endeavoured to outwit each other in wording the Articles; and with these slight amendments the Covenant passed the Assembly, and both Houses of Parliament; and by an order dated September 21." was printed and published as follows:

"Encerior: abo Reformation of Religion in the Kingdoms ." A Solemn League and Covenant for Reformation, and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happiness of the King. and the Peace and Safety of the three Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland. 30 1 100 run renna land ave

there knightens to the scoret Conjuction and Uni-W E Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Ci-The Solemn tizens, Burgesses, Ministers of the Gospel, and League and "Commons of all Sorts, in the Kingdoms of England, Rushw. "Scotland, and Ireland, by the Providence of God, living Vol. v. " under one King, and being of one Reformed Religion, P. 478. "having before our Eyes the Glory of God, and the ad-" vancement of the Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus "Christ, the Honour and Happiness of the King's Maje-" fty, and his Prosperity, and the true publick Liberty, "Safety and Peace of the Kingdoms, wherein every one's "private Condition is included; and calling to Mind the "treacherous and bloody Plots, Conspiracies, Attempts, " and Practices of the Enemies of God, against the true "Religion, and Professors thereof in all Places, especial-" ly in these three Kingdoms, ever since the Reforma-"tion of Religion; and how much their Rage, Power, and Presumption, are of late, and at this time encreased and exercised, whereof the deplorable Estate of the Church

" and Kingdom of Ireland, the diffressed Estate of the Church and Kingdom of England, and the dangerous Estate of the Church and Kingdom of Scotland, are prefent and publick Testimonies; we have (now at last) after other means of Supplication, Remonstrance, Protestations, and Sufferings, for the prefervation of our Lives, " and our Religion, from utter Ruin and Destruction, according to the commendable practice of these Kingdoms in former times, and the Example of God's People in 4 other Nations, after mature deliberation, resolved and determined to enter into a mutual and folemn League and "Covenant, wherein we all subscribe, and each one of us "for himself, with our Hands lifted up to the most high-Covenant before the House of Lines, in About of Covenant transcool terlung it, he declared, That by Polacy all fore of Prof-

copacy was not intended, but doly the Form therein deferib-That we shall fincerely, really, and constantly, 4 through the Grace of God, endeavour in our feveral Places and Gallings, the prefervation of the Reformed "Religion in the Church of Scotland, in Doctrine, Wor-" fhip, Discoline and Government, against our common Enemies: the Reformation of Religion in the Kingdoms of England and Ireland, in Doctrine, Worthip, Difcioline and Government, according to the Word of God. and the example of the best Reformed Churches; and we shall endeavour to bring the Church of God in the " three Kingdoms to the nearest Conjunction, and Uniformity in Religion, Confession of Faith, Form of Church Government, Directory for Worship, and Catechifing, that we, and our Posterity after us, may, as Brethren, live in Faith and Love, and the Lord may delight to dwell Are seein the midth of us. one to said has mare sale should Edwinder betaingout Free the Clory of Cod, and che ad-

Stangement of the Kingdom Handson and Sationa Jeffis "That we shall in like manner, without respect of Perfons, endeavour the Extirpation of Popery, Prelacy (that " is Church Government by Archbishops, Bishops, " their Chancellors and Commissaries, Deans, Deans and "Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other Ecclefiastical Of-" ficers depending on that Hierarchy) Superstition, Herefy, Schism, Profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to " be contrary to found Doctrine, and the Power of God-" liness, lest we partake in other Men's Sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their Plagues; and that ont ?" except edervisor of the deplotable Effatoof the Courter

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46 the Lord may be one, and his Name one, in the three "Kingdoms, m, smerey of the armond with only record " and anomument thought and feel for the bear thought and the contract the contract

King Charles L 1643.

workely or and celler by. Heatilievec Combination Per-"We shall with the same Reality, Sincerity and Confancy, in our feveral Vocations, endeavour with our " Estates and Lives, mutually to preserve the Rights and " Privileges of the Parliaments, and the Liberties of the "Kingdoms, and to preferve and defend the King's Ma-" jesty's Person and Authority, in the Preservation and " defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the King-"doms, that the World may bear Witness with our Con-" sciences of our Loyalty, and that we have no Thoughts " or Intentions to diminish his Majesty's just Power and "Greatness, later ban though the A are semiorare

it error be timely progented or removed.

We shall also with all faithfulness, endeavour the dif-"covery of all fuch as have been, or shall be Incendia-" ries, Malignants, or evil Instruments, by hindring the "Reformation of Religion, dividing the King from his "People, or one of the Kingdoms from another, or mak-"ing any Factions or Parties among the People, contrary " to the League and Covenant, that they may be brought " to publick Trial, and receive condign punishment, as " the degree of their Offences shall require or deserve, " or the supream Judicatories of both Kingdoms respec-" tively, or others having power from them for that Effect, " shall judge convenient. right too late and the nevert **

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or was to Vest and all or action was the four "And whereas the Happiness of a blessed Peace be-"tween these Kingdoms, denied in former times to our " Progenitors, is by the good Providence of God grant-" ed unto us, and has been lately concluded and fettled by " both Parliaments, we shall, each one of us according " to our Places and Interests, endeavour that they may re-" main conjoined in a firm Peace and Union to all Poste-" rity, and that Justice may be done on all the wilful Op-" pofers thereof, iu manner expressed in the precedent "Afticles, and solarly vidental store photobils

ber the Wolf boing to the end, and tires and pr. IVedings with fuch buccefs, as

"We shall also, according to our Places and Call-" ings, in this common Cause of Religion, Liberty, and Charles L. 1645.

Peace of the Kingdom, affift and defendual those that " enter into this League and Covenant, in the maintaining and pursuing thereof; and shall not suffer ourselves, of directly or indirectly, by whatfoever Combination, Perwafion, or Terror, to be divided and withdrawn from this bleffed Union and Conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or, give ourselves to a of detestable indifferency or neutrality in this Cause which of fo much concerneth the Glory of God, the good of the Mingdoms, and honour of the King; but shall, all the days of our Lives, zealoutly, and constantly continue therein against all opposition, and promote the fame acstricording to our power, against all Lets and Impediments Mwhatfoever; and what we are not able ourfelves to fupor press or overcome, we shall reveal and make known, that " it may be timely prevented or removed.

And because these Kingdoms are guilty of many Sins, and Provocations against God, and his Son Jefus Chrift, as is too manifest by our present distresses and dangers, the Fruits thereof, we profess and declare before God and the World, our unfeigned defire to be humbled for our own Sins, and for the Sins of these Kingdoms; espe-If cially that we have not, as we ought, valued the inesti-& mable benefit of the Gospel; that we have not labour-"ed for the purity and power thereof; and that we have onot endeavoured to receive Christ in our hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in our Lives, which are the Caufe " of other Sins and Transgressions, so much abounding amongst us; and our true and unfeigned purpose, defire, and endeavour for our felves, and all others under our se charge, both in publick and private, in all duties we " owe to God and Man; to amend our lives, and each one " to go before another in the example of a real Reformation, that the Lord may turn away his Wrath and heavy Indignation, and establish these Churches and Kingdoms 15 in truth and peace. And this Covenant we make in the Presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all Hearts, with a true intention to perform the same, as we shall " answer at that great Day, when the Secrets of all Hearts " shall be disclosed; most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen us by his Holy Spirit for this end, and " to bless our desires and proceedings with such Success, as may be a deliverance and Safety to his People, and encouragement to the Christian Churches, groaning under, Done I

or in danger of the yoke of Antichristian Tyranny, to King join with the same, or like Attestation and Covenant, to Charles I. the Glory of God, the enlargement of the Kingdom of

" Jesus Christ, and the peace and tranquility of Christian

"Kingdoms and Commonwealths." dry and and the

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Monday, September 25, was appointed for fubicribing Manner of this Covenant, when both Houses, with the Scots Com-taking it. missioners, and Assembly of Divines, being met in the Church of St. Margaret's Westminster, the Reverend Mr. White of Dorchefter opened the Solemnity with Prayer; after him Mr. Henderson and Mr. Nye spoke in justification of taking the Covenant from Scripture Precedents, and displayed the advantage the Church had received from fuch facred combinations. Mr. Henderson spoke next, Rushw. and declared, that the States of Scotland had refolved Vol. V. to affift the Parliament of England in carrying on the P. 475ends and defigns of this Covenant; then Mr. Nye read it from the Pulpit with an audible voice, article by article, each person standing uncovered, with his right hand lifted up bare to Heaven, worshipping the great Name of God, and fwearing to the performance of it. Dr. Gouge concluded this folemnity with prayer, after which the House of Com-. 324 49 mons went up into the Chancel and subscribed their names in one roll of parchment, and the Assembly in another, in both which the Covenant was fairly transcribed. Lord's Day following it was tendered to all persons within the Bills of Mortality, being read in the several Churches to their Congregations as above. Octob. 15, it was taken by the House of Lords, after a Sermon preached by Dr. Temple, from Nehemiah x. 29. and an Exhortation by Mr. Coleman. October 29, it was ordered by the Committee of Hamil Mi States in Scotland to be sworn to, and subscribed all over p. 240. the Kingdom, on penalty of the Confiscation of Goods and Rents, and fuch other punishment as his Majesty and the Parliament should inslict on the Refusers. All the Lords of the Council were fummoned to fign the Covenant Nov. 2, and those who did not, to appear again, the 14th of the fame month, under the feverest Penalties, when some of the King's Party not attending were declared enemies to Religion, and to their King and Country; Nov. 17. their Goods were ordered to be feized, and their Persons apprehended; upon which they fled into England. Such was the unbounded zeal of that Nation; February 2, following,

and the state of the same

King

the Covenant was ordered to be taken throughout the Kingdom of England, by all Persons above the age of eighteen years; and the Affembly were commanded to draw up an Exhortation to dispose people to it, which being approved by both Houses, was published under the Title of

An Exhortation to the taking of the Solemn League and Covenant, for Reformation and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happiness of the King, and the Peace and Safety of the three Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland, and for fatisfying fuch Scruples as may arise in the taking of it; affented to by the House, and ordered of reging the Cineman from Schools to be printed.

Die Veneris, Feb. 9, 1643.

taking the Selema League and Vol. V. P. 475. Husb. Coll.

P. 424-

An Exhorta- " IF the power of Religion, or folid Reason; if Loyalty tion to the " to the King, and Piety to their native Country, or " Love to themselves, and natural Affection to their Poste-" rity; if the Example of Men touched with a deep Sense " of all these; or extraordinary success from God there-46 upon, can awaken an embroiled bleeding Remnant to " embrace the fovereign and only means of their recovery, " there can be no doubt but this Solemn League and Co-" venant will find, wherefoever it shall be tender'd, a " People ready to entertain it with all chearfulness and ee duty.

"And were it not commended to the Kingdom by the " concurrent encouragement of the honourable Houses of " Parliament, the Assembly of Divines, the renowned "City of London, multitudes of other persons of eminent " rank and quality of this Nation, the whole Body of " Scotland, who have all willingly fworn and fubscribed it with rejoicing at the Oath, fo graciously seconded from " Heaven already, by blafting the Counfels, and breaking " the power of the enemy more than ever, yet it goeth " forth in its own ftrength with fuch convincing evidence " of Equity, Truth, and Righteousness, as may raise in " all (not wilfully ignorant, or miserably seduced) inflamed affections to join with their Brethren in this happy " bond, for putting an end to the int Miseries, and for " faving both King and Kingdom inch utter ruin, now fo " strongly and openly laboured by the Popish Faction, and " fuch as have been bewitched and befotted by that viper-" ous and bloody Generation----

Kirte

Charles L. 1647

It then proceeds to answer objections against taking the Covenant; as, and I he is the is something and their Country is

Obj. 1. That " it obliges to the Extirpation of Prelacy, " which stands as yet by the known Laws of the Land.

Answ. The Life and Soul of the Hierarchy is already taken away; nothing of Jurisdiction remaining; and fince 'tis but a human Constitution, if it be found a grievance, we may certainly endeavour its extirpation in a lawful way.

Obj. 2. " 'Tis faid to be inconsistent with the Oath of

toma in vision aroma Dala ?

" Canonical Obedience.

Answ. If Men have sworn Obedience to the Laws of the Land, may they not endeavour by lawful means the repealing those Laws, if they are found inconvenient? or, if any Ministers have taken oaths not warranted by the Laws of God and the Land, ought they not to repent of them?

Obj. 3. " But the Covenant crosses the Oaths of Supre-

" macy and Allegiance.

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Answ. This is false, for it binds to the preservation of the King's Person and Authority, in the defence of the Religion and Liberties of the Kingdom.

Obj. 4. "But it is done without the King's confent.

Answ. So was the Protestation of May 5, which went through the whole Kingdom, his Majesty not excepting against it, though he was then at Whitehall. The same has been done by the united Netherlands under King Philip; and more lately in Scotland, his Majesty himself declaring by Act of Parliament, that they had done nothing but what

became loyal and obedient Subjects.

Dr. Barwick says, That some persons in the University It is answerof Cambridge, published an Answer to this Exhortation, ed. which I have not feen; but if the Reader will look for- Barwick, ward to the year 1647, he will find the Reasons of the p. 35. University of Oxford against it, confirmed in Convocation, the validity of which he will judge of for himself. 'Tis certain most of the religious part of the Nation, who apprehended the Protestant Religion in danger, and were defirous of reducing the Hierarchy of the Church, were zealous for the Covenant. Others took it only in obedience to the Parliament, being fenfible of the distressed Circum-Rapin, stances of their affairs, and that the affistance of the Scots Vol. XII. was to be obtained on no other terms. But as it was a p. 13. test of a mixed nature, and contained some obligations upon Conscience, which wife and honest men might scru-

ple ther after ancies given, thall be retorned as Reinhers.

ple, who were otherwise well affected to the Protestant Religion, and the Liberties of their Country; the impofing it as a test was not to be justified, though it appears most of the Episcopal Divines who made the greatest figure in the Church after the Restoration did not refuse it.

Together with the Exhortation of the Assembly, the following Orders and Instructions were dispersed over the

Kingdom lolwel a he noisemuseeu movesbos vittieriss vant

for taking the Covenant in the Country. Husb. Coll. p. 420.

Intructions Ordered, "That Copies of the Covenant be fent to " all Commanders in chief, and Governors of Towns, Forts, Garrisons, and Soldiers, that it may be taken by

all Soldiers under their Command.

"That Copies be fent to the Committees of Parliament, in the feveral Counties that are under the power of the " Parliament, and that the Committees within fix Days disperse the said Copies, and cause them to be delivered to the Ministers. Church-wardens, or Constables of the " feveral Parishes.

That the feveral Ministers be required to read the Covenant to the People the next Lord's Day after they have

or prepared the People to take it.

"That the Committees of Parliament take it themselves within feven days after they have received the Copies; and then disperse themselves throughout their Counties, 66 fo as three or four of them may be together at the feveer ral places appointed for the People to take it. That "they fummon all the Ministers, Church-wardens, Constables, and other Officers, to that place, and after a Sermon preached by a Minister whom they shall " appoint, they shall cause the said Minister to ten-" der the Covenant to all fuch Ministers, and other Officers, to be taken and subscribed in the presence of the " Committee.

" The faid Ministers are then to be required to tender " the Covenant to all the rest of their Parishioners next " Lord's Day. And if any Minister refuse, or neglect to appear at the faid Summons, or refuse to take the faid "Covenant, the Committee shall appoint another Minister ious for the Coverage Milester ()

" to do it in his place.

" If any Minister refuse to take, or tender the Cove-" nant; or if any other person refuses to take it after a " fecond tender, upon two Lord's Days, their names shall " be returned to the Committee, and by them to the " House of Commons; and all persons that absent them-" selves after notice given, shall be returned as Refusers.

King . Charles I. The English in foreign parts were not exempted from this Test; directions were sent to Mr. Strickland, the Parliament's Agent at the Hague, to tender it to all the English in those Countries, and to certify the names of such as re- Whitlock, fused. Here the Elector Palatine took it, and after some Parl, Chr. time came into England, and condescended to sit in the As- p. 172. fembly of Divines. December 20, 1643, it was ordered Husb. Col. by the Lords and Commons, that no person should be cas p. 404 pable of being elected a Common Council Man of the City of London, or to much as have a voice in such Elections, who has not taken the Covenant. On the 29th of January, 1644, it was ordered by the Commons, that the Solemn League and Covenant be upon every day of fasting, and publick Humiliation, publickly read in every Church and Congregation within the Kingdom; and every Congregation is enjoined to have one fairly printed in a large letter, in a table fitted to be hung up in a publick place of the Church or Congregation, to be read by the people. All young Ministers were required to take the Covenant at their Ordination; none of the Laity were continued in any Office of Trust, neither Civil or Military, who refused it. When the War was ended, all the Noblemen, Knights, Gentlemen, and Officers who had opposed the Parliament, were obliged to submit to it, before they were admitted to composition. But notwithstanding all this severity, Dr. Calamy says, Mr. Abridg. p. Baxter kept his people from taking the Covenant, as fearing 104 it might be a fnare to their Consciences. Nay, he prevented its being much taken in the County he lived in, by keeping the Ministers from offering it to their People, except the City of Worcester, where he had no great interest.

The King could not be unacquainted with these proceed-King forbida ings, for the Covenant lay before the Parliament and As-it. sembly almost a month, during which time his Majesty took no publick notice of it; but a fortnight after it had been subscribed by both Houses, and by all the Clergy and Laity within the Bills of Mortality, he issued out the following Proclamation, dated from Oxford, Octob. 9, in the 19th

year of his Reign.

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By the King.

"WHEREAS there is a printed Paper, entitled Rushw.

"A Solemn League and Covenant, for Reforma-Vol. V.

"tion and Defence of Religion, &c." pretended to be P. 482.

"printed by order of the House of Commons, Sept. 21,

Vol. III.

"which



es which Covenant, though it feems to make fpecious exof pressions of Piety and Religion, is in truth nothing elfe but a traiterous and feditious Combination against us and the established Religion and Laws of this Kingdom, in purluance of a traiterous Delign and Endeavour to bring in foreign Force to invade this Kingdom : We do therefore straitly charge and command all our loving Suber legiance, that they prefume not to take the faid feditious and traiterous Covenant. And we do likewise hereby further inhibit and forbid all our Subjects to impose, administer, or tender the faid Covenant, as they, and eveer ry one of them, will answer the contrary at their utmost ss and extremest Perils."

> His Majesty sent the like Declaration into Scotland, but the States of that Kingdom paid no further regard to it, than to fend him the Reasons of their Conduct, with their Advice to his Majesty to take the Covenant himself.

The Influence it had on the Cler-Ey-

Great complaints have been made, and not without some Reason, of the Execution this Test did upon the King's Clergy throughout the Kingdom. It was a new Weapon put into the hands of the Committees, which enabled them with more ease and certainty to discover malignant or dis-affected Ministers; for instead of producing a number of Witnesses, as had been the method hitherto, they now tender'd rhe Covenant, which the others refusing, gave occasion to the general report, that the Clergy were turned out of their Livings " only for refusing the Covenant," whereas their Sequestration was grounded upon other Causes, or at least the Articles of Immorality or Difaffection to the Parliament, were almost always joined with it. When the Covenant passed through the Parliament Quarters, in some Towns it was neglected, in others the Incumbent avoided it, by withdrawing for a few Weeks, and getting another to officiate. Some that refused were displaced, and the names of those who absented were returned to the Parliament, but little or nothing came of it. The Writer of the Life of Bishop Saunderson says, that in the affociated Counties of Cambridgeshire, &c. all were rejected who refused the Covenant, that is, all to whom it was tender'd; for though it was pressed pretty closely in some places notorious for disaffection, in others, that had been quiet, it was but little regarded. The Earl of Manchester had particular instructions to tender the Covenant to the Cambridge Scholars.

King Charles L

Scholars, and yet the Commissioners imposed it only upon fuch who had adher'd to the King, or of whose disaffection they had fufficient proof; feveral who behaved peaceably being permitted to keep their places, who would certainly have refuled it. It has been observed, that Mr. Baxter prevented its being much taken in Worcestershire; and no doubt, there were men of moderation and influence who did the fame in other Counties. Those Clergymen who had declared for the King were usually put to the trial; but reputed Calvinists, of lober lives, who had stood neuter, were frequently overlooked; fo that the beneficed Clergy fuffered by the Covenant, rather as Parties in the War, than as Friends of the Hierarchy. However, it being a Religious Test, the imposing it was, in my opinion, unwarrantable, and a very great hardship, especially as it was for some time a door of entrance into ecclesiastical Preferments for such young Divines as had no concern in the War. A Test of a civil nature might have answered all the ends of civil Government, without burdening the consciences of Men with what had no relation to Liberty and Property ; but if the Puritan Powers bore hard upon the Loyalists in imposing the Covenant, the King's Clergy were even with them at the Restoration. when they obliged them publickly to abjure it, or quit their Livings in the Church.

The necessity of the King's Affairs having obliged him to King bringe arm the Papilts, and commission the Duke of Ormond to over Forces from Ireagree to a Cellation of Arms with the Irish Catholicks, in from Ire-order to draw off his Forces from thence, his Majesty fell p. 75, 76. under the suspicion of favouring that Religion, especially Rapin, p. when it appeared that not only the Protestant Soldiers, but Carend. the Irish Rebels were transported with them. Mr. Whit- Vol. II. lock fays, feveral of their Officers and Soldiers came over Part I. with the King's Army; that a month or two after, eight P. 414. hundred native Irish Rebels landed at Weymouth under the Lord Inchequin, and another party at Beaumaris, which committed great spoils, destroying with Fire what they could not carry off. Another party landed near Chester under the Earl of Cork, and fifteen hundred were cast away at Sea: These Wretches brought hither the same savage disposition as they had discovered in their own Country; they plundered and killed people in cold Blood, observing neither the Rules of Honour nor the Laws of The Scots Forces in the North of Ireland enter'd into a Confederacy to stand by each other against the Ceffation, the Parliament of England protested against it,

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King Charles I. 1643. and published a Declaration informing the World, that his Majesty had broke through his Royal Promise, of leaving the Irish War to them; they forbid all Masters of Ships to bring over any Officers or Soldiers, on penalty of the Forfeiture of their Vessels, and gave Letters of Mart to Merchants and others, who would fit out Ships at their own expence, impowering them to take to their own profit all such Ships and Goods as they should meet coming over with Soldiers or warlike Stores for the King. Next year an Ordinance was published, that no Quarter should be given to any Irish Papist taken in Arms against the Parliament; all Officers were to except them out of their Capitulations, and upon making them Prisoners were immediately to put them to death.

Iil Confequences of it.
Rushw. p. 383.

This unhappy management of the King elienated the affections of great numbers of his Friends who had the Protestant Religion at heart; many who wished well to his perfon deferted him upon this occasion, and made their peace with the Parliament, as the Earls of Holland, Bedford, Clare, Carlisle, Sir Edward Deering, and others; this last Gentleman published the Reasons of his conduct to the World, the chief of which were, the Irish Cessation; his Majesty's preferring popish Officers to chief places of Trust and Honour; and the language of the Oxford Clergy and others, "That the King should come no other way to his " Palace but by Conquest." There was certainly a very malignant Spirit among those Gentlemen at this time, as appears by their form of thanksgiving, or rather imprecation, for the taking of Bristol, and the Success of the Earl of Newcastle's Army in the North; "O Lord (say they) tho' our Sins cry aloud, hear them not, but look to the "Righteousness of our Cause; see the seamless Coat of thy " Son torn; the Throne of thine anointed trampled upon; " thy Church invaded by Sacrilege, and thy people misera-" bly deceived by Lyes; fee it, O God, as fee it thou dost, and vindicate whatthou feeft on the heads of those who lead Many of the Earl of Newcastle's " these Wretches." Soldiers in the North, upon the news of the Irish Cessation threw down their Arms, and offered a Composition; and if we may believe the Parliamentary Chronicie, this fingle action lost the King all the Northern Counties. To put a stop to the clamours of the People, and prevent any farther defertions, his Majesty resolved to support his own Character as a Protestant, and accor lingly made the following Protestation

Part III. p. 86.

testation in presence of the congregation at Christ Church, King Charles L. Oxford, immediately before his receiving the Sacrament from the hands of Archbishop Usher.

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"I Espy here many resolved Protestants, who may de-King's Pro-"I have, to the utmost of my power, prepared my Soul to p. 346.
"be a worthy receiver, and may I so receive comfort from Vide Rapin,

" the bleffed Sacrament, as I do intend the establishment P. 169, &c. " of the true reformed Protestant Religion, as it stood in its

" beauty in the happy days of Queen Elizabeth, without " any Connivance at Popery. I bless God, that in the " midst of these publick distractions I have still liberty to

" communicate. And may this Sacrament be my Damna-

" tion, if my Heart do not join with my Lips in this Pro-" testation."

But how inconfistent was this with his Majesty's actions, when within a few days he agreed to a ceffation with the Irish Papists for a year, and a toleration of their Religion? All men knew, that his Majesty not only connived at Popery, but indulged it as far as was in his power; Historians therefore are at a loss to reconcile this solemn appeal to Heaven with the King's Piety and fincere Devotion. The Parliament was so apprehensive of the consequences of bringing over the Irish Papists, that by an Order of Nov. 22, they defired the Assembly of Divines to write letters to the foreign Churches of Holland, France, Switzerland, and other places, to inform them of the artifices of his Majesty's Agents; of the constant employment of Irish Rebels, and other Papists to be Governors, Commanders, and Soldiers in his Armies; of the many evidences of their intentions to introduce Popery; to hinder the intended Reformation, and to condemn other Protestant Churches as unsound because not prelatical; and that the Scots Commissioners be defired to join with them, In pursuance of this Order the Assembly wrote the following Letter, dated Nov. 30. 1643.

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86) Inche L'apodre ellique arono de electiva

King Charles L.

To the Belgick, French, Helvetian, and other reformed Churches.

Right Rev. and dearly beloved in our Lord Jefus Christ, TT E the Affembly of Divines, and others, convened by the Authority of both Houses of Parliament, with the Commissioners from the general Assembly of the Church of Scotland, do heartily fainte you in the Lord, We doubt not, but the fad reports of the Miferies under which the Church and Kingdom of England do bleed, and wherewith we are ready to be swallowed up, is long fince come to your ears; and 'tis probable, " the fame instruments of Satan and Anti-Christ have by their emissaries, endeavoured to represent us as black as may be among yourselves .--- And we sometimes doubt, " whether we have not been wanting to our own innocence, and your fatisfaction, in being thus long filent; but pardon us, dear Brethren, if this cup of trembling wherewith our Spirits have been filled to amazement, and our wreftling with extream difficulties ever fince our meeting, has hinder'd from that which was our duty; and give us leave now a little to eafe our grief, while we relate the defolation made by the antichriftian Faction, who are for hindring the work of Reformation, und for introducing and cheriffing Popery; and are now arrived to that strength, that if the Lord do not speedily help us, we shall be altogether laid waste by them. How great a hand they [the Prelates] have had, in the mileries of other reformed Churches, in the defruction of the Palatinate, in the loss of Rochel, are for fully known and felt by you all, that we need not speak " any thing of them. And we suppose their inveterate hatred against you all is sufficiently manifest, in that mul-" titudes of them have refused to acknowledge any of you for Churches of Christ because you are not prelatical, and thereby (as they conceive) want a lawful vocation of Ministers. Sure we are, that among ourselves, scarce " one thing can be thought of which may be supposed an " argument of their design to advance Popery, that has " not been attempted. The laws against Popery have " been suspended; Judges forbid to proceed against con-"demn'd Priests; Jesuits set free; houses of superstition in Ireland and England have been fet up and not difcountenanced; notorious Papilts harbour'd about the "Court and preferred; many released from legal penalties and their prosecutors discountenanced; Agents have been sent into Italy, and Nuncios from Rome received,

while the most zealous Protestants have been persecuted;
many Prelates and Clergymen have publickly preached,
and endeavoured to leaven the people with all points of

Popery, except the Supremacy, and introduced abundance of corrupt innovations into the worship of God; for non-compliance with which many have been forced to fly for refuge to the remote parts of the World.

"They imposed upon the Kingdom of Scotland a new popish service-book and Canons, to which, twhen that Nation would not submit, they prevailed with his Majesty to proclaim them Rebels, and raise an army against them, to which all the Papists, and those who were popishly affected, contributed; and had not the Lord, by his blessing on the Scots arms, and by the calling of this Parliament prevented it, the two Nations had been im-

" bruing their hands in each others blood.

"But though we hoped through the goodness of God, " and his bletting apon this Parliament, whose hearts were inclined to a more perfect Reformation, that our winter had been past, yet, alas! we find it to be quite otherwife. We know our fins have deferved all, and if we die and perish the Lord is righteous; to his hand we " fubmit, and to him alone we look for healing. " same antichristian Faction not being discouraged, by their "want of success in Scotland, have stirred up a bloody Re-" bellion in Ireland, wherein above one hundred thousand "Protestants have been destroyed in one Province, within a few months. They have alienated the heart of his "Majesty from his Parliament, and prevailed with him to withdraw and raise an Army, which at first pretended " only to be made up of Protestants-but soon after Papists were armed by commission from the King; many great Papilts were put into places of publick command, " and the body of all the Papilts have joined his Majesty " with all their might; they profess and exercise their reli-" gion publickly in feveral parts of the Kingdom, and go " up and down plundering, murdering, and spoiling the goods of all fuch as adhere to the Parliament, and to the cause of Religion. Nor has the Parliament been able, by their Petitions and Remonstrances, to recover his Ma-" jesty out of their hands, or bring these men to deserved of punish-

King 1643.

" punishment, but the Sword rages almost in every corner of this woful Land.

" And to compleat our miseries, they have prevailed with " his Majesty so far to own the Rebels in Ireland, as not " only to call them his Roman Catholick Subjects now in " arms, but to grant them a ceffation of arms for a year, " and to hold what they have gotten, with liberty to " ftrengthen themselves with men, money, arms, ammu-" nition, &c. whereby they are enabled not only to destroy " the remnant of Protestants in Ireland, but to come over " hither, (as many of them are already) to act the fame butchery upon us.

In the midft of these troublesome times the two Houses " of Parliament have called this Assembly, to give them our best counsel for the reformation of the Church, requiring "us to make God's Word only our rule, and to endeavour " the nearest Conformity to the best reformed Churches, and "Uniformity to all the Churches of the three Kingdoms .----

" The Church and Kingdom of Scotland have made of-

" fer of their humble mediation to the King for a Pacifi-" cation, which being rejected, both Nations have enter'd " into a mutual League and Covenant; and the Scots have refolved to join in arms with their brethren in England, for their mutual preservation from the common enemy, and fo far as in them lieth for the fafety of their native "King. They have also fent their Commissioners hither, of for uniformity of Religion in the Churches of both Kingdoms.

And we their Commissioners do exceedingly rejoice, to behold the Foundation of the House of God, not only " in Doctrine, but in Church Government, laid before our eyes in a reverend Assembly of so wise, learned, and godly Divines. And we find ourselves bound in all chriflian duty, as well as by our late Covenant, to join in reprefenting to the reformed Churches abroad, the true " condition of affairs here, against all mistakes and missin-" formations.

"And now, dear Brethren, we beg of you, First, To " judge aright of our innocence and integrity in this our just defence; if our Enemies say, that we are risen up " in rebellion to deprive the King of his just power and " greatness, and to bring Anarchy and Confusion into the Church of Christ, we doubt not but our Solemn Co-" venant (a Copy of which we humbly present you here-

with)

King Charles I.

1643.

"with) will sufficiently clear us. Let the righteous Lord judge between us, whom we implore to help us no fur-

"ther than we can plead these things in sincerity.

Secondly, "That you would fympathize with us as "Brethren, who fuffer in and for the same cause wherein

" youselves have been oppressed.

Thirdly, "That you would conceive of our condition " as your own common cause, which, if it be lost with us, " yourselves are not like long to escape, the quarrel being " not so much against mens persons, as against the power " of Godliness, and the purity of God's Word. The " way and manner of your owning us we leave to your-" felves, only we importunately crave your fervent pray-" ers, both publick and private, That God would bring " Salvation to us; that the bleffings of Truth and Peace " may rest upon us; that these three Nations may be if joined as one stick in the hands of the Lord; and that we ourselves, contemptible builders, called to repair the " House of God, in a troublesome time, may see the " pattern of this house, and commend such a platform to " our Zerubbabels as may be most agreeable to his sa-" cred word, nearest in conformity to the best reformed " Churches, and to establish Uniformity among ourselves; " that all mountains may become plains before them, and " us; that then all who now fee the Plummet in our " hands, may also behold the top Stone set upon the " Head of the Lord's House among us, and may help us, " with shouting, to cry, Grace, Grace, to it. "Thus much we have been commanded to inform you

" of, Reverend Brethren (and by you all faithful Chri" stians under your charge) by the honourable House of

"Commons, in whose name, and in our own, we bid you

" heartily farewel in the Lord."

Your most affectionately devoted Brethren in Christ,

William Twiffe, Prolocutor,

Cornelius Burges, } Assessors,

Henry Roborough, Scribes,
Adoniram Byfield,

Sam Rutherford, Church of Scotland. Geo. Gillespier of earl of the Geo. Gillad de Geo. Gillad of or en of orest of the Geo.

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The Inscription was, "To the Reverend and Learned Pastors and Elders of the Classes and Churches of the Province of Zealand, our much honoured Brethren."

p. 232.

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Hift. Stuarts Letters of the same import were fent to the several Churches of the Seven Provinces; to the Churches of Geneva; the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland; the Churches of Helle, Hannaw, and Anhalt; and to the Protestant Congregation at Paris; all which were received with respect, and answered by the respective Classes. But the Churches of Bohemia, Transilvania, Poland, Silesia, and Austria, and other Cities and Principalities of Germany, were not written to. The answer from the French Church in Paris was read in the Assembly the beginning of March; from Switzerland June 12, 1644, and from Genevn at the same time; from the Classes of Amsterdam and Gelderland June 29, and Mr. Whitlock observes, That the Netherland Divines expres'd not only their approbation of the proceedings of the Parliament and Assembly touching the Covenant, but defired to join with the two Kingdoms therein.

> The King apprehending himself misrepresented to the foreign Churches, in that part of the Assembly's Letter which infinuates a delign to introduce Popery, and being advised to vindicate his Character from that imputation, caused a Manifesto to be drawn up in Latin and English, to all foreign Protestants; which though not published till the beginning

of next year, may be properly inferted in this place.

"CHARLES, by the especial Providence of Almighty God, "King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. to all those who profess the " true reformed Protestant Religion, of what Nation, Degree, or Condition foever they be, to whom this orefent Declaration shall come, Greeting,

" ITTHEREAS we are given to understand, that M many false Rumours, and scandalous Letters, are foread up and down among the reformed Churches in " foreign Parts, by the politick, or rather the pernicious " industry

King Charles I. 1643.

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industry of some ill affected persons, that we have an inclination to recede from that orthodox Religion which "which we were born, baptized, and bred in, and which a have firmly professed and practifed throughout the " whole course of our life to this moment; and that we " intend to give way to the introduction, and publick Exercise of Popery again, in our Dominions; which u most detestable calumny being grounded upon no imasinable foundation, hath raifed these horrid tumults, and "more than barbarous wars, throughout this flourishing "Mand, under pretence of a kind of Reformation which his incompatible with the fundamental Laws and Go-Wernment of this Kingdom : We defire that the whole "Christian World should rest affured, that we never en-" tertained the least thought to attempt such a thing, or to " depart a jot from that holy Religion, which when we re-"ceived the Crown and Scepter of this Kingdom, we took a " most folemn facramental Oath to profess and protect, Nor " does our constant practice, and daily presence in the exer-"cife of this Religion, with so many affeverations at the to head of our armies, and the publick attestation of our Barons, with the Circumfpection used in the educa-"tion of our royal Offspring, befides divers other undemable arguments only demonstrate this, but also that happy alliance of Marriage we contracted between our " eldeft Daughter and the illustrious Prince of Orange, most closely confirms the reality of our intentions here-"in; by which it appears, that our endeavours are not only to make a profession thereof in our own Domi-" nions, but to strengthen it abroad as much as lieth in our that there more beneat D vines prefett d the anguly swodan

This most holy Religion of the Anglicane Church, ordained by so many Convocations of learned Divines, confirmed by so many Acts of Parliament, and strengther ened by so many royal Proclamations, together with the Ecclesiastical Discipline and Liturgy, which the most eminent Protestant Authors, as well as Germans, French, Danes and Swedes, Dutch and Bohemians, do with many Elogies, and not without a kind of envy, approve and applaud in their publick writings, particularly in the Transactions of the Synod of Dort, wherein (besides others of our Divines who were afterwards Prelates) one of our Bishops assisted, to whose Dignity all due respects and precedency were given: This Religion, we say, which our royal Father, of blessed memory,

King Charles L. 1643.

"doth publickly affert in his famous Confession address'd to all Christian Princes, with the Hierarchy and Litur-" gy thereof, we folemnly protest, that by the help of "God, we will endeavour to our utmost power, and " last period of our life, to keep intire and inviolable; and will be careful, according to our Duty to Heaven, " and the tenor of our Oath at our Coronation, That all " our Ecclefiasticks, in their several Degrees and Incumben-"cies, shall preach and practife. Wherefore we command " all our Ministers of State beyond the Seas, as well Ambaffadors as Residents, Agents and Messengers; and " we defire all the rest of our loving subjects that sojourn in foreign parts, to communicate and affert this our " folemn and fincere Protestation, when opportunity of " time and place shall be offered." At the local and the Suppost a let from that holy Resignor, which when we re-

Given in our University and City of Oxford, May 14, 1644.

Remarks.

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et does our continue practices and daily preferee in the exer-This Declaration did the King little fervice among foreign Protestants; for though it assured them his Majesty would not turn Papist, it convinced them that no alteration in the English Hierarchy was to be expected. His marrying his Daughter to the Prince of Orange was perhaps the only evidence of his charity for the Dutch Reformation; but his appeal to the education of his Children was triffing, when all the world knew they were under Popish Instructors, in pursuance of a Marriage Contract, till twelve or fourteen years of age, and had received impressions not to be eafily defaced. His infinuating to the foreign Churches, that their most learned Divines preferr'd the English Hierarchy to the government of their own Countries, convinced them they ought to be more sparing of their compliments for the future, to persons that would draw such conclusions from them. As to the Synod of Dort, no precedency was given to the Bishop on account of his episcopal character, but as a Baron of the English Parliament. Nor is there any thing in the Declaration that might encourage the foreign Clergy to hope his Majesty would own their Churches, Ministers, or Sacraments, or unite with them against the common enemy of the Reformation, any more than before these unhappy troubles began.

All the Episcopal Divines left the Assembly before the bringing in of the Covenant, except Dr. Featly, who was expell'd for holding correspondence with Archbishop Usher

at Oxford, and for revealing their Proceedings, contrary to the express Words of the Ordinance, which obliges them Charles L. not to divulge by printing or writing, or otherwise, their opinions or advices, touching the matters proposed to them " by Parliament, without the consent of both or either "Houses." The Doctor was a learned man, and a Calvinist, upon which account the Assembly paid him great regard, and indulged him in all his Speeches in favour of Episcopacy, and against the Covenant, some of which were afterwards published to the World. They appointed him to answer a Popish Pamphlet called the Safeguard; and he bore a part in the Annotations on the Bible, which go under the name of the Assembly. Lord Clarendon says, the King sent him a Letter forbidding him to fit any longer, but that the Doctor excused it in a Letter to Archbishop Usher, which being intercepted, he was committed prisoner to Lord Peter's house in Aldersgate-street, as a Spy; the Archbishop at the same time being declared uncapable of fitting in the Assembly for the like Reason. And here was an end of all the publick concern the Episcopal Party had in the Government of the Church till the Restoration.

From the time of taking the Covenant we may date the Discipline of entire diffolution of the Hierarchy of the Church, though it the Church wasnot as yet set aside by an Ordinance of Parliament. dissolved. There were no more Ecclesiastical Courts, no Visitations, no wearing the Habits, no regard paid to the Canons or Ceremonies, nor even to the Common Prayer itself. The Archbishop of Canterbury, by an Ordinance of May 16, had been forbid to collate any Benefices in his gift, but to perfons nominated by Parliament; for disobedience to which he was by another Ordinance of June 10, " suspended ab Officio & "Beneficio, and from all Archiepiscopal Jurisdiction, till he " should be acquitted, or convicted of the high treason of

which he was impeached; and as to fuch Livings, Digni Parliament " ties, Promotions, &c. in the faid Archbishop's gift or nominate Collation, as are, or shall hereafter become void, Insti-ings.

" tution or Induction, shall henceforward be given by the " Archbishop's Vicar General, or any other having autho-

" rity on this behalf, upon the Nomination and Recom-" mendation of both Houses of Parliament." By this extraordinary method the Reverend Mr. Corbet was inducted into the Living of Chatham, " Ratione Suspensionis Dom. "Guil. Archiepiscopi Cant. & Sequestrationis temporalium

"Archiepiscopatus in manibus supremae curiae Parliamenti, is jam existentis. By reason of the Suspention of the Arch-

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Part IV.

p. 128.

" bishop of Canterbury, and the Sequestration of the Temporalities of his Archbishoprick into the hands of the prefent high Court of Parliament, the same belonges ing to their gift." But this Ordinance was of no long continuance, for upon the fitting of the Assembly of Divines all Church Business went through their hands; the Parishes chose their Ministers, the Assembly examined and approved, and the Parliament confirmed them in their Benefices without any regard to the Archbishop of his Vicar. Thus the Earl of Manchester filled the vacant Pulpits in the affociated Counties; and when Lord Fairfax was authorized to supply those in the North, by an Ordinance of Feb. 27, the Preamble fays, " The Houses being credibly informed that many Ministers in the County of York were not only of a scandalous life, but having left their Churches and Cures, had withdrawn themselves wilfully from the " fame, and joined fuch forces as had been raifed against " the Parliament, and affisted them with Men, Money, Horses, and Arms; therefore it is ordained, that Lord Fairfax be authorized to fill up their places with fuch es learned and godly Divines as he shall think fit, with Ad-

This created a great deal of business; for though the Affembly had not a Parliamentary Authority to ordain, yet the examination and approbation of fuch Clergymen al-Committee ready in orders, as petitioned for fequefter'd Livings, being by express Order of the two Houses referred to them, they were obliged to chuse a select Committee for this work;

their Names were,

" vice of the Affembly."

ugymen.

The Rev. Dr. Gouge, Dr. Staunton, Dr. Lightfoot, Dr. Smith, Dr. Temple, Dr. Tuckney, Dr. Hoyle, Dr. Burges, Dr. Spurstow, Mr. Ley, Mr. Reynolds,

d. ...

The Rev. Mr. Conant. Mr. Gower. Mr. Colman, Mr. Hill. Mr. Corbet, Mr. Gataker, Mr. Herle, Mr. Hall, Mr. Whitaker, Mr. Bathurft, Mr. Cheynel.

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The method of Examination was this; the Names of King the Ministers who petitioned for Livings, or were recommended by either House of Parliament, being published in 1643. the Assembly two or three Days before the Examination, Their Liberty was given in that time to make exceptions to their thod of Excharacters; if nothing was objected they were examined. by the Committee, or any five of them, who reported their qualifications to the House, upon which each Candidate received a Certificate from the Assembly to the following Effect :

"A Ccording to an order bearing date---from the Com-"Ministers, to the Committee of Divines for the Exami-" nation of A. B. concerning his fitness to be admitted to " the Benefit of the Sequestration of the Church of ----, " in the County of ———, and so to officiate in the Cure
"thereof, these are to certify the said Committee of plun-" dered Ministers, that upon examination of the said A. B. " and some trial of his gifts and abilities, we conceive him " fit to officiate in the Cure of ----, in the County afore-" faid. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed, our Names."

The Scribes of the Assembly were ordered to keep a Record of all Orders and Certificates concerning Ministers recommended to Sequestrations, and to enter them in a Regifter Book. This continued for about a year, till the new Directory and Form of Church Government took place.

Towards the latter end of this year died William Chil- Death of Mr. lingworth, A. M. whom I mention not as a Puritan, but as Chillingworth, 2 Witness against some of those Hardships the present Disfenters complain of; he was born at Oxford, 1602, and educated in Magdalen College, of which he became Fellow in June 1628. He afterwards turned Roman Catholick, and went to the Jesuits College at St. Omer's, but not being thoroughly fatisfied in some of their principles, he returned to England, 1631, and having embraced the Religion of the Church of England, published an excellent Treatife, entitled, " The Religion of Protestants a fafe "Way to Salvation," for which he was preferred to the Chancellorship of the Church of Sarum, and made Master of Wygstan Hospital in Leicester. He was put into the Lift with other Loyalists to be created D. D. in the year 1642, but came not hither to receive that Honour. It was

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King Charles L. 1643. Chill. Life, P. 370.

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162.

the general opinion of the times that he was a Socinian, but in his last Letter at the end of his Works, he appears an Arian. 'Tis very certain he refused to subscribe the Thirty nine Articles for some years after his Conversion, (1.) Because he did not believe the morality of the Fourth Commandment. (2.) Because he did not agree to the Dam-Chill. Letter natory Clauses in the Athanasian Creed, and therefore could not read the Common Prayer. He objected also to the twentieth Article, " Of the Churches Power to decree " Rites and Ceremonies;" to the Nineteenth Article, "That Works done before the Grace of Christ, &c. are " not pleasing to God;" and indeed says the Writer of his Life, to the Articles in general, as an imposition on Men's Consciences, much like the authority which the Church of Rome assumes. Mr. Chillingworth blesses God, that when he had entertained some thoughts of Subscription, two unexpected impediments diverted him from it; " For " (fays he) I profess since I entertained it I never enjoyed worth's Life, " quiet day nor night, till now that I have rid myself of " it again; and I plainly perceive, that if I had swallowed "this pill, howfoever gilded over with gloffes and refervaso tions, and wrapt up in Conserves of good Intentions and Purposes, yet it would never have agreed nor stayed " with me, but I should have cast it up again, and with it " whatfoever preferment I should have gained as the " wages of unrighteousness; but now I thank God, I am " refolved, that I will never do that while I am living and " in health, which I would not do if I was dying; and " this I am fure I would not do, and therefore whenever "I make fuch a prepofterous choice, I will give you leave to believe, that I am out of my wits or do not believe in " God - " But notwithstanding these Resolutions, he was prevailed with to subscribe, by his Godfather Archbishop Laud, to qualify him for the abovementioned preferments. How the Pill was gilded over is not certain; the writer of his life fays, he subscribed as Articles of peace, but not of Belief. Mr. Chillingworth was a quick Disputant, and of very high principles, for in one of his Sermons before the King he fays, that " the most unjust and ty-" rannical Violence of Princes may not be rejected; this being unlawful, even though Princes be most impious, tyrannical, and idolatrous. But though his political Principles were high, he was low enough with regard to the Authority of Councils, Fathers, and Convocation tions, in Matters of Faith; and declares roundly, 46 That

"That the Bible alone is the Religion of a Protestant."

He was an excellent Mathematician, and ferved as Engi-

King Charles I.

neer in Arundel Castle in Sussex, where he was taken prifoner, and when indisposed had the Favour of being lodged in the Bishop's House at Chichester, where he died Jan. 20, 1643-4. 'Tis furprifing, that Lord Clarendon should Chill. Life, fay, "The Parliament Clergy profecuted him with all the in- 1b. p. 314. "humanity imaginable, fo that by their barbarous usage he " died within a few days:" When, as he himself acknowledged, he wanted for nothing; and by the Interest of Dr. Cheynel, who attended him in his Sickness, was courteously used. The Doctor would have reasoned him out of some of his principles but could not prevail, and therefore at his Interment, after a reflecting Speech upon the deceased, he threw his Book, entitled, "The Religion of Protestants a

" fafe way to Salvation," into the grave faying, " Get thee Ib. p. 362. " gone, thou curfed Book, which hast seduced so many pre-" cious Souls; Earth to Earth, Dust to Dust; get thee into " the place of rottenness, that thou mayst rot with thy Au-

"thor, and fee Corruption." A most unchristian and un-

charitable Imprecation!

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Among the considerable States-men who died this year, Character may be reckoned John Hampden, Efq; of Buckingham-ot Mr. shire, a Gentleman of good Extraction, and one of the greatest Patriots of his age, as appears by his standing Trial with the King in the case of Ship-money, which raised his reputation to a very great height throughout the Kingdom. He was not a Man of many words, but a very weighty Speaker; his reputation for honesty was universal, and his affections feemed so publickly guided, that no corrupt or private ends could bias them. He was indeed a very wife Man, of great parts and modesty, and possessed of the most absolute Spirit of popularity (fays Lord Clarendon) I ever knew. He was one of the impeached Members of the House of Commons, and in the beginning of the war took the command of a Regiment, and performed the duty of a Colonel on all occasions punctually, being a Man of great personal courage, not to be tired out by the most laborious; and of parts not to be imposed upon by the most subtle; but because he fought against the Court, Lord Clarendon says (if this be not an interpolation of the Editors) that he had a Hift. Head to to contrive, a Tongue to perswade, and a Hand Stuarts, to execute any mischief. Which is very unaccountable in P. 227. one whom his Lordship had commended as a person not only of chearfulness and affability, but of extraordinary sobriety VOL. III.

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King Charles I. 1643. and strictness of life. Mr. Hampden was certainly in all respects one of the greatest and best Men of the age, and the Parliament had an irreparable loss in his death, which happened June 24, about a week after his Shoulder Bone had been broken by a musket ball, in skirmish with Prince Rupert's Forces in Chalgrave Field.

Character of Mr. Pym.

John Pym, Esq; Member of Parliament for Tavistock in all the Parliaments of King Charles I. was a Man of the greatest Experience in Parliamentary affairs of any Man of his time. He was an admirable Speaker, and by the gravity of his Countenance and graceful behaviour, could turn the House which way he pleased; he was a Man of business and for moderate measures, according to Lord Clarendon, till the King impeached him of High Treason. In his private life he was a person of true piety and exactnels of manners; and though enclined to the Puritan party, not averse to the Hierarchy of the Church with some emendations. He was one of the Lay-members of the Affembly of Divines, and at the head of all publick bufiness, the fatigue of which wore out his Constitution, and put an end to his life, December, 8, 1643, in the fixtieth year of his age. The news of no Man's Death was more welcome to the Royalists than his, who spread a report, that he died of the Morbus pediculofus, to confute which his body was expofed to publick view for many days, and at last interred in the most honourable manner in Westminster Abbey. A little before his Death he published his own Vindication to the world, against the many Slanders that went abroad concerning him. " He declares himself a faithful Son of the Pro-" testant Religion, and of the Orthodox Doctrine of the "Church of England. He confesses he had been for re-" forming abuses in the Government of the Church, when the Bishops, instead of taking care of Men's Souls, were banishing their Bodies into the most desolate places; bring-" ing in new Canons, Arminian and Pelagian errors, and " fuch a number of rites and ceremonies as the people were " not able to bear. - When fince that time they had as much as in them lay fomented the civil differences between the King and his Parliament, abetting and en-

" couraging malignants with large supplies of Men and Mo-

" ney, and stirring up the people to tumults by their se-

" ditious Sermons. For these Reasons (says he) I gave my

" opinion for abolishing their Functions, which, I conceive

may as well be done as the diffolution of Monasteries,

"Monks and Friars was in King Henry the Eighth's Time.

Rushw. p. 376.

" He concludes with declaring, That he was not the Author of the prefent distractions; with acknowledging the King

of for his lawful Sovereign, but thinks, when he was pro-" scribed for a traitor, meerly for the service of his Country,

" no Man can blame him for taking care of his own Safety,

" by flying for refuge to the protection of Parliament, who

" were pleased to make his case their own."

King Charles I. 1643-4.

CHAP. III.

The Oxford Parliament. Progress of the War. Visitation of the University of Cambridge by the Earl of Manchester. Committees for plundered, sequestered, and fcandalous Ministers.

HE Campaign being over without a prospect of Peace, The Oxford both parties endeavoured to strengthen themselves by Parliament. new and fovereign Acts of Power. The Parliament experi-Rushw. encing the want of a Great Seal for many purposes, gave 560. orders that one should be made. They continued to list Soldiers, to levy taxes, and to use every method they thought proper to support their cause. On the other hand, the King raifed Contributions without Form of Law; ordered the removal of the Courts of Justice from Westminster; and that he might feem to act in a parliamentary way, fummoned the Members who had been expelled the Houses, and all others willing to withdraw from the rebellious City of London, to meet him at Oxford, Jan. 22. 1643-4, which was, in effect, disannulling the Act for continuing of the present Parliament. In obedience to the Proclamation there appeared forty nine Peers and one hundred forty one of the House of Commons, not reckoning those employed in his Majesty's Service, or absent with leave. Lord Clarendon says, the ap- Clar. Rem. pearance of both houses with the King was superior in number, p. 165. as well as quality, to those at Westminster, which must be a mistake; for the' the majority of Peers were on his side, Mr. Whitlock affures us, that upon a call of the House of Com- Mem. p. 76. mons, the very day the others were to meet at Oxford, there were present two hundred and eighty Members, not reckoning one hundred more, who were engaged in their Service in the feveral Counties. This is a very confiderable majority, though if there had been but Forty the King could not have prorogued or dissolved them without their own confent. However, the Oxford Members stiled themselves the Parlia-G 2

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King Charles I. 1643-4. Rufhw. p. 567, 688. Rapin, p. 202, 230. Hift.Stuarts, p. 246.

ment, Lord Littleton being Speaker for the Peers, and Serjeant Evers for the Commons. Their first Step was to satisfy the world they defired Peace, such a Peace, to use the King's own Words, "Wherein God's true Religi-" on may be secured from the danger of Popery, Sectaries, and Innovations; the Crown may pollefs those just or prerogatives which may enable me to govern my People " according to Law, and the Subjects be confirmed in those " rights which I have granted them in Parliament, to which "I shall be ready to add such new Graces, as I shall find may most conduce to their Happiness." They laid an excise upon Tobacco, Wine, Strong Waters, Ale, Cyder, Grocery, and Mercery Wares, Soap, Salt, and Butcher's Meat, and subscribed considerable Sums of Money for support of the war; they declared the Scots then entering England with an Army, traytors, and the Lords and Commons at Westminster guilty of High Treason, for inviting them, as well as for counterfeiting the Great Seal. On the other hand, the Parliament at Westminster would not acknowledge the Oxford Members, nor receive a message from them under the Character of a Parliament, but expelled them the House, except they returned to their Seats within a limited April 16, the King prorogued his Oxford Members to November following, when they fell under his displeasure, for advising to pacifick measures at the treaty of Uxbridge, which was then upon the carpet, and in a fair way of producing an Accommodation. This was so disagreeable to the Queen, and her Roman Catholick Counfellors; that they never left off teazing the unhappy King till he had difmiffed them, and broke off the treaty; an account of which he fent her in the following Letter, which feems to breath an air of too great fatisfaction, demand and realisation to the complete

Rushw. Vol. V. p. 383. Rapin, p. 186, 192.

King's Let-

Queen.

Dear Heart,

WHAT I told thee last week, concerning a good

Monday last handsomely performed; now if I do any
thing unhandsome, or disadvantageous to myself or friends,
in order to a treaty, it will be meerly my own fault.

Now I promise thee, if the treaty be renewed (which
I believe it will not) without some eminent good Success on my side, it shall be to my honour and advantage,
I being now as well free from the place of base and mutinous motion (that is to say, our mungrel Parliament here)
as of the chief Causers, for whom I may justly expect

" to be chidden by thee, for having fuffered thee to be vex-" ed by them .-

King Charles I. 1644.

Mr. Whitlock fays, this Affembly fat again at Oxford, in the year 1645, and voted against the Directory, and for the Common Prayer; but the King's Cause being grown desperate they soon after shifted for themselves, and made their peace at Westminster upon the best terms they could.

On the 19th of Jan. 1643-4, the Scots Army, confifting Scots Army of twenty one thousand Men, under the command of Ge-enters Engneral Leven, croffed the Tweed at Berwick, and enter'd Rufhw. England. The two Houses sent a Committee to meet Vol. VI. them, which being joined by another of that Nation, was P. 603. called the Committee of both Kingdoms, and were a fort of Camp Parliament, to direct the motions of the Army, which after some time united with the Lord Fairfax's Forces, and with the Earl of Manchester, and Lieutenant General Cromwel, from the affociated Counties; the united Armies laid fiege to the City of York, which Prince Rupert having relieved, occasioned the battle of Marston Moor, wherein the Prince was routed, with the loss of three thousand Men, and his whole Train of Artillery; after which the Marquis of Newcastle left the royal Army, and embarked with divers Lords and Gentlemen for Hamburgh; Prince Rupert retired towards Chester, and deserted all the Northern Garrisons to the mercy of the Enemy, which falling inro their hands next Summer, concluded the War in those Parts.

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But his Majesty had better success in the West, where E. of Estex being strengthen'd by Prince Maurice, he followed the Cornwall. Earl of Essex, and shut up his Army within the narrow parts Rushw. of Cornwal, fo that he could neither fight nor retreat. Vol. V. p. Here the King invited the Earl to make his peace, but he 705, 710. chose rather to retire in a boat to Plymouth, leaving his men to the fortune of War. As foon as the General was gone, the Horse under the command of Sir William Balfour, bravely forced their Way through the Royal Quarters by Night; but the Foot under the command of Major General Skippon, were obliged to furrender their Arms, Artillery, Ammunition, and Baggage, confishing of forty Brass Cannon, two hundred barrels of Powder, Match and Ball proportionable, seven hundred Carriages, and between eight and nine hundred Arms, and to swear not to bear Arms against the King till they came into Hampshire. This was the greatest disgrace the Parliament's Forces under-

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King 1644went in the course of the War, the Foot being forced to travel in a naked and starving condition to Portsmouth, where they were supplied with new Cloaths and Arms. And now again the King made offers of fuch a peace, as he says, he had been labouring for, that is, to be restored to his Prerogatives as before the War; but the Houses would not fubmit.

Rife of the Club-Men. Rapin, p. 239.

Upon the defeat of the Earl of Essex his Majesty resolved to march directly for London, and upon the Road iffued out a Proclamation, Sept. 30, requiring all his loving Subjects to appear in Arms, and accompany him in his prefent expedition. This gave rife to a combination of Men, distinguish'd by the name of Club-men, who got together in Worcestershire and Dorsetshire, agreed to defend themselves against the orders both of King and Parliament. Their Increase was owing to the prodigious Ravages of the Character of King's Forces in their march. Prince Rupert was a fiery

the King's Officers. Whitl. p. 87.

Claren. Vol. II. P. 555.

P. 537.

Ib. p. 534

youth, and with his flying Squadrons of Horse burnt Towns and Villages, destroy'd the Countries where he came, and indulged his Soldiers in plunder and blood. In Wales he drove away the people's Cattle, rifled their Houses, and spoiled their standing Corn. Aged and unarmed people were stript naked, some murdered in cold blood, and others half hanged and burnt, and yet fuffer'd to live. "Lord "Goring, the King's General of the Horse, was one of the most finished Debauchees of the Age, and wanted of nothing but influstry to make him as eminent and fuc-" cessful in the highest attempts of wickedness as ever any " Man was. Wilmot, the Lieutenant General, was as er great a Debauchee as the other, and had no more regard to his promifes, or any Rules of Honour or Integrity." Sir Richard Greenville, who commanded the Army before Plymouth, is represented by the noble Historian, as having been exceeding barbarous and cruel in Ireland, hanging up old Men and Women of Quality, even though they were bed-rid, if he did not find the plunder he expected; when he came into the West he exercised all kinds of Cruelty, and would fometimes make one of the Company

hang all the rest, contrary to the Law of Arms. The licentiousness of the King's Soldiers was not inferior to that of his Officers; for having no regular pay, they committed Rapines and Plunders, without distinction of Friends or Foes; and were infamous for the most execrable Oaths, and all kinds of Impiety. "Lord Goring's Horse 64 (fays d

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" and Barbarities in Hampshire, and intested the borders of Charles 1.

"Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, and Dorsetshire, and Dor " Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, and Devon, with unheard " of Rapines, fo that the people who were well devoted to Claren. p. " the King wished for the Accession of any Forces to re- 631. " deem them." They raifed vast Contributions in several Counties without any other pretence but the King's fovereign pleasure. In Cornwall they levied seven hundred Claren. p. pounds a Week, and proportionable in other Parts. As the 643. Army marched along the Country, they feized the Farmers Horses, and carried them away without any consideration. At Barnstable they plunder'd the Town, and hanged the Mayor, though it was furrender'd upon Articles. At Evesham the King sent away the Mayor and Aldermen prisoners to Oxford. At Woodhouse in Devonshire they seized fourteen substantial West Country Clothiers, who were not in Arms, and hanged them, by way of Reprifal for some Irish Rebels that had been executed according to the Ordinance of Parliament. In short, where-ever they came they lived at free Quarter, and took but every thing they could, and therefore no wonder the Club-men united

in their own defence. The King thought to have reach'd London before the Fight of Parliament could recruit their Army, but the two Houses Newbury; fent immediately fix thousand Arms, and a Train of Artillery to Portsmouth, with new Clothing for the Cornish Soldiers. They ordered Sir William Waller and the Earl of Manchester to join them, and dispatched thither five thoufand of the City Train Bands, under the command of Sir James Harrington, by which accession they were enabled to face his Majesty's Army at Newbury, Octob. 27, and having forced the Town, which the King had fortified, after a fmart battle they took nine of his Cannon and several Colours, but under covert of the Night his Majesty secured the rest of his Artillery in Dennington Castle, and marched off with his broken Army to Oxford; the Parliament Generals left a body of Troops to block up the Castle, being affured it must furrender in the Winter for want of Provision; but on a sudden a Party of the King's Horse raised the blockade, and carried off the Artillery to Oxford. This occasioned great murmurings at London, and quarrels among the Generals, Essex, Manchester, and Cromwel, which en led in the new modelling of the Army, as will be leen under the next year.

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King Charles L 1644 Character of the Parliament Army. Vol. III. p. 384.

As the royal Army was little better than a Company of Banditti, or publick Robbers; the Parliament's were kept under the strictest discipline, and grew up, for the most part, into great diligence and fobriety, which (fays Lord Charendon) begot courage and refolution in them, and notable dexterity in Atchievements and Exercises. Most of their Officers were Men of Religion; their Soldiers were posses'd with the belief, that their cause was the cause of God, and that they fought for the Protestant Religion, and Magna Charta; but still there were among them men of dissolute Lives, who fought for nothing but pay and plunder; strange complaints were fent up from Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Suffex, of the disorders of the common Soldiers, whereupon the Parliament appointed a Committee to enquire into the Facts, and make examples of the Offenders, which put an effectual stop to the growing mischief. And as the Parliament were enabled, by the inexhaustible Treasure of the City of London, to give their Soldiers regular Pay, they had them under such strict Government that they were little or no burthen to the Towns and Villages where they quartered. Upon the whole, though the Parliament affairs were low

State of Af. fairs at the End of the year.

at the end of the year, and their Counsels divided, by reafon of the length of the War, the King's were much worse; for though he had triumphed over the Earl of Essex in Cornwall, and was Master of the open Country in the West, he had no accession of real Strength, nor had taken any confiderable Garrisons: The Entrance of the Scots broke his Army in the North, and loft him that part of the Kingdom, whereby the Parliament were enabled to draw off their Forces to the West; but the worst Circumstance of all was, that his Majesty had exhausted all his Treafure, and had no way of raising a Supply, which obliged him to connive at his Soldiers living at free Quarter; his Officers being poor, quarrel'd in the royal Presence, and p. 389, 391. carried their Resentments to such an height, that the King himself could not reconcile them, which had but an ill asped upon the following Campaign. The Parliament Generals also were censuring each others conduct in the House, on occasion of the escape of the King's Artillery from Dennington Caftle. The Earl of Essex's Party were charg'd with a design to protract the War, in order to an Accommodation, while others being weary, were for putting it to a decisive Issue. In short, both Parties were in Confufion

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fion and Distress; they were divided in their Judgments, King some being for Peace, and others for carrying on the War to the last extremity. All property was in a manner lost, the Farmers paid no Rent to their Landlords; nor could any Man be secure of his property except he buried it under ground. The Spirits of the contending Parties were as much exasperated as ever, and there was no seeing the end of their Troubles.

To return to the Church; the State of the controverfy Affairs of about Ecclefiastical Discipline was now changed; for the Church. whereas before the Entrance of the Scots the Parliament insisted only upon a "Reformation of the Hierarchy," now they were obliged to attempt "the total Extirpation of "it," and to establish another Scheme for both Kingdoms in its room; but it was a considerable Time before this could be perfected. In the mean while, they resolved to purge the University of Cambridge, which was the Head Quarters of their Forces, that they might have a Succession of Clergymen training up in the principles they had espoused.

The Town of Cambridge was in the Interest of the Behaviour of Parliament, but the Colleges were fo many little Garrisons the Univerfor the King, and Sanctuaries of Disaffection; the Uni-fity of Camversity Press was at his Majesty's Disposal, and their Ser-bridge. Suff. Clermons were filled with Invectives against the two Houses. gy, p. 168. Frequent Quarrels happened between the Townsmen and Scholars, which would have ended in the Ruin of the University, had not the Parliament forbid the offering any Violence to the Colleges, Chapels, Libraries and Schools, under severe penalties. Indeed the Committee enjoined the proper Officers of the Parish to put in execution, the Ordinance for destroying the Relicks of Superstition, whereby the Paintings in Windows, Images of the Deity, and a great deal of carved Work was demolished, at which the Suff. Cler. Masters and Fellows were so incensed, that when they p. 111. were ordered to repair the damages they peremptorily refufed, and were fined forty Shillings a College, as the Ordinance directed.

The Heads of the University raised a great Clamour at this pretended Invasion of their Rights, as if the Parliament intended to seize all their Revenues, and destroy the very Fountains of Learning; whereupon the Houses published the following Ordinance, January 6, 1643-4, declaring, "That none of the Estates, Rents, and Reve-Husb. Col. unues of the University, or of the Colleges and Halls re-P. 409. "spectively,

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King " fpectively, shall be sequestered or seized upon, or in any wife disposed of by vertue of the Ordinance for se-" questring the Estates, Rents, and Revenues of Delin-" quents, but shall remain to the University, and the re-" spective Halls and Colleges, to all intents and purposes, as " if the faid Ordinance had not been made; and the Rents and Revenues, &c. are ordered to be paid to the usual Receivers or Treasurers, being approved of by the Earl " of Manchester, and to be applied to their proper Uses as heretofore. But if any of the Heads, Fellows, Scho-15 lars, or other Officers, were convicted of Delinquency, the Receiver was to pay their dividend into the hands of " the Committee of Sequestrations."

Cambridge Visitation. Ordinance for theCommittee of Sequestration. Hufb. Col. P. 415.

This Committee was founded upon an Ordinance of Jan. 22, for regulating the University of Cambridge, and removing fcandalous Ministers in the feven affociated Counties; the Preamble fets forth, "That the Service of the "Parliament was retarded, the People's Souls starved, by the idle, ill-affected, and scandalous Clergy of the "University of Cambridge, and the affociated Counties; " and that many who were willing to give Evidence as gainst them not being able to bear the Charges of a " Journey to London, the Earl of Manchester was there-" fore empowered to appoint Committees in all the affo-" ciated Counties, to confift of ten Persons, being Depu-"ty-Lieutenants, or such as had been nominated to Com-" mittees by some former Ordinance of Parliament; Five of these were a Quorum, and they were empowered to " call before them all Provofts, Masters and Fellows of " Colleges, all Students and Members of the University, " all Ministers in any of the Counties of the Association, " all School-Masters, that were scandalous in their Lives, " or ill-affected to the Parliament, or Fomenters of this " unnatural War, or that shall wilfully refuse Obedience to the Orders of Parliament, or that have deferted their ordinary Places of Residence, not being employed in " the Service of the King and Parliament. The faid "Committee were also empowered to send for Witnesses, " and to examine any Complaints against the fore-mentioned Delinquents upon Oath, and to certify the Names of the Persons accused to the Earl of Manchester, " with the Charge and Proof, who shall have Power to " eject such as he shall judge unfit for their places; to se-" quester their Estates, Means, and Revenues, and to dif" pose of them as he shall think fit, and place others in King Charles I.
" their room, being first approved by the Assembly of Divines fitting at Westminster. He had also power to order

" the Covenant to be administered where he thought fit, and " to assign the Fifths of sequestered Estates for the bene-

" fit of their Wives and Children." The Ordinance makes no mention of the Doctrine or Discipline of the Church, but feems to be levelled only against those who took part with

the King in the war.

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The Earl of Manchester, who was at the Head of these Character of Sequestrations, was in the Life time of his Father, Lord Earlof Man-Kimbolton, and one of the impeached Members of the chefter. House of Commons: Lord Clarendon observes, " That he Clarend. " was of a genteel and generous nature; that his natural Vol. I.

" civility and good manners flowed to all Men, and that he P. 183.

was never guilty of any Rudeness even to those whom he p. 211. " was obliged to oppress; that he long and heartily wished

" for the Restoration, and never forfeited that Grace and " Favour to which his Majesty received him after his re-

" turn." The Earl repaired in Person to Cambridge about Manner of the middle of February, with his two Chaplains, Mr. Ashe his Proceedand Mr. Good, and by his Warrant of the 24th inftant, re- suff. Cler. quired the heads of the feveral Colleges and Halls to fend p. 112. him their Statutes, with the Names of all their Members, and to certify who were prefent, and who absent, with the express time of their discontinuance. Two days after, the Officers of each College and Hall were ordered to give speedy Advertisement to the Masters, Fellows, Scholars, &c. to repair to Cambridge by the 10th of March, in order to answer such enquiries as should be made by himself or by his Commissioners. But the Earl being informed, that this notice was too short, the time was prolonged to the 3d of April, when the Earl summoned Mr. Tunstal and Mr. Palgrave, Fellows of Corpus Christi College, to appear before the Commissioners at the Bear Inn in Cambridge, on penalty of Ejectment. Warrants of the same nature were fent to feveral of the Fellows of Caius, St. John's, Queen's, Peter House, Sidney, Trinity, Christ's, Magdalen, and Jefus Colleges; and to Pembrook and Clare Hall; who not appearing according to the Summons, were by a Warrant of April 8, ejected, to the Number of Sixty five. The Reasons assigned for their expulsion were, Non-residence, and not returning upon due Summons, and feveral other political Misdemeanors. If Suff. Cler. the parties ejected returned after this, they were required p. 151, 160.

King

King I 1644

not to continue in the University above three days, on pain of Imprisonment, and Confiscation of Goods; their Names were put out of the Butteries, and the profits of their places referved for their Successors. Not one Fellow or Student in Trinity Hall, or Katherine Hall, was turned out, but all

Queen's College was evacuated.

Covenant Univerfity. Introd. Suff. Cler. P. 113.

The Covenant, which was read March 18, in the not tendered Churches and Chapels of the Town and University, and to the whole tendered to the Inhabitants and Soldiers, was not offered to the whole University, but only to such of whose disaffection they had sufficient proof. Archbishop Tillotson says, the greatest part of the Fellows of King's College were exempted by the interest of Dr. Witchcott; and no doubt, others that had behaved peaceably obtained the same Favour. Dr. Bawick, Author of the Querela Cantabrigienfis, a famous Loyalist, mentions an Oath of Discovery for the University, like that of an Oath Ex Officio; but Mr. Fuller the Historian, about the year 1653, having requested an account of this Oath from Mr. Ashe the Earl's Chaplain, he returned for answer, That he remembered no fuch thing. Mr. Fuller adds, That he is upon just grounds daily confirmed in his Confidence, that neither the Earl of Manchester, nor any under him by his command or consent, enforced fuch an Oath.

Appeal P. 72-

Numbers ejected. Introd. Suff. Cler. p. 114.

Suff. Cler. p. 163.

The whole number of Graduates expelled the Univerfity in this and the following year, by the Earl of Manchefter and his Commissioners, including Masters and Fellows of Colleges, were, according to Dr. Walker, near two hundred, besides inferior Scholars, which was something more than one half; for the same Author tells us in another place, there were about three hundred fifty five Fellowships in the several Houses of the University; above one hundred and fifty therefore kept their Places, and far the greatest part of the rest had deserted their Stations and fled to the King. There were fix heads of Colleges out of fixteen that complied, (viz.) Dr. Bainbrigge, of Christ's College, Dr. Eden, of Trinity Hall, Dr. Richard Love, of Bennet College, Dr. Brownrigge, of Katherine Hall, ejected in the year 1645, Dr. Bachcroft, of Caius College, and Dr. Rainbow of Magdalen College. The ten that were ejected by the Earl of Manchester, March 13, or some little time, after, with the names of their Successors, are contained in the following Table.

Masters turned out.	Colleges:	Succeeded by	Charles I.
Dr. John Cofins, from		Dr. Laz. Seaman,	
Dr. Tho. Pask,		Dr. R. Cudworth,	
		Mr. Rich. Vines,	
		Dr. Ben. Witchcott,	1250.75.4
Dr. Edw. Martin,	Queen's College	Mr. Herb. Palmer,	k in the best of
Dr. Rich. Stern,	Jesus College	Dr. T. Young,	
Dr. William Beale,	St. John's Coll.	Dr. J. Arrofmith,	ALC: Francisco
Dr. Tho. Comber,	Trinity Hall	Dr. Tho. Hill,	
Dr. R. Holdsworth,	Eman. College	Dr. Ant. Tuckney,	
Dr. Samuel Ward,	Sidney College	Dr. Rich. Minshull,	
Anno 1645.		Dr. W. Spurftow.	
Dr. Ralph Brown- }	Kath. Hall	3 and afterwards,	
rigge,	PART YDDON 10.	Dr. Lightfoot.	

It has been objected to the Proceedings of the Commis- Reasonablefioners, that they were not according to the statutes of the ness of it. University; to which it was replied, That the Nation was in a State of War; that these Gentlemen were declared Enemies to the proceedings of Parliament; " They in- Hift. Camb. " stilled into their Pupils (says Fuller) the unlawfulness of P. 170. " refisting the King upon any pretence whatsoever," and preached upon these Subjects to the People. It was therefore necessary to take the education of the youth out of their hands, which could not be done any other way at prefent; but in all future Elections they returned to the statutes ----It has been faid further, That it was a great loss to Walker's Learning, because those who succeeded were not equal to Attempt, those who were ejected. If this had been true, 'tis no p. 114. fufficient Reason for keeping them in their places, in a time of war, when the Constitution and Liberties of their Country were at stake. But the best way of determining this fact is by comparing the characters of both.

Dr. Cosins had been sequester'd by the Parliament in the Characters of year 1640, for his high Principles, and was retired to the ejected Professors.

France where he continued till the Restoration, and was Suff. Clergy, then preferr'd to the rich Bishoprick of Durham: He was p. 68. a learned Man, of an open, frank, and generous temper, and well versed in the Canons, Councils and Fathers.

And the training of the company of the state of the state

Baxiett

King Charles I.

Dr. Paske lived peaceably and chearfully under the Par liament, and was restored to all his Livings at the Restoration, except the Mastership of this College, which he quit-Ibid. p. 141. ted to his Son. The Querela Cantab. fays, he was eminent for Learning; but I don't remember that he has given any Specimens of it to the World.

Ib. p. 153. Calamy's Abridg. P. 173.

Suff. Clergy,

P. 150.

Dr. Laney was first Chaplain to Dr. Neil, and afterwards Prebendary of Westminster; he was one of the King's Divines at the Treaty of Uxbridge, and attended upon King Charles II. in his exile; after the Restoration he was fuccessively Bishop of Peterborough, Lincoln, and Ely, and was more favourable to the Non-conformists than fome of his Brethren; he has fome Sermons extant, and a fmall Treatife against Hobbes.

Dr. Collins was Regius Professor, Provost of King's College, and Rector of Fenny Ditton; of which last he. was deprived by the Earl of Manchester, for his steady adherence to the Royal Caufe. He kept his Provostship

till the year 1645, and his Professorship much longer. He died in the year 1651, and had the reputation of a great Scholar (fays Dr. Barwick) and his name was famous in foreign Universities, though he has transmitted very little down

to polerity.

Dr. Martin was one of Archbishop Laud's Chaplains, and is one of Mr. White's fcandalous Ministers; he was accused not only of practifing the late Innovations, and of being in the Scheme of reconciling the Church of England with Rome; but of stealing Wheat Sheaves out of the field in Harvest on the Sabbath day, and laying them to his Tithe Stock. He was very high in his principles, and was imprisoned for fending the University Plate to the King. After his enlargement he retired to France, and at the Restoration was preferred to the Deanery of Ely. Loyd fays, he was a godly Man, and excellently well skilled in the Canon, Civil, and Common Law; but Mr. Prynne gives him but a very indifferent character; and Bishop Kennet acknowledges his Principles were rigid, and his temper four.

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Ken. Chr. p. 670.

> Dr. Stern was another of Archbishop's Laud's Chaplains, and was imprisoned for the same Reason as the former. He afterwards affished the Archbishop on the Scaffold, and lived retired till the Restoration, when he was made Bishop of Carlifle, and in 1664, Archbishop of York. He had a fober, honest, mortified aspect, but was of very arbitrary principles, and a very uncharitable temper; for when Mr.

Seff. Clergy, P. 146.

King

Charles I.

1644.

Baxter, at the Savoy Conference, was entreating the Bifhops not to cast out so many Ministers in the Nation, he made this mean remark to his Brethren, that Mr. Baxter would not use the word Kingdom less he should own

a King.

Dr. Beale was also imprisoned for sending the University Plate to the King; after his enlargement he retired to Oxford, and was one of the Preachers before the Court, but upon the declining of the King's cause he retired to Madrid, where he died about the year 1651. He was a man of Soff. Clergy, very high principles; but if we may believe the Querela, a P. 148. person of such worth, as rendered him above the reach of Commendation.

Dr. Comber was another of the King's Chaplains, but was imprisoned and deprived, for fending the University Plate to the King; after his enlargement he lived privately till the year 1653, when he died; he was a learned man,

and of great piety and charity.

Dr. Holdsworth had been a celebrated Preacher, in the City of London, and Divinity Reader in Gresham College; he was afterwards chosen Master of Emanuel College Cambridge, and was a zealous Advocate for the King, for which he was sometimes under confinement. He attended his Majesty at Hampton-Court and the Isle of Wight, but soon after died with grief. He was a pious and charitable Man, but high in his principles, and of an hasty and passionate temper. He published but one Sermon in his Life-time, but after his death his friends published his Prælectiones, and a volume of Sermons.

Dr. Ward was one of the English Divines at the Synod of Dort, and nominated of the Committee of Divines that fat in the Jerusalem Chamber, and of the Assembly, at Westminster, tho' he never sat; he was a very learned man.

and died foon after his ejectment.

Dr. Brownrigge was installed Bishop of Exeter, 1642, and deprived of his Mastership in the year 1645, for some expressions in his Sermon upon the King's Inauguration. He was an excellent man, and of a peaceable and quiet disposition; after the War he was allowed the Liberty of the Pulpit, and was chosen Master of the Temple, where he died about the year 1659.

Far be it from me to detract from the personal Merits of any of these Sufferers; or from their rank in the Commonwealth of Learning; but their political Principles, like those of Archbishop Laud, were certainly inconsistent with

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King Charles L. 1644 the Constitution and Liberties of England, and exposed them very justly to the resentments of the Parliament in these boisterous times.

Those who succeeded the ejected Masters, having been first examined, and approved by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, were these;

And of their Successors.

Calamy's Abridg. Vol. II. p. 16, Dr. Lazarus Seaman, a very considerable Divine, according to Mr. Wood, a compleat Master of the oriental Languages, an excellent Casuist, and a judicious moving Preacher. He was well versed in the controversy of Church Government, which made the Parliament send him with their Commissioners to the Isle of Wight, where his Majesty was pleased to take particular notice of his Abilities. He was ejected out of his Mastership of Peter House in 1662, and died in 1667. He printed several Sermons, and a "Vindication of the Judgment of the reformed Churches" concerning Ordination."

Dr. Ralph Cudworth is so universally known in the learned World, for his great Learning, which he discovered in his Intellectual System, that I shall only observe, he conformed at the Restoration, and a little before resigned his Mastership of Clare Hall into the hands of Dr. Dillingham,

who continued in it to his death.

Dr. Richard Vines was a very learned and excellent Divine, a popular and laborious Preacher, one of the Parliament Divines at the Treaty of the Isle of Wight, and a most industrious and useful Man in his College. He was turned out of his Mastership for refusing the Engagement,

and died before the Restoration.

Dr. Benjamin Witchcott was Fellow of Emanuel College, and upon the ejectment of Dr. Collins preferr'd to the Mastership of King's College, in which he continued till the Restoration, and then conformed. The account that Archbishop Tillotson gives of him is this; "That he was an excellent Tutor and Instructor of youth, and bred up many Persons of Quality, and others, who afterwards proved useful and eminent; that he contributed more to the forming the Students to a sober sense of Religion than any Man of that age. He never took the Covenant, and by his particular friendship and Interest with some of the chief Visitors, prevailed to have the greatest part of the Fellows of his College exempted from that Imposition."

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Til. Works, Vol. I. P. 277.

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Mr. Herbert Palmer, B. D. was one of the University. Preachers in 1632, and Clerk in Convocation for the Diocefe of Lincoln, at the beginning of this Parliament; he was one of the Affessors of the Assembly of Divines at Cl Lives, Weltminster, and on April 11, 1644, constituted Master of P. 183-Queen's College by the Earl of Manchester. He was very careful to appoint fuch Persons for Tutors of Youth as were eminent for Learning and Piety; and being possessed of a good paternal Estate was unbounded in his Liberality. He was a polite Gentleman, a compleat Master of the French Language, in which he could preach as well as in English; but his Constitution being infirm, he died in the year 1647, when he was but forty feven years of age. and of analysis

Dr. T. Young was an eminent Member of the Affembly of Divines (fays Mr. Clarke) a Man of great Learning, of p. 194. much prudence and piety, and of great ability and fidelity. in the work of the Ministry. He was a Preacher at Duke's Place, in London, from whence he was preferr'd to the Mastership of Jesus College, where he behaved with great prudence and piety, till he was turn'd out for refuling the Engagement. He was one of the Authors of the Pamph-

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Dr. John Arrowimith was Fellow of King's Hall, and of an unexceptionable character for Learning and Piety. He was an acute Disputant, and a judicious Divine, as appears by his " Tactica Sacra," a Book of great Reputation in

those Times. He died before the Restoration

Dr. Thomas Hill was Fellow of Emanuel College, and Cl. Lives, one of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. He was p. 230. hilt conflituted Master of Emanuel, and afterwards removed to Trinity College, where he employed all his zeal in the advancement of Knowledge and Virtue, and in keeping up the College Exercises. He was twice Vice-Chancellor, and was as folicitous to preferve the honour and privileges of the University as any of his Predecessors. He was a zealous Calvinist, and after about ten years government of his College died in the year 1653.

Dr. Antony Tuckney had been Vicar of Boston in Lincoinfhire, from whence he was called up to fit in the Afsembly of Divines at Westminster. In the year 1645, he Calamy's was conflituted Master of Emanuel College. In 1653, he Abrag. p. was chosen Master of St. John's, and upon the death of 77' Dr. Arrowsmith Regius Professor, which place he enjoyed

till the Restoration, when King Charles II. by Letter un-You History that are died was n'H to be beard when III LOV

King Charles L

Charles I.

der the Hand of Secretary Nicolas, ordered him to refign, promifing him, in confideration of his great pains and diligence in discharge of his duty, one hundred pounds per Ann. which was paid by his Successor till his Death, in the year 1671. He lest behind him the Character of a pious and learned Man, an indefatigable Student, a candid Disputant, and a zealous promoter of Truth and Piety. He published some practical Treatises in his Life; and his "Prælectiones Theologicæ," with a Volume of Sermons, were printed after his Death.

Dr. Richard Minshull was Fellow of Sidney College, and upon the Death of Dr. Ward chosen regularly, according to the Statutes, into the vacant Mastership, and continued therein till the Restoration, when he conformed, and was confirmed in his Place, which he filled with Repu-

tation to his Death, stage to the sytung part abresburg

Calamy's Abridg. Vol. II. p. Dr. William Spurstow, one of the Assembly of Divines, and one of the Commissioners at the Savoy in the year 1662; he was a person of good learning, of a peaceable and quiet disposition, and of great humility and charity. He was turn'd out of his Mastership of Katherine Hall for refusing the Engagement, and succeeded by the famous

Dr. Lightfoot, the most compleat Master of oriental Learning of his Age; the Doctor enjoyed this Mastership, with the sequester'd Living of Much Munden, given him by the Assembly of Divines, till the Restoration, when he would have resign'd it back into the hands of Dr. Spurstow, but he declining it, Lightfoot conformed, and upon his application to the King was confirmed in both his Preserments till his Death. His Works were published by Mr. Strype in two Volumes Folio.

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Remarks.

If it should be granted, that the new Professors were not at first so expert in the Learning of the Schools as their Predecessors, that desect was abundantly supplied by their application and diligence in their places, for they observed a very strict and severe Discipline; the Tutors were constant in reading Lectures not only in Term-time, but out of it; the Proctors and other Officers had a strict eye over the Students to keep them within bounds, and oblige them to be present at Morning and Evening Prayer. The Lord's day was observed with uncommon rigour; there were Sermons and Prayers in all the Churches and Chapels both Morning and Asternoon. Vice and Profaneness were banished, infomuch, that an oath was not to be heard within the Walls

of the University; and if it may be said without offence, the Colleges never appeared more like Nurseries of Religion and Virtue than at this time. The noble Historian confesses, the University of Oxford sourished as much in Vol. V. p. Learning and learned Men at the Restoration, as before the 74. Civil Wars, which is equally true of Cambridge. And it ought to be remember'd, that most of the great Divines and Philosophers who flourished in the reigns of King Charles the Second and King William the Third, owed their Education to the Tutors of those times, for whom they always retained a great Veneration, though displaced

afterwards for Non-conformity.

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Though the form of inducting the new Masters was not Form of Inaccording to the Statutes (as has been observed) because of duction of the new Mathe distraction of the times, it is evident, this was not de-flers figned to be a Precedent for their Successors, as appears by Suff. Cler. p. the manner of their Investiture, which was this; Mr. La-114zarus Seaman having been examined, and approved by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, the Earl of Manchester came in person into the Chapel of Peter House, April 11, and did there declare, and publish Mr. Lazarus Seaman to be constituted Master of the said Peter House, in the room of Dr. Cofins, late Master, but justly and lawfully ejected; requiring Mr. Seaman to take upon him that Office, putting him into the Master's Seat, and delivering to him the Statutes of the College in token of his Investiture, straitly charging the Fellows, &c. to acknowledge and yield obedience to him, " Notwithstanding he was not " elected, nor admitted according to the ordinary course " prescribed by the said Statutes in this time of Distraction and War, there being a necessity of reforming, as well " the Statutes themselves, as the Members of the said " House." The Earl then gave him an instrument under 1b. p. 115. his hand and Seal to the same effect, and administer'd him an

" T Do solemnly and seriously promise, in the presence of The Oatis-

Oath or Protestation, which he took in the following words,

[&]quot; 1 Almighty God, the Searcher of all Hearts, that du-" ring the time of my continuance in this Charge, I shall " faithfully labour to promote Learning and Piety in my " felf, the Fellows, Scholars, and Students, that do or " shall belong to the said College, agreeably to the late " folemn, national League and Covenant, by me fworn " and subscribed, with respect to all the good and whole-

[&]quot; fome Statutes of the faid College, and of the University H 2

King Charles I. 2644.

correspondent to the said Covenant; and by all means to procure the good, welfare, and perfect Reformation both of the College and University so far as to me appertainest."

The other Masters were introduced into their several Chairs after the same solemn manner, their Warrants bearing date the 11th, 12th, or 13th of April; but the Clause of the Covenant was lest out by those that did not take it, as in the Case of Dr. Witchcot, and others.

And of the Pellows. Suff. Cler. p. 214.

But the vacant Fellowships being more numerous were not so quickly filled, though the Earl took the most prudent method in that affair, for April 10th, he directed a paper to the several Colleges, declaring, that "his purpose was forthwith to supply the vacant Fellowships, and desiring, that if there were any in the respective Colleges, who in regard of Degree, Learning and Piety, should be found fit for such preferment, they would, upon receipt of that paper, return him their Names, in order to their being examined by the Assembly, and invested in them." The persons thus examined and presented, were constituted Fellows by Warrant under the Hand and Seal of the Earl of Manchester, to the Heads of the several Colleges, in the several Colleges.

B. p. 115.

"WHEREAS A. B. has been ejected out of his Fellowfhip in this College; and whereas C. D. has been
examined, and approved by the Affembly of Divines,
these are therefore to require you to receive the said
C.D. as Fellow in the room of A. B. and to give him
place, according to his Seniority in the University, in
Preference to all those that are, or shall hereaster be put
in by me."

MS. penes

I have before me the names of fifty five Perfons, who after they had been examined by the Assembly, were put into vacant Fellowships in the compass of the year 1644, and within fix Months more all the Vacancies were in a manner supplied, with Men of approved Learning and Piety.

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From this time the University of Cambridge enjoyed a happy Tranquillity, Learning revived, Religion and good manners were improved, at a time when the rest of the Nation was in Blood and Confusion. And though this Alteration was effected by a Mixture of the Civil and Military

Charles I.

Military power, yet in a little time things reverted to their former channel, and the Statutes of the University were as regularly observed as ever. Let the reader now judge of the candor and impartiality of the famous Dr. Barwick, Author of the Querela Cantabrigienfis, whose words are these: " Thus the Knipperdol- Pref. p. 2, " lings of the Age reduced a glorious and renowned Uni- 26, 27. " versity almost to a meer Munster, and did more in less Walker's " than three years, than the Apostate Julian could effect p. 115. " in his Reign, (viz.) broke the heart-strings of Learning, " and all learned Men, and thereby luxated all the joints of " Christianity in this Kingdom. We are not assaid to ap-" peal to any impartial judge, Whether if the Goths and "Vandals, or even the Turks themselves, had over-run " this Nation, they would have more inhumanly abused a " flourishing University, than these pretended advancers of Religion have done? Having thrust out one of the Eyes of this Kingdom, made Eloqueuce dumb, Philosoof phy fottish; widdowed the Arts, drove the Muses from " their ancient habitation, plucked the reverend and or-" thodox Professors out of the Chairs, and silenced them " in Prison or in their Graves; turned Religion into Re-" bellion; changed the Apostolical Chair into a Desk for " Blasphemy; tore the Garland from off the Head of "Learning to place it on the dull Brows of difloyal Igno-" rance, and unhived those numerous swarms of labouring " Bees, which used to drop honey-dews over all this Kingdom, to place in their room swarms of senseless Drones. Such was the rant of this reverend Clergyman; and such the language and spirit of the ejected Loyalists!

While the Earl was securing the University to the Par-Committee liament he appointed Commissioners for removing scanda- lous Minilous Ministers in the seven associated Counties, empower- flere.

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ing them to act by the following Warrant.

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March 15:

" Y virtue of an Ordinance of both Houses of Parlia- E. of Man-"D ment, bearing date Jan. 22. 1643-4. I do autho-cheffer's " rize and appoint you-, or any five of you, to call be- empowering " fore you all Ministers or School-masters within the Count hem to act " ties of----, That are scandalous in their lives, or ill-af- Suff. Cler.

" fected to the Parliament, or fomenters of this unnatural P. 117. "War: or that shall wilfully refuse obedience to the Or-

" dinances of Parliament; or that have deferted their or-" dinary places of residence, not being employed in the " fervice Lavery of blue harman at Ha 3

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King 1644.

" fervice of the King and Parliament, with full power " and liberty to fend for any witnesses, and to examine complaints upon Oath. And you are to certify the " names of fuch Ministers, with the charge and proof " against them to me."

It is to be observed, that the Warrant is pointed only against those "who were immoral, or disassected to the " Parliament, or had deferted their Cures;" and was accompanied with Instructions, and a Letter, exhorting them to the faithful and effectual discharge of their trust. The Instructions were to this effect.

E. of Manchefter's Inftructions to them Suff. Cler. P. 117.

First, "That they should be speedy and effectual in ex-" ecuting the Ordinances, and fit in fuch places within "the County, that all parties, by the eafiness of access,

" may be encouraged to address themselves to them with

" their complaints.

Secondly, "That they should issue their Warrants, to " fummon before them such Ministers and Witnesses as

" the articles preferr'd against them should require.

Thirdly, "That the party accused should not be pre-" fent at the taking the depositions, because of discounte-

" nancing the Witnesses, and disturbing the Service "; " but when the Depositions were taken upon oath the par-

"ty accused should have a copy, and have a day given him

" to return his answer in writing, and to make his defence

" within fourteen days, or thereabouts.

Fourthly, "They were to return both the Accufation " and Defence to Mr. Good and Mr. Ashe, the Earl's

" Chaplains, and upon fuch receipts they should have fur-

" ther directions.

Hufb. Col. P. 311.

Fifthly, "If the party accused would not appear to make his defence they were to certify the cause of his

" absence, because if they were Non-residents, or in arms

" against the Parliament, the Earl would proceed against cc them.

Sixthly, "It being found by experience, that Parishi-" oners were not forward to complain of their Ministers,

" though very fcandalous; fome being enemies to the in-" tended Reformation, and others sparing their Ministers,

This was owing to the infolent and unmannerly behaviour of the Clergy before the Commissioners; for the Ordinance of Sept. 6, 1643, appoints, That the Witnesses shall be examined in their presence; and, that sufficient warning shall be given of the time and place where the charge against them should be proved.

1644.

" because they favoured them in their Tithes, and were "therefore esteemed quiet Men; therefore they were reof quired to call unto them, some well-affected men within " every Hundred, who having no private engagements,

" were to be encouraged by the Committees to enquire af-" ter the Doctrines, Lives, and Conversations of all Ministers " and School-masters, and to give information what could

be deposed, and who could depose the same.

Seventhly, " Each Commissioner shall have five shillings " for every day he fits; and the Clerk to receive some pay, " that he might not have occasion to demand fees for every

"Warrant or Copy, unless the Writings were very large. Eighthly, "Upon the ejecting of any scandalous, or ma-" lignant Ministers, they were to require the Parishioners to " make choice of some fit and able person to succeed, who " was to have a Testimonial from the well-affected Gentry

" and Ministry; and to take particular care that no Ana-

baptift, or Antinomian, be recommended.

Ninthly, "They were to certify the true value of each " Living; as also the estate, livelihood, and charge of " children which the accused person had, for his Lordship's

" direction in the affignment of the fifths. And,

Laftly, "They were to use all other proper ways and

" methods for speeding the Service."

contributed to the contribute of the contribute With these Instructions the Earl sent an Exhortation by Letter, in the following Words, constation, with the lens of become

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Gentlemen. " T Send you by this bearer a Commission, with Instruc- The Earl's tions, for executing the Ordinance, &c. within Letter. " your County. I neither doubt of your abilities, nor af- p. 118. " fections, to further this service, yet, according to the " great trust imposed on me herein by the Parliament, I " must be earnest with you to be diligent therein. You " know how much the people of the Kingdom have for-" merly fuffered in their persons, souls, and estates, under " an idle, ill-affected, scandalous, and insolent Clergy, up-" held by the Bishops; and you can't but foresee, that " their pressures and burthens will still continue, though " the form of Government be alter'd, unless great care be " taken to displace such Ministers, and to place orthodox " and holy men in every Parish; for let the Government " be what it will for the form thereof, yet it will never be " good unless the parties employed therein be good them-H 4

felves. By the Providence of God it now lies in your 54 power to reform the former abuses, and to remove these " offenders. Your Power is great, and fo is your Trust, 4. If a general Reformation follows not within your County, " affuredly the blame will be laid upon you, and you must "expect to be called to account for it, both here and here-" after. For my part, I am resolved to employ the utmolt " of my power, given to me by the Ordinance for procuring a general Reformation in all the affociated Coun-" ties, expecting your forwardness, and heartily joining "with me herein." I reft, &co

Their Meceeding. Suff. Cler. p. 119.

on Marten of Cooks and the Williams were been been - When a Clergyman was convicted according to the inthod of pro- firmctions above-mentioned, report was made to the Earl who directed a warrant to the Church-wardens of the parish, to eject him out of his parsonage, and all the profits -thereof; and another to receive the Tithes, and all the benefits into their own hands, and to keep them in fafe cuftody till they should receive further orders from himself. / At the fame time he directed the Parishioners to choose a proper Minister for the vacant place, and upon their Presentation his Lordship fent him to the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, with an account of his character, for their trial and examination. And upon a Certificate from the Assembly, that they approved of him as an orthodox Divine, and qualified to officiate in the pastoral function, his Lordship issued out his last Warrant, fetting forth, that " such " an one having been approved by the Assembly, &c. he " did therefore authorize and appoint him the faid ---, to officiate as Minister, to preach, teach, and catechise in Clean so'F see fuch a Parish during his (the Earl's) pleasure, and then empower him to take possession of the Church, Parsonage 66 Houses, Glebe Lands, and to receive the Tithes and Profits, and enjoy the fame, until his Lordship should 46 take further order concerning the same, requiring all Ofcers to aid and affift him for that purpose?

Remarks.

Sant Ch

If the Committees observed these Articles there could be no reasonable ground of complaint, except of the Sixth, which might be construed as giving too much encouragement to informers; but the methods of conviction were unexceptionable: the perfons to be called before the Commifhoners were scandalous, or enemies to the Parliament; the Depositions were upon oath; a copy of them allowed the Defendant, with time to give in his Answer in writing; then a day appointed to make his defence in prefence

of the Witnesses, to whom he might take exceptions and after all, the final judgment not left with the Commissioners but with the Earl. The filling the vacant Benefice was no less prudent; the Parishioners were to choose their own Minifter, who was to produce Testimonials of his Sobriety and Virtue; the Assembly were then to examine into his Learning and ministerial Qualifications; and after all, the new Incumbent to hold his Living only during Pleasure; the Parliament being willing to leave open a door, at the conclusion of a Peace, for restoring such Royalists as were difplaced meerly for adhering to the King, without prejudice to the present Possessor. One cannot answer for particulars under fuch uncommon distractions and violence of Parties: but the orders were, in my opinion, not only reasonable but necessary, for the support of the cause in which the Parliament was engaged.

The Committees for the affociated Counties acted, I Suff. Cler. apprehend, no longer than the year 1644. The last War-P-119 rant of Ejectment mentioned by Dr. Nalson, bearing date March 17, 1644-5, in which time affairs were brought to such a settlement in those Parts, that the Royalists could give them no disturbance. The affociated Counties, says Mr. Fuller, escaped the best of all parts in this civil War, the Smoak thereof only offending them, while the Fire was selt in other Places. The chief Ejectments by the Commissioners in other parts of England, were in the years 1644, 1645, and till the change of Government in the year 1649, when the Covenant itself was set aside, and changed into an Engagement to the new

Tis hard to compute the number of Clergymen that Numbers might lofe their Livings by the feveral Committees during ejected. the War, nor is it of any great Importance, for the Law is the same whether more or fewer suffer by it; and the not putting it in Execution might be owing to want of power or opportunity. Dr. Nalson says, that in five of the associated Counties one hundred fifty fix Clergymen were ejected in little more than a year; namely, in Norfolk fifty one, Suffolk thirty seven, Cambridgeshire thirty one, Essex twenty one, Lincolnshire fixteen; and if we allow a proportionable number for the other two, the whole will amount to two hundred and eighteen; and if in feven Counties there were two hundred and eighteen Sufferers, the fifty two Counties of England, by a like proportion, will produce upwards of fixteen hundred. Dr. Walker has fallaciously at olab

Commonwealth.

King Charles L. 1644. King Charles I. 1644

Ch. and Differenters compared, p. 52.

encreased the number of suffering Clergymen to eight thoufand, even though the lift at the end of his Book makes out little more than a fifth part. Among his Cathedral Clergy he reckons up feveral Prebends and Canonries, in which he supposes Sufferers without any Evidence. Of this fort Dr. Calamy has reckoned above two hundred. If one Clergyman was pollels'd of three or four Dignities there appear as many Sufferers. The like is to be observed in the case of Pluralities; for Example, Richard Stuart, L. L. D. is fet down as as Sufferer in the Deanry of St. Paul's, as Prebendary of St. Pancras, and Refidentiary; in the Deanry and Prebend of the third Stall in Westminster; in the Deanry of the Royal Chapel; in the Provoftship of Eaton College, and Prebend of Northalton in the Church of Salifbury; all which Preferments he enjoyed (fays Dr. Walkes) or was entitled to together, and his name is repeated in the feveral places. By fuch a calculation 'tis easy to deceive the Reader and swell the account beyond Measure. The Revd. Mr. Withers, a late Non-conformist Minister at Exeter, has taken pains to make an exact computation in the affociated Counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, and Cambridgeshire, in which are one thousand three hundred and ninety eight Parishes, and two hundred fifty three Sequestrations; fo that if these may be reckon'd as a Standard for the whole Kingdom, the number will be reduced confiderably under two thousand. He has also made another computation from the County of Devon, in which are three hundred ninety four Parishes, and one hundred thirty nine Sequestrations, out of which thirty nine are deducted for Pluralities, &c. and then by comparing this County (in which both Doctor Walker and Mr. Withers lived) with the rest of the Kingdom, the amount of Sufferers according to him, is one thousand seven hundred twenty six; but admitting they should arise to the number of the Doctor's names in his Index, which are about two thousand four hundred, yet when such are deducted as were fairly convicted upon oath, of immoralities of Life, &c. (which were a fourth in the affociated Counties) and all fuch as took part with the King in the War, or disowned the authority of the Parliament; preaching up Doctrines inconfistent with the cause for which they had taken Arms, and exciting the People to an absolute submission to the authority of the Crown, the remainder that were displaced only for refusing the Covenant, must be very inconsiderable; Mr. Baxter fays, they cast out the grosser sort of insufficient and scandalous dalous Clergy, and some few civil men that had acted in the Wars for the King, and fet up the late innovations, but Charles L. left in near one half of those that were but barely tolerable. He adds further, " That in all the Counties in which he Hin. of L. was acquainted fix to one at least, if not more, that and Times, " were sequester'd by the Committees, were by the Oaths P. 74, 75.

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" of Witnesses proved insufficient or scandalous, or both." But admitting their Numbers to be equal to those Puritan Ministers ejected at the Restoration, yet the cause of their Ejectment, and the Circumstances of the Times, be- Compared ing very different, the Sufferings of the former ought not with the to be compar'd with the latter; though Doctor Walker is nifters in pleased to say in his Presace, "That if the Sufferings of 1662. is the Diffenters bear any tolerable proportion to those of " the ejected Loyalists, in number, degrees, or circum-" stances, he will be gladly deemed not only to have lost " all his labour, but to have revived a great and unanswer-" able scandal on the cause he has undertaken to defend." I shall leave the Reader to pass his own judgment upon this Declaration, after I have produced the testimony of one or two Divines of the Church of England. " Who can an- Conform.

" fwer (fays one) for the violence and injustice of Actions 12, 13. " in a civil War? those Sufferings were in a time of gene-" ral calamity, but these [in 1662.] were ejected not only

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" in a time of peace, but a time of joy to all the Land, " and after an act of Oblivion, to which common rejoicing

" these suffering Ministers had contributed their earnest " Prayers, and great endeavours" --- "I must own se (fays another of the Doctor's Correspondents) that though

" both fides have been excessively to blame, yet that the " feverities used by the Church to the Diffenters are less

" excusable than those used by the Dissenters to the " Church; my reason is, that the former were used in Calamy's "times of peace, and a fettled Government, whereas the Ch. and Diffenters

" latter were inflicted in a time of tumult and confusion, compared, " so that the plundering and ravaging endured by the p. 23, 24.

" Church Ministers were owing (many of them at least) to "the rudeness of the Soldiers, and the chances of War; "they were plunder'd, not because they were Conformists,

" but Cavaliers, and of the King's Party." The case of those that were sober and virtuous, seems to me much the fame with the Non-jurors at the late Revolution of King William III. and I readily agree with Mr. Fuller, that Hift. p. 207.

" moderate men bemoaned these severities, for as much " corruption was let out by these Ejectments (many scan-

King Charles I. 1644.

"dalous Ministers being deservedly punished) so at the " fame time the Veins of the English Church were also much good Blood."

smill bas Calamy's Ch. and Diffenters, P. 24.

We have already observed, that a fifth part of the Revenues of these ejected Clergymen were reserved for the maintenance of their poor Families, "Which was a christian act, and which I should have been glad (fays the "Divine above-mentioned) to have feen imitated at the Upon this the Cavaliers fent their Wives " Restoration." and Children to be maintained by the Parliament Ministers, while themselves were fighting for the King. The Houses

Compacted Hueb. Col. p. 726.

therefore ordained, Sept. 8, 1645. That the fifths should not be paid to the Wives and Children of those who came into the Parliament Quarters without their Husbands or Fathers, or who were not bred in the Protestant Religion. But when the War was over all were allowed their fifths, though in some places they were ill paid, the Incumbent being hardly able to allow them, by reason of the smallness of his Living, and the Devastation of the War. But when fome pretended to excuse themselves on the forementioned Exceptions, the two Houses published the following Explanation, November 11, 1647, (viz.) " That the Wives " and Children of all, fuch persons whose Estates and Liv-" ings are, have been, or shall be sequester'd by order of

either House of Parliament, shall be comprehended within the Ordinance which allows a fifth part for Wives and Children, and shall have their fifth part allowed " them; and the Committee of Lords and Commons for " Sequestrations, and the Committees for plunder'd Mini-" sters, and all other Ministers, are requir'd to take notice

" hereof, and yield obedience hereunto." Afterwards, when it was question'd, whether the fifths should pay their proportion of the publick Taxes, it was ordained, that the Incumbent only should pay them, Under the Government of the Protector Cromwel it was ordained, that if the ejected Minister left the quiet possession of his House and Glebe to his Successor within a certain time, he should have his fifths, and all his arrears, provided he had not a real Estate of his own, of thirty pounds per Annum, or five hundred

pounds in money.

The Hard- on But after all, it was a hard case on both sides; the Inhip on both cumbents thought it hard to be obliged to all the Duties of their place, and another to go away with a fifth of the profit, at a time when the value of Church Lands was -confiderably lessened by the neglect of Tillage, and . didous exorbi-

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P. 139.

exorbitant taxes were laid upon all the necessaries of Life. To which may be added, an opinion that began to Charles f. prevail among the Farmers, of the unlawfulness of paying tithes: Mr. Selden had led the way to this in his book of tithes, whereupon the Parliament, by an Ordinance of Nov. 8, 1644. " Strictly enjoyned all persons fully, truly, and effectually to let out, yield, and pay respectively all " and fingular Tithes, Offerings, and Oblations, Obventions, " rates for Tithes, and all other Duties commonly known by the name of Tithes," Others that had no Scruple about the payment of Tithes, refused to pay them to the new Incumbent, because the ejected Minister had the legal right, infomuch that the Prefbyterian Ministers were obliged and all o in many places to fue their Parishioners, which created difturbances and divisions, and at length gave rife to several Petitions from the Counties of Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Hertfordshire, &c. praying, That their Ministers might be provided for some other way. The Parliament referred them to a Committee, but came to no Agreement, because they could not fix upon another fund, nor provide for the Lay-Impropriations.

per an in lappence, of two different Forence in the fame! and Government; it of Marely defroyes; it when friends! Invide Sion and co-: VI . R. H. Pr the Convince of

being referred to the Adaptitude. The prevented advan-

Of the feveral Parties in the Affembly of Divines, Prefbyabout Ordination, and the Directory for Divine Worship, The Rife, Progress, and Sufferings of the English Anavariable Fule for fittire Aires; as Chamee; Stillad ...

Cor. &c. and Archbilliop Whitefile in his controvers with DEFORE we proceed to the Debates of the Affembly Parties in D of Divines it will be proper to diffinguish the feveral the Assem-Parties of which it was conflituted. The Episcopal Clergy bly of Dihad entirely deferted it before the bringing in of the Covenant, fo that the Establishment had not a single Advocate. All who remained were for taking down the main Pillars of the Hierarchy, before they had agreed what fort of Building to erect in its room. muliford value of

The Majority at first intended only the reducing Episco Of the Profpacy to the Standard of the first or second Age, but for byterians. the fake of the Scots Alliance, they were prevailed with to

lay afide the name and Function of Bishops, and attempt the establishing a Presbyterial Form upon the ruins of all others, which at length they advanced into Jus Divinum, or Divine Institution, derived expresly from Christ and his Apostles. But this engaged them in fo many controversies. as prevented their laying the top Stone to their Building, fo that it fell to pieces before it was perfected. The chief Patrons of Presbytery in the House of Commons were Denzil Hollis, Efq; Sir William Waller, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir Benjamin Rudyard, Serjeant Maynard, Colonel Malley, Colonel Harley, John Glyn, Efg; and a few others.

Of the Era-P. 139.

The Erastians formed another branch of the Assembly, fo called from Erastus, a German Divine of the fixteenth Baxter's Life, century. The Pastoral Office, according to him, was only perswasive, like a Professor of the Sciences over his Students, without any Power of the Keys annexed. Lord's Supper and other Ordinances of the Gospel, were to be free and open to all. The Minister might diffuade the vicious and unqualified from the Communion, but might not refuse it, or inflict any kind of Censure; the punishment of all offences, either of a civil or religious nature, being referved to the Magistrate. The pretended advantage of this Scheme was, that it avoided the erecting Imperium in Imperio, or two different Powers in the fame civil Government; it effectually destroyed all that spiritual Jurisdiction and co-ercive Power over the Consciences of of Men which had been challenged by Popes, Prelates, Presbyteries, &c. and made the Government of the Church a Creature of the State. Most of our first Reformers were fo far in these sentiments as to maintain, that no one Form of Church Government is prescribed in Scripture as an invariable Rule for future Ages; as Cranmer, Redmayn, Cox, &c. and Archbishop Whitgift, in his controversy with Certwright, delivers the same opinion; " I deny (savs he) that the Scripture has fet down any one certain Form of Church Government to be perpetual.——Again, it is well known, that the manner and form of Govern-"ment expressed in the Scriptures neither is now, nor can, se nor ought to be observed either touching persons or " functions. The charge of this is left to the Magistrate, " fo that nothing be contrary to the Word of God. The Government of the Church must be according to the "Form of Government in the Commonwealth." The chief

chief Patrons of this Scheme in the Assembly were Dra Lightfoot, Mr. Colman, Mr. Selden, and Mr. Whitlock; Charles I. and in the House of Commons, besides Selden and Whitlock, Oliver St. John, Sir Thomas Widdrington, John Crew, Efq, Sir John Hipfley, and others of the greatest Pietoria ferrimaia

The Independents, or Congregational Brethren, com- of the Indeposed a third Party, and made a bold stand against the pindants. proceedings of the high Presbyterians; their numbers were fmall at first, but encreased prodigiously in a few years, and grew to considerable figure under the Protectorship of Oli-

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wer Cromwell.

We have already related their original, and carried on their History, till they appeared in publick about the latter end of the year 1640. The Divines that passed under this denomination in the Affembly had fled their Country in the late times, and formed Societies, according to their own model in Holland, upon the States allowing them the use of their Churches, after their own Service was ended, with liberty of ringing a Bell to publick Worship, Here (as they declare) they fet themselves to consult the Holy Scriptures as impartially as they could, in order to find out the discipline that, the Apostles themselves practifed in the very first Age of the Church; the condition they were in, and the melancholy prospect of their affairs affording no temptation to any particular biass. The rest of their history, with their distinguishing opinions, I shall draw from their Apologetical Narration, published at this time, and presented to the House of Commons.

"As to the Church of England (fay they) we profess Apologet. " before God and the World, that we do apprehend a Narr. of the "great deal of defilement in their way of Worship, and Indepena great deal of unwarranted power exercised by their

"Church Governors, yet we allowed multitudes of their " Parochial Churches to be true Churches, and their "Ministers true Ministers. In the late times, when we " had no hopes of returning to our Country, we held "Communion with them, and offered to receive to the

"Lord's Supper some that came to visit us in our exile, " whom we knew to be godly, upon that relation and " Membership they held in their Parish Churches in Eng-

" land, they professing themselves to be Members thereof, " and belonging thereto. The same charitable disposition "we maintained towards the Dutch Churches among

" whom

King Charles I. 1644

Tb. pt 18.

whom we lived. We mutually gave and received the se right hand of Pellowship, holding a brotherly correspon-" dence with their Divines, and admitting forme of the " Members of their Churches to Communion in the Saof crament; and other Ordinances, by virtue of their rela-

" tion to those Churches.

Ib. p. 12, 15. The Scheme they embraced was a middle way between Brownism and Presbytery, (viz.) that " every particular "Congregation of Christians has an entire and complete power of Jurisdiction over its Members, to be exercised by the Elders thereof within itself. This they are fure 55 must have been the form of Government in the primitive "Church, before the numbers of Christians in any City were multiplied fo far as to divide into many Congrega-"tions, which, tis dubious, whether it was the Fact in the Apostles times. Not that they claim an entire Independency with re-

" gard to other Churches, for they agree, that in all cases of offence the offending Church is to submit to an open examination, by other neighbouring Churches, and on their perfifting in their error or miscarriage, they then " are to renounce all Christian Communion with them, till they repent, which is all the Authority or Ecclefiafties cal Power that one Church may exercise over another, " unless they call in the civil Magistrate, for which they

find no Authority in Scripture.

Their method of publick wothip in Holland was the " fame with other Protestants; they read the Scriptures of the old and new Testament in their Assemblies, and expounded them on proper occasions; they offered up publick and folemn prayers, for Kings, and all in Autho-" rity; and though they did not approve of a prescribed Form, they admitted that publick Prayer in their Affemblies ought to be framed by the meditation and study of "their Ministers, as well as their Sermons; the Word of God was constantly preached; the two Sacraments of Baptism; to Infants, and the Lord's Supper were frequently administer'd; to which was added, finging of Pfalms, and a Collection for the Poor every Lord's a Day.

They profess their agreement in Doctrine with the Articles of the Church of England, and other reformed Churches,

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"Their Officers, and publick Rulers in the Church, were Pastors, Teachers, ruling Elders (not Lay, but Ecclefiaffical Persons, separated to that service) and Deacons. "They practifed no Church Censures but Admonition;

King Charles I. 1644.

er and excommunication upon obstinate and impenitent Of-" fenders, which latter they apprehended should not be proer nounced but for crimes of the last importance, and which er may be reasonably supposed to be committed contrary to the light and conviction of the person's Conscience.

" In conclusion they call God and Man to witness, that p. 24, 25, out of a regard to the publick peace they had forbore to 27. " publish their peculiar opinions, either from the Pulpit or Press, or to improve the present disposition of the er people to the increase of their party; nor should they " have published that apology to the world, had not their filence been interpreted as an acknowledgment of those er reproaches and calumnies that have been cast upon them " by their adversaries; but should have waited for a free and open debate of their fentiments in the present As-" fembly of Divines, though they are sensible they shall " have the difadvantage with regard to numbers, learning, " and the stream of publick interest; however, they are "determined in all debates, to yield to the utmost latitude " of their consciences, professing it to be as high a point of "Religion, to acknowledge their mistakes when they are " convinced of them, as to hold fast the truth; and when " matters are brought to the nearest agreement, to promote

" fuch a temper as may tend to Union, as well as Truth. "They therefore befeech the honourable Houses of Par- p. 30. " liament, not to look upon them as disturbers of the pub-" lick peace, but to confider them as persons that differ but " little from their Brethren; yea, far less than they do " from what themselves practised three years ago. They befeech them likewise to have some regard to their past " exile, and present sufferings, and upon these accounts to " allow them to continue in their native Country, with the " enjoyment of the Ordinances of Christ, and an indulgence in some lesser differences, as long as they continue " peaceable subjects." Sign'd by

Tho. Goodwin, Sydrach Simpson, Philip Nye, Jer. Burroughs, William Bridge.

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King 1644. Remarks.

The reverend Mr. Herle, afterwards Prolocutor of the Assembly, in his Imprimatur to this Apology, calls it a Performance full of peaceableness, modesty and candor; and though he wrote against it, yet in the Preface to his Book, entitled, "The Independency upon Scripture of " the Independency of Churches," fays, " The difference between us and our Brethren who are for Independency, " is nothing fo great as some may conceive; at most it does " but rufflle the Fringe, not any way rend the Garment of "Christ; it is so far from being a fundamental, that it is " scarce a material difference." But the more rigid Presbyterians attacked the Apology with greater feverity; swarms of Pamphlets were published against it in a few months, some reflecting on the persons of the Apologists, and others on their principles, as tending to break the uniformity of the Church, under the pretence of liberty of Conscience. The most furious adversaries were Dr. Bastwick, old Mr. Vicars, and Mr. Edwards, Minister of Christ Church, London, who printed an Antapologia, of three hundred Pages in Quarto, full of fuch bitter Invectives, that the pacifick Mr. Burroughs faid, "he questioned whether any " good Man ever vented fo much malice against others, " whom he acknowledged to be pious and religious persons." But we shall have occasion to remember this Gentleman again hereafter.

Their Vindication. Vol. XII. P. 290.

Lord Clarendon and Mr. Eachard represent the Independants as ignorant and illiterate Enthusiasts; and though Mr. Rapin confesses, he knew nothing of their rise and progress, he has painted them out in the most disadvantagious Colours, affirming, "That their Principles were ex-" ceeding proper to put the Kingdom into a flame; that " they abhorred Monarchy, and approved of none but a "Republican Government, and that as to Religion, their 66 Principles were contrary to all the rest of the World; " that they would not endure ordinary Ministers in the "Church, but every one among them prayed, preached, st admonished, and interpreted Scripture, without any other " call, than what himself drew from his supposed gifts, " and the approbation of his hearers."

'Tis furprifing fo accurate an Historian should take such liberties with Men whose Principles he was so little acquainted with, as to fay, "The Independants abhorred " Monarchy, and approved of none but a Republican Go-" vernment." Whereas they affured the World in their Apology, That they prayed publickly for Kings, and all in Authority. C

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King Charles I.

Authority. This was no point of Controversy between them and the Presbyterians, for when they had the King in their custody they served him on the knee, and in all probability would have restored him to all the honours of his Crown, if he had complied with their propofals. When they were reproached with being enemies to Magistracy, a Declaration was published by the Congregational Societies in and about London in the year 1647, wherein they declare, " That as Magistracy and Government in general P. 8. " is the Ordinance of God, they do not disapprove of any " form of civil Government, but do freely acknowledge, " that a kingly Government, bounded by just and whole-" fome Laws, is both allowed by God, and a good Accom-" modation unto Men." And if we may believe Dr. Welwood, when the Army resolved to set aside the present King, the governing Party would have advanced the Duke of Gloucester to the Throne, if they could have done it with fafety. With regard to Religion he adds, "Their Princi-" ples were contrary to all the rest of the World;" and yet they gave their consent to all the doctrinal Articles of the Assembly's Confession of Faith, and declared in their Apology, their agreement with the doctrinal Articles of the Church of England, and with all the Protestant reformed Churches in their Harmony of Confessions, differing only about the jurisdiction of Classes, Synods and Convocations, and the point of liberty of Conscience. — Our Historian adds, that "They were not only averse to Episcopacy, but would not endure fo much as ordinary Ministers in " the Church. They maintained, that every man might " pray in publick, exhort his brethren and interpret Scrip-" ture, without any other call than what himself drew from " his zeal and supposed Gifts, and without any other au-" thority than the approbation of his Hearers." But here his Annotator, Mr. Tindal, rightly observes, that he has mistook the Independants for the Brownists; the Independants had their stated Officers in the Church for publick prayer, preaching, and administring the Sacraments, as Pastors, Teachers, and Elders, (who were Ecclefiasticks) and Deacons to take care of the poor; nor did they admit of perfons unordained to any office, to exercise their gifts publickly, except as Probationers, in order to their devoting themselves to the Ministry. The Words of their Confesfion are; "The Work of Preaching is not fo peculiarly Savoy Cons. " confined to Pastors and Teachers, but that others also Art. 14. " gifted, and fitted by the Holy Ghost for it, and approved

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King Charles I. 1644.

" (being by lawful ways and means, by the providence of "God called thereunto) may publickly, ordinarily, and conftantly perform it, so that they give themselves up thereunto." Tis necessary the Reader should make these remarks, to rectify a train of mistakes which run through this part of Mr. Rapin's History, and to convince him, that the King's death was not owing to the distinguishing tenets of any Sect or party of Christians. There were indeed fome Republicans and Levellers in the Army, whole numbers encreased after they despaired of bringing the King into their measures, but 'tis well known that at their first appearance, Cromwell by his personal valour, suppressed them with the hazard of his Life. These were chiefly Anabaptists, and proved as great enemies to the Protector as to the King. But there is nothing in the Principles of the Presbyterians, Independants, or Anabaptists (as far as I can learn) inconsistent with Monarchy, or that had a natural tendency to put the Kingdom into a flame.

Baxter's Life, p. 140, 143.

Mr. Baxter, who was no friend to the Independants, and knew them much better than the above-mentioned Writers, admits, "That most of them were zealous, and very many learned, different and pious, capable of being very ferviceable to the Church, and fearchers into Scripture and Antiquity;" though he blames them on other occasions, for making too light of Ordination; for their too great strictness in the qualification of Church-Members; for their popular form of Church-Government; and their too much exploding of Synods and Councils; but then adds, " I faw a commendable care of ferious Holiness and Disciof pline in most of the Independent Churches; and I 66 found, that some Episcopal Men, of whom Archbi-" shop Usher was one, agreed with them in this, that every Bishop was independent, and that Synods and Councils were not fo much for Government as Con-" cord." And I may venture to declare, that these are the Sentiments of almost all the Protestant Non-conformists in England at this day.

Of the Anabaptists.

There was not one professed Anabaptist in the Assembly, but their Sentiments began to spread wonderfully without doors. Their Teachers were for the most part illiterate, Life, p. 140. though Mr. Baxter fays, "He found many of them fober, " godly, and zealous, not differing from their Brethren but " as to Infant Baptism." These joining with the Indepen-

dants in the point of Discipline and Toleration, made them.

the more confiderable, and encouraged their opposition to King the Presbyterians, who were for establishing their own Discipline, without regard to fuch as differed from them.

It is not to be wondered, that so many Parties, with dif- Proceedings ferent views, should entangle the Proceedings of this ve- of the Afnerable Body, and protract the intended Union with the Scots, though as foon as the Covenant was taken they enter'd upon that affair, the Parliament having fent them the

following Order, dated Octob. 12, 1643.

PON ferious Confideration of the present state Order to of affairs, the Lords and Commons affembled in confer about this present Parliament do order, That the Assembly of Discipline. "Divines, and others, do forthwith confer, and treat a-

" mong themselves, of such a discipline and Government " as may be most agreeable to God's holy Word, and most " apt to procure and preserve the Peace of the Church

" at home, and a nearer agreement with the Church " of Scotland, &c. to be fettled in this Church instead of " the present Church Government by Archbishops, Bishops,

" &c. which it is resolved to take away; and to deliver their "advice touching the same to both Houses of Parlia-

" ment with all convenient speed."

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Hereupon the Assembly set themselves to enquire into the Constitution of the primitive Church in the days of the Apostles, which being founded upon the model of the Jewish Synagogues, gave the Lightfoots, the Seldens, the Cole-Lightfoot's mans, and other Masters of Jewish Antiquities, an op- Remains, in portunity of displaying their superior Learning, by new Pref. p. 8. and unheard of Interpretations of Scripture, whereby the warmer Presbyterians were frequently disconcerted, whose Plan of Discipline they had no mind should receive the Stamp of an Apostolick Sanction in the Church of Eng-

But it was a capital mistake in the proceedings of Parliament, to destroy one building before they were agreed upon another. The ancient order of Worship and Discipline in the Church of England was fet afide above twelve Months before any other Form was appointed; no wonder therefore, that in this time Sects and Divisions arrived to such a pitch, that it was not in their power afterwards to destroy. Committees indeed were appointed to prepare materials for the debate of the Assembly; some for Discipline, and others for Worship, which were argued in their order, but then

King Charles I. 1644. laid aside without being perfected, or sent up to Parliament to receive the Sanction of a Law. Nothing can be alledged in excuse for this, but their backwardness to unite with the Scots, or the prospect the Parliament might yet have of an agreement with the King.

Of Ordina-

The first point that came upon the Carpet was the Ordination of Ministers; which was the more necessary, because the Bishops refused to ordain any who were not in the Interest of the Crown: This gave occasion to enquire into the "antient right of Presbyters to Ordain without a "Bishop," which meeting with some opposition, the Committee proposed a temporary provision, till the matter could be settled, and offered these two queries.

First, "Whether in extraordinary Cases something extraordinary may not be admitted, till a settled order can be straed, yet keeping as near to the rule as possible?"

Secondly, "Whether certain Ministers of this City "may not be appointed to ordain Ministers in the City and Neighbourhood, for a certain time, Jure Fraternitatis?"

To the last of which the Independents entered their diffent, unless the Ordination was attended with the previous election of some Church. New difficulties being continually started, upon this and some other heads, the Scots Commishoners were out of all patience, and applied to the City Ministers to petition the Parliament to call for the Advice of the Affembly. The petition was presented Sept. 18, 1644, in which, having reminded the Commons of their Remonstrance, wherein they declare, it was not their intention to let loofe the golden reins of discipline; and of their National Covenant, wherein they had engaged to the most high God, to fettle an Uniformity in the Church, they add, "Give us leave, we befeech you, in pursuance of our Na-" tional Covenant, to figh out our Sorrows at the foot of " this honourable Senate. Through many erroneous opi-" nions, ruinating Schifms, and damnable Herefies, un-

Rushw. Vol. V. p. 780.

"happily fomented in this City and Country, the orthodox Ministry is neglected, the People are seduced, Congregregations torn as afunder, Families distracted, Rights and Duties of Relations, National, Civil, and Spiritual scan-

"dalously violated, the Power of Godliness decayed, Parliamentary Authority undermined, fearful Confusions introduced, imminent Destruction threaten'd, and in part inflic-

ted upon us lately in the West. May it therefore please your Wisdoms, as a sovereign remedy for the removal of

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" our present miseries, and preventing their progress, to ex-" pedite a Directory for publick Worship, to accelerate " the Establishment of a pure Discipline and Government, " according to the Word of God, and the example of the " best Reformed Churches, and to take away all obstructi-" ons that may impede and retard our humble Defires." Upon this the Assembly were ordered to fend up their hum- Advice of ble Advice upon this head; which was to the following Ef- the Affemfect, [Sept. 22.] (viz.) That in this present exigency, while bly. there were no Presbyteries, yet it being necessary that Ministers should be ordained for the Army and Navy, and for the Service of many destitute Congregations, by some who having been ordained themselves, have power to join in the letting apart of others: They advise,

That an Affociation of some godly Ministers in and Vol. Pam. about the City of London be appointed by publick Autho-penes me, rity, to ordain Ministers for the City and the neighbouring parts, keeping as near to the rule as may be.

(2.) That the like Affociations be made by the fame Authority in great Towns and neighbouring Parishes in the feveral Counties which are at present quiet and undiiturbed.

(3.) That fuch as are chosen, or appointed for the Service of the Army or Navy, being well recommended, be ordained as aforefaid, by the affociated Ministers of London, or some others in the Country; and the like for any other Congregations that want a Minister.

According to this advice the two Houses past an Ordinance, Octob. 2, for the Ordination of Ministers Pro Tempore, which appoints the following ten Persons, being Presbyters, and Members of the Assembly, to examine and ordain, by imposition of hands, all those whom they shall judge qualified to be admitted into the facred Ministry. (VIZ.)

Dr. Cornelius Burgess, As- Mr. Starkey Gower, feffor, Mr. John Conant, Dr. William Gouge, Mr. Humphrey Chambers, Mr. John Ley, Mr. Henry Roborough, Mr. George Walker, Mr. Dan. Cawdrey. Mr. Edmund Calamy,

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And the following thirteen being Presbyters of the City of London, but not Members of the Assembly, viz.

King Charles I. 1644.

The Rev. Mr. John Down- The Rev. Mr. Tho. Glenham, Mr. Charles Offfpring, Mr. Richard Lee, Mr. Tim. Dod, Mr. James Cranford, Mr. Tho, Horton,

don. Mr. Sam. Clarke. Mr. Arthur Jackfon, Mr. Em. Bourne, Mr. Fulk Billers, Mr. Fr. Roberts, Mr. Leon. Cooke.

Any feven, or more, to be a Quorum, and all Persons so ordained to be reputed Ministers of the Church of England, fufficiently authorized for any Office or Employment therein, and capable of all advantages appertaining to the fame. Their rules for examination, and trial of Candidates, will be seen the next year, when this affair was fully settled. In the mean time another Ordinance past the Houses, for the benefit of the County of Lancaster, whereby the Reverend Mr. Charles Herle, Mr. Richard Herrick, Mr. Hyet, Mr. Bradshaw, Mr. Isaac Ambrose, and others, to the number of twenty one, had full power given them to ordain Pro Tempore in the County of Lancaster. And to obviate the reproaches of the Oxford Divines, the following claufe was added, that "If any Person do publickly preach, or otherwife exercise any ministerial Office, that shall not be or-" dained, or thereunto allowed by feven of the faid Mini-" sters, their names shall be returned to both Houses of " Parliament, to be dealt with as they in their Wisdom shall " think fit." It was voted further, that " No Minister be " allowed to preach, unless he has a Certificate of his Or-"dination, or at least of his being examined and approved by the Assembly." And Feb. 16, at a Conference between the two Houses it was agreed, That the Assembly of Divines be defired to admit none into their Pulpits, but such whose Doctrine they would be answerable for. Such was the concern of the Parliament in these distracted times, to have a fober and well regulated Clergy.

Parl. Chr. P. 152.

Directory for publick

Worship.

Next to the providing for a Succession of Ministers by Ordination, the Assembly consulted about a Form of publick Devotion; for the old Liturgy being laid afide there were no publick Offices in the Church: A Committee was therefore appointed, Octob. 17, 1643, to agree upon certain general heads, for the direction of the Minster in the dif-

charge

charge of his Office, which having passed through the Assembly, were sent into Scotland, for the approbation of the General Assembly, and then established by an Ordinance of Parliament, bearing date Jan. 3, 1644-5, under the Title

of "A Directory for publick Worship."

The Reasons which induced the Parliament to discard the

old Liturgy, and form a new plan for the devotion of the Church, I shall transcribe from their own Preface. "Tis Pref. to Di" evident (fay they) after long and fad Experience, that the rectory.

Liturgy used in the Church of England, notwithstanding all the pains and religious intentions of the Compilers, has proved an offence to many of the godly at home, and to the reformed Churches abroad. The enjoining the reading all the prayers, heighten'd the Grievances; and the many unprofitable and burdensome Ceremonies has

" occasioned much mischief, by disquieting the Consciences of many, who could not yield to them. Sundry good people have, by this means, been kept from the Lord's

"Table, and many faithful Ministers debarr'd from the exercise of their Ministry, to the ruin of them and their

Families. The Prelates and their Faction have raised their Estimation of it to such an height, as if God could

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" be worshipped no other way but by the Service Book; in consequence of which the preaching of the Word has

been depreciated, and in some places entirely neglected.
In the mean time the Papists have made their advan-

tage this way, boasting, that the Common Prayer Book

" came up to a compliance with a great part of their Service; by which means they were not a little confirm-

" ed in their Idolatry and Superfition, especially of late,

" when new Ceremonies were daily obtruded on the Church.

"Besides, the Liturgy has given great Encouragement to an idle, and unedifying Ministry, who chose rather to

" confine themselves to forms made to their hands, than to exert themselves in the exercise of the gift of Prayer,

" with which our Saviour furnishes all those whom he calls to that Office.

"For these, and many other weighty considerations, relating to the Book in general, besides divers particulars,

"which are a just Ground of offence, it is thought advise"able to set aside the former Liturgy, with the many Rites

" and Ceremonies formerly used in the Worship of God, mot out of any Affectation of Novelty, nor with an inten-

tion

King Charles I. 1644

se tion to disparage our first Reformers, but that we may " answer in some measure the gracious providence of God, "which now calls upon us for a further Reformation; that we may fatisfy our own consciences; answer the expec-" tations of other reformed Churches; ease the consciences " of many godly persons among ourselves; and give a pub-

" lick Testimony of our Endeavours after an Uniformity " in divine Worship, pursuant to what we had promised in

" our Solemn League and Covenant."

It has been observed, that the Directory is not an absolute form of Devotion, but agreeably to its title, contains only some general directions, taken partly from the Word of God, and partly from Rules of Christian Prudence; it points out the heads of publick Prayer, of preaching, and other parts of the Pastoral Function, leaving the Minister a discretionary Latitude to fill up the Vacancies according to his Abilities. It is divided into several Chapters, and being a Book of a publick Nature, comprehending all the peculiarities of the Presbyterian Reformation, I have given it a place in the Appendix. Mr. Fuller observes, that the Independants in the Assembly were hardly perswaded to confent to it, for fear of infringing the liberty of Prayer, but being admitted to qualify some things in the Preface they complied. The Committee that composed the Preface were Mr. Nye, Mr. Bridges, Mr. Burges, Mr. Tho. Goodwin, all Independants; Mr. Vines, Mr. Reynolds, Mr. Marshall, and Dr. Temple, with the Scots Commissioners.

The Directory passed the Assembly with great unanimity; those that were for set Forms of Prayer resolving to confine themselves to the very Words of the Directory, while others made use of them only as heads for their en-

largement.

Variations in the Dithe Common Prayer.

Appendix,

p. 222.

It may not be improper in this place to advise the Reader rectory from of the following Variations introduced into the Church upon this occasion. Instead of one prescribed form of Prayer, the Directory only points out certain Topicks on which the Minister might enlarge. The whole Apocrypha is rejected; Private and Lay Baptism, with the use of God-Fathers and God-Mothers, and the Sign of the Cross are discontinued. In the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper no mention is made of private Communion, or administring it to the Sick. The Altar with Rails is changed into a Communion .Table, to be placed in the body of the Church, about which the people might stand or sit, kneeling not being thought thought fo proper a posture. The Presbyterians were for giving the power of the Keys into the hands of the Mini-Charles I. sters and Elders, as the Independents were, to the whole Brotherhood; but Lightfoot, Selden, Coleman, and others, were for an open Communion, to whom the Parliament were most inclinable, for all they would yield was, that the "Minister immediately before the Communion should warn " in the name of Christ, all such as are ignorant, scanda-" lous, prophane, or that live in any Sin or Offence against " their Knowledge or Conscience, that they presume not " to come to the holy Table, shewing them, that he that " eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh Judg-" ment to himself." The prohibition of Marriage in Lent, and the use of the Ring, is laid aside. In the Visitation of the Sick, no mention is made of private Confession, or authoritative Absolution. No Service is appointed for the burial of the Dead. All particular Vestments for Priests or Ministers, and all Saints Days are discarded. It has been reckon'd a confiderable omission, that the Directory does not enjoin reading the Apostles Creed and the Ten Commandments; Lord Clarendon reports, that when this was Clar. observed, in private conversation at the Treaty of Ux-Vol. II. bridge, the Earl of Pembrook faid, he was forry for the P. 588. omission, but that upon a debate in the House of Commons, it was carried in the Negative by eight or nine Voices. Which made many smile (fays his Lordship;) but the Jest will be loft, when the Reader is informed, that the Question in the House was not, whether the Creed should be received or rejected, but whether it should be printed with the Directory for Worship; it being apprehended more proper for a Confession of Faith; and accordingly the Creed and Ten Commandments were added to the Assemblies Confesfion, published a year or two forwards. The Ordinance for establishing the Directory repeals and makes void the Acts of Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth, by which the old Liturgy was established, and forbids the use of it within any Church, Chapel, or place of publick Worship in England or Wales, appointing the use of the Directory in its room; and thus it continued till the Restoration of King Charles II. when the Constitution being restored, the old Liturgy took place again, the Ordinance for its Repeal having never obtained the Royal Affent.

It was a considerable time before this great Revolution in The Success the Form of publick Worship took place over the whole of it, Kingdom. In some parts of the Country the Church-

Wardens

King Charles I. 1644

Ordinance the Directory. Rufhw. Part IV. Vol. I. p. 205.

Remarks.

Wardens could not procure a Directory, and in others they despised it, and continued the old Common Prayer Book; some would read no Form, and others would use one of their own. In order therefore to give Life to the Directory, the Parliament next Summer called in all Common Prayer Books, and imposed a Fine upon those Ministers that should read any other Form than that contained in the Directory. The Ordinance is dated Aug. 23d, 1645, and enacts, that " the Knights and Burgesses of the seve-" ral Counties in England and Wales shall send printed for enforcing "Books of the Directory fairly bound to the Committee " of Parliament in their several Counties, who shall de-" liver them to the Officers of the several Parishe in Eng-" land and Wales, by whom they shall be delivered to the " feveral Ministers of each Parish. It ordains further, that the several Ministers next Lord's Day after their re-" ceiving the Book of the Directory shall read it openly in their respective Churches before Morning Sermon. 16 It then forbids the use of the Common Prayer Book in " any Church, Chapel, or place of publick Worship, " or in any private place or Family, under penalty of five " Pounds for the first offence, ten for the second, and for se the third a year's imprisonment. Such Ministers as do " not observe the Directory in all Exercises of publick Worthip shall forfeit forty Shillings; and they who with " a design to bring the Directory into contempt, or to raise " opposition to it, shall preach, write, or print any thing " in derogation of it, shall forfeit a sum of Money not " under five Pounds, nor more than fifty; to be given to " the Poor. All Common Prayer Books remaining in pa-" rish Churches or Chapels are ordered, within a month, " to be carried to the Committee of the feveral Coun-"ties, to be disposed of as the Parliament shall direct."

These were the first Fruits of Presbyterian Uniformity, and are equally to be condemned with the severities and oppressions of the late times; for though it should be admitted, that the Parliament or Legislature had a right to abrogate the use of the Common Prayer Book in Churches, was it not highly unreasonable to forbid the reading it in private Families or Closets? furely the devotion of a private Family could be no disturbance to the Publick; nor is it any excuse to say, that very few suffered by it, because the law is flill the same, and equally injurious to the natural rights

of Mankind.

Though

Though his Majesty's Affairs were very desperate after the Battle of Naseby, yet he had the courage to forbid the Charles I. use of the new Directory, and enjoin the continuance of the Common-prayer, by a Proclamation from Oxford, King forbids dated Novemb. 13, 1645, in which his Majesty takes no-the use of it. tice, that " the Book of Common-prayer being a most ex- Part. IV. " cellent form of Worship, grounded on the Holy Scrip- Vol. Lp. tures, is a great help to Devotion, and tends to preferve 207. an Uniformity in the Church of England; whereas the "Directory gives liberty to ignorant, factious, and evil men, to broach their own fancies and conceits, and utter those things in their long Prayers that no conscientious man can affent to; and be the Minister never to pious, it breaks in upon the Uniformity of publick Serwice. And whereas this alteration is introduced by an "Ordinance of Parliament, inflicting penalties on offenders, which was never pretended to be in their power " without our confent: Now, least our filence should be " interpreted as a connivance in a matter fo highly concerning the worship of God, and the established laws of the Kingdom, we do therefore require and command all Ministers in all Cathedrals and Parish Churches, and " all other places of publick worship, that the said Book of " Common-prayer be kept and used in all Churches, Chapels,&c. according to the Statute Primo Eliz. and that the "Directory be in no fort admitted, received, or used; " and whenfoever it shall please God to restore us to peace, " and the Laws to their due courfe, we shall require a " strict account and profecution against the breakers of the " faid Law. And in the mean time, in such places where " we shall come and find the Book of Common-prayer " suppressed and laid aside, and the Directory introduced, we shall account all those that are aiders, actors, or contrivers therein, to be persons disaffected to the Religion " and Laws established."

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His Majesty likewise issued out Warrants under his own hand, to the Heads of the University, commanding them to read divine Service as usual, Morning and Evening; and affured his Peers at Oxford, that he was still determined to live and die for the Privileges of his Crown, his Friends, and Church Government.

About this time the Anabaptists began to make a consi-Rife and derable figure, and spread themselves into several separate Progress of the English Congregations. We have already diffinguished the German A nabaptifts Anabaptists from the English, who differ'd only from their

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King Charles I. 1644.

Protestant Brethren about the subject and mode of Baptism; these were divided into Generals and Particulars, from their different fentiments upon the Arminian Contro. versy; the former appeared in Holland, where Mr. Smith their Leader published a Confession of Faith in the year 1611, which Mr. Robinson, the Minister of the Independant Congregation at Leyden answered in 1614, but the feverity of those Times would not admit them to venture into England. The Particular Baptists were strict Calvinists, and were so called, from their belief of the Doctrines of Particular Election, Redemption, &c. They feparated from the Independant Congregation about the year 1638, and fet up for themselves under the pastoral care of Mr. Jesse, (as has been related) but having renounced their former Baptism, they sent over one of their number, [Mr. Blunt] to be dipp'd by one of the Dutch Anabaptists of Amsterdam, that he might be qualified to baptize his Friends in England after the fame manner. A strange and unaccountable conduct! for unless the Dutch Anabaptists could prove their Pedigree in an uninterrupted Line from the Apostles, the first reviver of this usage must have been unbaptized, and confequently not capable of communicating the ordinance to others. But upon Mr. Blunt's return, he baptized Mr. Blacklock a Teacher, and Mr. Blacklock dipped the rest of the Society, to the number of Fifty three, in this present year 1644. "Presuming upon the patience of the State, (fays Dr. Featley) they have rebaptized one hundred Men and Women together, in the Twilight, in Rivulets, and some " Arms of the Thames, and elsewhere, dipping them over " head and ears. They have printed divers Pamphlets in defence of their Herely (fays the same Author) and challenged fome of our Preachers to a disputation." Nay, so wonderfully did this Opinion prevail, that there were no less than forty seven Congregations in the Country, and feven in London at this time, who published a Confession of their Faith, figned in the name of their Congregations, by William Kiffin, Thomas Patience, George Tipping, Iohn Spilfbury, Thomas Sheppard, Thomas Munden, John Spilsbury, Thomas Sheppard, Thomas Thomas Gunn, John Mabbett, John Webb, Kilcop, Paul Hobson, Thomas Gore, John Philips, and Edward Heath. In the year 1646, it was reprinted, with the additional names of Denis le Barbier and Christopher Durell, Ministers of the French Congregation in London, of the same judgment. Their

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Their Confession consisted of fifty two Articles, and is firially Calvinifical in the doctrinal part, and according Charles L. to the Independant Discipline; it confines the subject of Baptism to grown Christians, and the mode to Dipping; Their Conit admits of gifted Lay-preachers, and acknowledges a due fession of Faith. subjection to the Civil Magistrate in all things lawful; and concludes thus, " We defire to live quietly and peaceably, " as becomes Saints, endeavouring in all things to keep a " good Conscience, and to do to every Man (of what judgment foever) as we would they should do to us; " as our practice is, so it may prove us to be a conscio-" nable, quiet, and harmless People (no way dangerous or " troublesome to human society) and to labour to work " with our hands, that we may not be chargeable to any, " but to give to him that needeth, both Friend and Ene-" my, accounting it more excellent to give than to re-" ceive. Also we confess, that we know but in part, and " that we are ignorant of many things that we defire " and feek to know; and if any shall do us that friendly " part, to shew us from the Word of God, that which we " fee not, we shall have cause to be thankful to God and " them. But if any man shall impose upon us any thing " that we see not to be commanded by our Lord Jesus " Christ, we should, in his strength, rather embrace all " reproaches, and tortures of men; to be stripped of all " our outward comforts, and, if it were possible, to die a " thousand deaths, rather than do any thing against the " truth of God, or against the light of our own Consciences. " And if any shall call what we have said Heresy, then do " we with the Apostle acknowledge, That after the way " they call Herefy, so worship we the God of our Fathers; " disclaiming all Heresies (rightly so called) because they " are against Christ; and desiring to be stedfast and im-" movable, always abounding in obedience to Christ, as " knowing our labour should not be in vain in the Lord." When Dr. Featley had read this Confession he owned,

they were neither Hereticks nor Schismaticks, but tenderhearted Christians, upon whom, through false suggestions, the hand of Authority had fallen heavy, whilst the Hierar-

chy stood.

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The Advocates of this Doctrine were, for the most part, Their Chaof the meanest of the people; their Preachers were general-racter. ly illiterate, and went about the Countries making Profelytes of all that would submit to their Immersion, without a due regard to their acquaintance with the principles of Religion,

King Charles I. 1644

Religion, or their moral Characters. The Writers of these times represent them as tinctured with a kind of enthufiastick fury against all that oppos'd them. Mr. Baxter says, "There Baxte's "were but few of them that had not been the Opposers Life, p. 102, "and Troublers of faithful Ministers—That in this they " ftrengthen'd the hands of the profane, and that in geneer ral, Reproach of Ministers, Faction, Pride, and scanda-" lous Practices, were fomented in their way." But still there were among them fome learned, and a great many fober and devout Christians, who disallowed of the imprudence of their Country Friends. The two most learned Divines that espoused their cause were Mr. Francis Cornwall, M. A. of Emanuel College, and Mr. John Tombes, B. D. educated in the University of Oxford, a person of incomparable parts, well versed in the Greek and Hebrew Languages, and a most excellent disputant. He wrote several Letters to Mr. Selden against Infant Baptism, and published a Latin Exercitation upon the same subject, containing several Arguments, which he presented to the Committee appointed by the Assembly to put a stop to the Progress of this Opinion. The Exercitation being translated into English brought upon him a whole army of Adversaries, among whom were the reverend Dr. Hammond, Dr. Holmes, Mr. Marshal, Fuller, Geree, Baxter, and others. The People of this Perswasion were more exposed to the publick resentments, because they would hold Communion with none but fuch as had been dipped. All must pass under this Cloud before they could be received into their Churches; and the fame narrow Spirit prevails too generally among them even at this day.

Their Sufterings.

Besides the above-mentioned writers, the most eminent Divines in the City of London, as Mr. Vines, Calamy, and others, preached vigorously against these doctrines, which they had a right to do; but it was most unjustifiable to fight them at the same time with the Sword of the Civil Magistrate, and shut them up in prison, as was the case of several in this and the following year, among whom are reckon'd the Reverend Mr. Henry Denn, formerly ordain'd by the Bishop of St. David's and possessed of the Living of Peyton in Hertfordshire; Mr. Coppe Minister in Warwickshire, and fometime Preacher to the Garrison in Compton House; Mr. Hanferd Knollys, who was feveral times before the Committee for preaching Antinomianism and Antipædobaptism; and being forbid to preach in the publick Churches, he opened a separate Meeting in Great St. Helen's, from whence

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whence he was quickly dislodged, and his Followers disperfed. Mr. Andrew Wyke, in the County of Suffolk, was imprisoned on the same account; and Mr. Oates in Essex, tried for his Life at Chelmsford Affizes for the murder of Anne Martin, because she died a few days after her Immersion, of a cold that seized her at that time. Lawrence Clarkson was imprisoned by the Committee of Suffolk. and having lain in gaol fix months figned a Recantation and was released. The Recantation, as enter'd in the Committee's Books, was in these words;

King Charles I. 1644.

July 15, 1645. THIS day Lawrence Clarkson, formerly committed Mr. Clarkson for an Anabaptist, and for dipping, does now, be-tation. " fore the Committee, disclaim his errors. And whereas " formerly he faid he durst not leave his dipping, if he " might gain all the Committees Estates, now he says, That he by the holy Scriptures is convinced, that his " faid opinions were erroneous, and that he will not, nor " dares not practife it again, it he might gain all the Com-" mittees Estates by doing it. And that he makes this "Recantation not for fear, or to gain his Liberty, but

" meerly out of a Sense of his Error, wherein he will en-

"deavour to reform others."

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It must be granted, That the impudent behaviour of the Remarks. Baptist Lay Preachers, who declaimed against human Literature, and hireling Priests; crying down Magistracy, and a regular Ministry, and talking in the most exalted strains of a fifth Monarchy, and King Jesus, prejudiced the minds of many fober People against them; but still the imprisoning men meerly on account of religious principles, not inconfistent with the publick peace, nor propagated in a riotous and tumultuous manner, is not to be justified, in any light; and 'tis the more inexcusable in this case, because Mr. Baxter admits, that the Presbyterian zeal was in Baxter's Life, a great measure the occasion of it.

Before we leave the Assembly for this year, it will be Charles proper to take notice, that it was honoured with the pre-Lewis, Elecfence of Charles Lewis Elector Palatine of the Rhine, el-tor Palatine, dest fon of Frederick, &c. King of Bohemia, who married the Afferrally. King James's Daughter, and lost his Territories by the fatal battle of Prague in 1619. The unhappy Frederick died in 1632, and left behind him fix Sons and five Daughters, among whom were Prince Rupert, Prince Maurice, and

Vol. III.

King Charles I. 1644. The Pala-

the Princess Sophia. The young Elector and his Mother often folicited the English Court for Assistance to recover their dominions, and were as often complimented with empty promifes. All the Parliaments of this reign men-Favourites of the Puritans, Bohemia and her children, and offer to venture their lives and fortunes for the recovery of the Palatinate, but King Charles I, did not like his fifter's principles, who being a resolved Protestant, had been heard to say (if we may believe L'Estrange) " That rather than have her Son bred "up in idolatry at the Emperor's Court, she had rather Hist. p. 449. "be his executioner." And Mr. Eachard adds, that the birth of King Charles II. in the year 1630, gave no great joy to the Puritans, because as one of them said, "God had already provided for them in the family of the "Queen of Bohemia, who were bred up in the Protestant " Religion, while it was uncertain what Religion King " Charles's Children would follow, being to be brought or up by a Mother devoted to the Church of Rome." When the war broke out between the King and Parliament the Elector's younger Brothers Rupert and Maurice, ferved the King, but the Elector himself being in Holland took the Covenant, and by a letter to the Parliament testified his approbation of the cause in which they were engaged. This Summer he made a tour to England, and was welcomed by a Committee of the two Houses, who promised him their best advice and affistance; to whom the Prince made the

Hitt. Stuarts, " Hold myself much obliged to the Parliament for their p. 268. " I favours, and my coming is to express in person what " I have often done by letter, my fincere affections to " them, and to take off such jealousies, as either the acti-" ons of some of my Relations, or the ill effects of what " my enemies might by my absence cast upon me. My " wishes are constant for the good success of the great work you have undertaken, for a thorough Reformation; " and my defires are to be rul'd and govern'd by your " grave Counfels."

following reply.

The Parliament ordered an apartment to be fitted up for the Prince at Whitehall, and voted him eight thousand Hist. Stuarts, pounds a year for his maintenance, and ten thousand for his Royal Mother, till he should be restor'd to his Electorate. While he stayed here he frequently attended the

Affembly

P 279.

Assembly in their debates, and after some time had a pass for himself and forty horse into the Low Countries. His Charles I. Sifter, Prince's Sophia, afterwards married the Duke of Brunswick and Hanover, whose Son upon the decease of Queen Anne, succeeded to the Crown of Great Britain, by the name of George I. the numerous posterity of King Charles I. being set aside as Papists, and the Children of the Queen of Bohemia, Electress Palatine, and daughter of King James I. advanced to the Imperial Crown of thefe Kingdoms in their room, as a reward for their firmness to the Protestant Religion; and may the same illustrious Family continue to be the Guardians of our Liberties, both facred and civil, to the end of time !

Religion was the fashion of these times; the Assembly State of Rewas often turned into a House of prayer, and hardly a ligion. week past without folemn fasting and humiliation, in several of the Churches of London and Westminster: the laws against profaneness were carefully executed; and because the former Ordinances for the observation of the Lord's Day were not effectual, it was ordained, April 6, that all persons should apply themselves to the exercise of Piety and Religion on the Lord's Day, " That no Wares, Fruit, Ordinance Herbs, or Goods, of any fort be exposed to sale, or cry'd for better ob-" about the streets, upon penalty of forfeiting the Goods. the Lord's

That no person, without Cause, shall travel, or carry Day. " a Burden, or do any worldly labour, upon penalty of ten Scobel's Collect. p. 68.

" shillings for the traveller, and five shillings for every Bur-" den. That no person shall, on the Lord's Day, use, or " be present at any Wrestling, Shooting, Fowling, Ring-" ing of Bells for pleasure, Markets, Wakes, Church-" Ales, Dancing, Games or Sports whatfoever, upon Pe-" nalty of five shillings, to every one above fourteen " years of age. And if children are found offending in the

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" premises, their parents or guardians to forfeit twelve pence for every offence. That all May-poles be pulled "down, and none others erected. That if the feveral " fines above-mentioned can't be levied, the offending " party shall be set in the stocks for the space of three " hours. That the Kings dcclaration concerning lawful

" fports on the Lord's Day be called in, suppressed, and

" This Ordinance shall not extend to prohibit dressing " meat in private Families, or felling victuals in a mode-" rate way, in Inns or Victualling Houses, for the use of " fuch as can't otherwise be provided for; nor to the cry-

K 2

66 Life

King Charles I. 1544 " ing of milk before nine in the morning, or after four in

Lond. Min.
Testimony
to the Truth
of J. Christ,
p. 26.

The Solemn League and Covenant was in such highrepute at this time, that by an order of the House of Commons, Jan. 29, 1644, it was appointed, "That on every Fast day, and Day of publick humiliation, the Covenant should be publickly read in every Church and Congresingation within the Kingdom; and that every Congregation be enjoined to have one of the said Covenants fairly printed, in a fair Letter, in a Table fitted to hang up in some publick place of the Church to be read." Which was done accordingly, and they continued there till the Restoration.

But that which occasioned the greatest disturbance over the whole Nation, was an order of both Houses relating to Christmas Day. Dr. Lightsoot says, The London Ministers met together last year, to consult whether they should preach on that Day; when one of considerable name and authority opposed it, and was near prevailing with the rest, but the Doctor convinced them so far of the lawfulness and expediency of it, that when the question was put it was carried in the affirmative with only four or five diffenting voices. But this year it happening to fall on the Monthly Fast, so that either the Fast, or the Festival, must be omitted, the Parliament, after some debate, thought it most agreeable to the present circumstances of the Nation, to go on with fasting and prayer; and therefore published the sollowing Order.

Order for laying afide the Observation of Christmas.

Rufhw. p. 817.

Die Jovis 19 Dec. 1644.

Whether the which levels for a last of the Mativity of our Saviour? The Lords and Commons in Parliament affembled do order and ordain, that publick notice be given, That the Fast appointed to be kept the last Wednesday in every month ought to be observed, till it be otherwise ordered by both Houses; and that this day in particular is to be kept with the more solemn humiliation, because it may call to remembrance our Sins, and the Sins of our Fore-fathers, who have turned this Feast, pretending the memory of Christ, into an extreme forgetfulness of him, by giving liberty to carnal and sensual delights, being contrary to the life which Christ led here on earth, and to the spiritual

" Life of Christ in our Souls, for the fanctifying and fav-" ing whereof, Christ was pleased both to take a human Charles I.

" Life, and to lay it down again."

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The Royalists rais'd loud clamours on account of the Remarks. suppos'd impiety and profaneness of this Transaction, as what had never been heard of in the christian World before, tho' they could not but know, that this, as well as other Festivals, is but of ecclesiastical appointment; that there is no mention of the observation of Christmas in the first or fecond age of Christianity; that the Kirk of Scotland never observed it since the Reformation, but when under the power of the Bishops, and do not regard it at this day. Some of the most learned Divines among the Presbyterians, as well as Independants, were in this Sentiment. Mr. Edmund Calamy, in his Sermon before the House of Commons on this day, has these Expressions. "This day is " commonly called Christmas Day, a day that has hereto-" fore been much abused to Superstition and Profaneness. " It is not easy to say, whether the Superstition has been " greater, or the Profaneness. I have known some that " have preferr'd Christmas Day before the Lord's Day. " Some that would be fure to receive the Sacrament on " Christmas Day though they did not receive all the year " after. Some thought, though they did not play at Cards " all the year long, yet they must play at Christmas, there-" by, it feems, to keep in Memory the Birth of Christ. "This, and much more, hath been the profanation of this " Feast; and truly, I think the superstition and profaneness " of this day is fo rooted into it, that there is no way to re-" form it, but by dealing with it as Hezekiah did with the " brazen Serpent. This year God, by his Providence, " has buried this Feast in a Fast, and I hope it will never " rise again. You have set out, Right Honourable, a " strict Order for keeping of it, and you are here this day " to observe your own Order, and I hope you will do it " strictly. The necessities of the times are great, never " more need of Prayer and Fasting. The Lord give us "Grace to be humbled in this day of Humiliation, for all " our own and England's Sins, and especially for the old " Superstition and Profaneness of this Feast.

About Midsummer this year died Doctor Thomas West- Death of field, Bishop of Bristol; he was born in the Isle of Ely, Bishop Westfield. 1573, educated in Jesus College Cambridge, and after- Walker's wards Rector of Hornsey, and of St. Bartholomew the Suff. Cler. p.

King Charles I. 1644 Great, London, and Arch-Deacon of St. Alban's. In the year 1641, he was advanced to the See of Bristol, which he accepted, though he had refused it (as is said) twenty five years before. He was a Gentleman of great modesty, a good Preacher, and excellent Orator. The Parliament had such an esteem for him, that they named him one of the Assembly Divines, and he had the goodness to appear among them for some time. Upon the Bishop's complaint, that the Profits of his Bishoprick were detained, the Committee ordered them to be restored, and gave him a pass to go to Bristol, to receive them, wherein they still him a person of great Learning and Merit. He died in possession of his Bishoprick, June 25, 1644, aged Seventy one, and composed his own Epitaph, one Line of which was,

- " Senio & Mærore confectus,
- " Worn out with Age and Grief.

And another;

- " Episcoporum infimus, Peccatorum primus,
- "The least of Bishops, the greatest of Sinners.

Of Doctor

Dr. Calibute Downing was born of an ancient Family in Gloucestershire, about 1616, he was educated in Oriel College, Oxford, and at length became Vicar of Hackney, near London, by the procurement of Archbishop Laud; which is very strange, if (as Mr. Wood fays) he always look'd awry on the Church. In his Sermon to the Artillery Company, Sept. 1, 1640, he maintain'd, " That for de-" fence of Religion, and Reformation of the Church, it was lawful to take up Arms against the King, if it could " be obtain'd no other way." For which he was forced to abscond till the Beginning of this present Parliament. He was afterwards Chaplain in the Earl of Effex's Army, and a Member of the Assembly of Divines, but died before he was forty years of age, having the Character of a pious Man, a warm Preacher, and very zealous for the Parliament.

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Abstract of the Trial of Archbishop Laud; and, of the Treaty of Uxbridge.

TEXT day after the Establishment of the Directory, Trial of Dr. William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, re- Abp. Laud. ceived Sentence of Death: he had been in the Tower almost three years, upon an impeachment of High Treason from the House of Commons, without once petitioning for a Trial, or so much as putting in his answer to the Articles; but as foon as the Parliament had united with the Scots, it was resolved to gratify that Nation by bringing him to the Bar; accordingly Serjeant Wild was fent up to the House of Lords, Octob. 23, with ten additional Articles of High Treason, and other crimes and misdemeanors; and to pray, that his Grace might be brought to a speedy Trial. We have already recited the fourteen original Articles under the year 1640. The additional ones were to the following purpose,

1. " That the Archbishop had endeavoured to destroy Articles of " the use of Parliaments, and to introduce an arbitrary Impeach-" Government.

2. "That for ten years before the present Parliament, Compl. " he had endeavoured to advance the Council Table, the Hift. of the

" Canons of the Church, and the King's Prerogative above Trial of " Law.

3. " That he had stopt Writs of Prohibition to stay " Proceedings in the Ecclefiastical Courts, when the same

" ought to have been granted.

4. " That he had caused Sir John Corbet to be commit-" ted to the Fleet for fix Months, only for causing the Pe-

" tition of Right to be read at the Sessions.

5. "That judgment having been given in the Court of "King's Bench against Mr. Burley, a Clergyman of a bad " character, for Non-residence, he had caused the judg-

" ment to be stay'd, faying, " He would never fuffer " Judgment to pals upon any Clergyman by Nihil dicit."

6. " That large fums of Money having been contribu-

" ted for buying in impropriations, the Archbishop had cau-" sed the Feoffments to be overthrown in his Majesty's

" Exchequer, and by that means suppressed the Design. K 4

1644-

7. " That he had harboured and relieved divers Popish " Priests, contrary to Law.

8. " That he had faid at Westminster, there must be a "Blow given to the Church, fuch as had not been given

" before it could be brought to conformity, declaring "thereby his intention to alter the true Protestant Religi-

on established in it.

9. " That after the Dissolution of the last Parliament he had caused a Convocation to be held, in which fundry

" Canons were made contrary to the Rights and Privileges of Parliament, and an illegal oath imposed upon the

"Clergy, with certain penalties, commonly known by the

" Et cœtera Oath.

10. " That upon the abrupt dissolving of the short Par-" liament 1640, he had told the King, " He was now ab-

" folved from all Rules of Government, and at liberty to

" make use of extraordinary Methods for Supply."

I omit the charge of the Scots Commissioners, because

the Archbishop pleaded the Act of Oblivion.

Prynne, p. 45.

The Lords ordered the Archbishop to deliver in his Anfwer in Writing to the above-mentioned Articles in three Weeks, which he did, but took no notice of the original ones. The Trial was put off from time to time, at the request of the Prisoner till Sept. 16, when the Archbishop appeared at the Bar, and having kneeled for some time and then ordered to stand, one of the Managers for the Commons moved the Lords, that their Articles of Impeachment, with the Archbishop's Answer, might be read; but when the Clerk of the House had read the Articles, there was no Answer to the original ones. Upon which Serjeant Maynard stood up, and observed, " How unjust the Archbi-" shop's complaints of his long imprisonment, and of the " delay of his hearing must be, when in all this time he had " not put in his Answer to their original Articles, though he " had long fince, Counfel affign'd him for that purpose. "That it would be abfurd in them to proceed on the additional Articles, when there was no iffue joyn'd on the original ones; he therefore prayed, that the Arch-" bishop might forthwith put in his Answer to all their Articles, and then they should be ready to confirm their Charge, whenever their Lordships should ap-" point."

King

The Archbishop says, the Lords look'd hard one upon another, as if they would ask where the mistake was, but Charles I. himself said nothing, but that his Answer had not been called for. His Grace would have embarras'd them further, Wharton's by defiring them to hear his Counfel, Whether the articles Hift of Abp. were certain and particular enough to receive an answer. bles, p. 214, He moved likewise, That if he must put in a new Answer, 215. his former might be taken off the File; and that they would please to distinguish which articles were Treason, and which Mildemeanor. But the Lords rejected all his motions, and ordered him to put in a peremptory answer to the original articles of the Commons by the 22d Instant, which he did accordingly, to this effect.

"As to the 13th Article, concerning the troubles in Abp's An-" Scotland, and all Actions, Attempts, Affistance, Coun-swer.

" fel, or Device relating thereto, this defendant pleadeth " the late Act of oblivion, he being none of the persons " excepted by the said Act, nor are any of the offences

" charged upon this Defendant excepted by the faid Act. " And as to all the other Articles, both original and ad-

" ditional, this Defendant faving to himself all advantages of exception to the faid Articles, humbly faith, that he

" is not guilty of all, or any the matters, by the faid Ar-" ticles charged, in fuch manner and form as the fame are

" by the faid Articles charged against him."

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The Trial was deferr'd all the month of February, as Order and the Archbishop infinuates, because Mr. Prynne was not the Trial. ready with his Witnesses. When it came on, Lord Grey of Werk, Speaker of the House of Lords, was appointed President; but the Archbishop complained, that there was seldom above fixteen or eighteen Peers present at a time. The managers for the Commons were Serjeant Wild and Mr. Maynard, Mr. Brown, Mr. Nicolas, Mr. Hill, whom the Archbishop calls Consul Bibulus, because he said nothing; their Solicitor was Mr. Prynne, the Archbishop's grand enemy. His Grace's Counsel were, Mr. Hearne, Mr. Hales, Mr. Chute, Mr. Gerard; and his Solicitor was his own Secretary, Mr. Dell. The Trial was depending almost five months, in which time the Archbishop was heard twenty days with as much liberty and freedom of Speech as could be reasonably defired. When he complained of the seizure of his Papers, the Lord's ordered him a copy

Method of

King 1644

of all fuch as he should say were necessary for his defence: and when he acquainted them, that by reason of the Sequestration of his estate, he was uncapable of feeing his Counfel, they moved the Committee of Sequestrations in his favour, who ordered him two hundred pounds. His Counsel had free access to him at all times, and stood by to

advise him throughout his whole Trial,

The method of proceeding was thus, the Archbishop had three or four days notice of the day of his appearance, and of the Articles they defigned to proceed on. He was brought to the Bar about ten in the morning, and the Managers were till one making good their charge; the House then adjourn'd to four, when the Archbishop made his defence, after which one of the Managers replied, and the Archbishop returned to the Tower between seven and eight

of the clock at night,

'Tis unhappy that this remarkable Trial, which contains the chief heads of controversy between the Puritans and the Church was not publish'd by order of the House of Peers, that the World might have feen the arguments on both fides in their full strength. Mr. Prynne, by order of the House of Commons, has given us their evidence to that branch of the charge which relates to Religion, and the Archbishop has left behind him his own defence on every day's hearing, mixed with fatyrical and stinging Reflections on his Adversaries; but these being broken performances, I have endeavoured to put the most material passages into a proper method, without confining myself to the exact order of time in which the Articles were debated.

Summary of the Charge.

All the Articles may be reduced to these three general heads or charges, according to which method we shall go through them,

First, "That the Archbishop had traiterously attempted, " and endeavoured to divert the rights of Parliament, and

" to exalt the King's power above law.

Secondly, "That he had traiterously endeavoured to " fubvert the fundamental temporal Laws and Government of the Realm of England, and to introduce an arbitra-

" ry Government against Law, and the Liberties of the

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Thirdly, "That he had traiteroufly endeavoured, and repractifed, to alter and fubvert God's true Religion by Law established in this Realm, and instead thereof to set up Popish Superstition and Idolatry, and to reconcile us to

" the Church of Rome.

The Trial began March 12, 1643-4, when Mr. Serjeant Serjeant Wild, one of the Managers for the House of Commons, Wild opens opened the Impeachment with a smart Speech, in which peachment, he aggravated the several crimes charged upon the Archbishop, and concluded, with comparing him to Naaman the

Syrian, who was a great Man, but a Leper.

The Archbishop having obtained leave to reply, endea- The Abp's voured to wipe of the aspersions that were cast upon him, Speech. Wharton's in a laboured Speech, which he held in his hand. He faid, What of " It was no less than a Torment to him to appear in that Laud's " place, and plead for himself on that occasion, because Troubles, " he was not only a Christian but a Clergyman, and by P. 223. " God's Grace advanced to the greatest place this Church " affords. He bleffed God, that he was neither ashamed " to live, nor afraid to die; that he had been as strict an " observer of the laws of his Country, both in publick and " private, as any man whatfoever; and as for Religion, that " he had been a steady Member of the Church of Eng-" land, as established by Law, which he had endeavoured " to reduce to Decency, Uniformity, and Beauty, in the " outward face of it; but he had been as far from attempt-"ing any Alterations in favour of Popery, as when his " Mother first bore him into the World; and let nothing " be spoken but truth (says he) and I do here challenge "whatsoever is between Heaven and Hell, that can be " faid against me in point of my Religion, in which I have " ever hated Diffimulation;" He then concludes with a lift of twenty one Persons whom he had converted from Popery to the Protestant Religion.

It was observed by some, that if the passionate expressions in this Speech had been a little qualified, they would have obtained more credit with his Grace's Judges; but as they were pronounced, were thought hardly fit for the mouth of one who lay under the weight of so many Accusations from the whole Representative Body of the

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The next day the Managers for the Commons enter'd on March 13, their first Charge, to the following purpose.

1643-4-

" That

King 1644.

"That the Archbishop had traiterously attempted to subvert the rights of Parliament, and to exalt the King's " power above the Laws."

231.

First Branch 1. To support which they produced a passage out of his of the Charge own Diary, Dec. 5, 1639. "A Resolution was voted at for subverting the Board to assist the King in extraordinary Ways, if Rights of " (fays he) the Parliament should prove peevish and Parliament. 44 refuse." demager for the income of

The Archbishop replied, That this was the Vote of the p.,229, 230, whole Council Table, of which he was but a fingle Member, and therfore could not be called his Counfel. Besides, the Words had relation to the Troubles of Scotland, and are therefore within the Act of Oblivion.

2. " They produced another expression in one of the "Archbishop's Papers under his own hand, in the begin-" ning of which he fays, that Magna Charta had an obscure

" birth, and was foster'd by an ill Nurse."

Laud's Hift. P. 409.

The Archbishop replied, That it was no disgrace to Magna Charta to fay, it had an obscure Birth; our Histories confirm the Truth of it, and some of our Law-Books of good account use almost the same expressions; and shall the same Words be History and Law in them, and Treason in me?

Managers Charge.

3. They averr'd, "That he had faid in Council, that the King's Proclamation was of as great force as an Act " of Parliament; and that he had compared the King to the " Stone spoken of in the Gospel, That whosoever falls upon it shall be broken, but upon whosoever it falls it will " grind him to powder."

Abp's Reply, Laud's Hift. P. 234

Arbitrary

Speeches

Charge,

King by the Abp. M.

The Archbishop replied, That this was in the case of the Soap Business, twelve years ago; and he thinks it impossible these words should be spoken by him; nor does he apprehend the Gentlemen who press this evidence can believe it themselves, considering they are accusing him for a cunning Delinquent. So God forgive these men the falshood and malice of their oaths (fays he)! but as to the Allulion to the Stone in the Scripture, if I did apply it to the King, it was far enough from Treason, and let them and their like take care, lest it prove true upon themselves, for Solomon fays, " The Anger of a King is Death."

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4. In further maintenance of this part of their Charge the Managers produced "two Speeches which his Grace made for the framed for the King to be spoken to the Parliament; " and his Majesty's Answer to the Remonstrance of the House of Commons in the year 1628, which was all

" written with the Archbishop's own hand, and these words " endorfed by himself, My Answer to the Parliament's Re-" monstrance. In which Papers were fundry passages tend-" ing to fet up an absolute Power in the King, and to make " the calling of Parliaments in a manner useless. The King King's " is made to fay, That his Power is only from God, and to Speech, March 29, " him only he is accountable for his Actions. That never 1626. "King was more jealous of his Honour, nor more fenfible of

" the neglect and contempt of his royal Rights. His Majesty " bids the Commons remember, that Parliaments are alto-" gether in his power, for their Calling, Sitting and Disso-" lution; and that according as they behaved themselves "they should continue, or not be. When some of the "Members of Parliament had spoken freely against the

" Duke of Buckingham, they were, by the King's Com-" mand, fent to the Tower; and his Majesty coming to " the House of Peers, tells them, That he had thought fit " to punish some insolent speeches lately spoken against the King's

"Duke, for I am so sensible of all your honours (says he) Speech, May 11, "that he that touches any of you touches me in a very 1626. " great measure. Further, when the Parliament was dif-" folved in the year 1628, a Proclamation was published,

" together with the above-mentioned Remonstrance, in " which his Majesty declares, That since his Parliament March 27,

" was not fo dutiful as they ought to be, he was refolved to " live without them, till those who had interrupted his pro-" ceedings should receive condign punishment, and his peo-" ple come to a better temper; and that, in the mean " time, he would exact the duties that were received by

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all ten " his Father, which his now Majesty neither could nor " would dispense with."

The Archbishop replied, That he did indeed make the Abp's Reply. above-mentioned Speeches, but was commanded to the Laud's Hift. fervice, and followed his Instructions as close as he could. 903, 406. As for the fmart passages complained of, he hopes they will not be thought fuch, when 'tis confidered whose mouth was to utter them, and upon what occasion. However, if they be, he is heartily forry for them, and humbly defires they may be passed by. The Answer to the Remonstrance was drawn by his Majesty's command, as appears by the Endorsement; and the severe passages objected to, were in his Instructions. When a Parliament errs may not their King tell them of it? Or, must every passage in his Answer be four that pleases not?

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King Charles I.

1644:

Arbitrary
Speeches of the Abp. himfelf.
M. Charge.
Abp's Reply,
Laud's Hift.
P. 231.

The Managers went on to produce some other passages tending more immediately to subvert the Rights of Parliament, and among others, they insisted on these three.

" after the ending of the late Parliament, that Now the King might make use of his own Power. This was at tested by Sir Henry Vane the Elder, who was a Privy-

" Counsellor, and then present."

The Archbishop replied, That he did not remember the words; that if he did speak them they were not treasonable; or if they were, he ought to have been tried within fix months, according to the Statute 1 Eliz. cap. 6. That Sir Henry Vane was but a fingle Witness, whereas the Law requires two Witnesses for Treason; besides, he conceived that this advice relating to the Scottish Troubles was within the Act of Oblivion, which he had pleaded. "But " last of all, let it be remember'd, says the Archbishop, " for Sir Harry's Honour, that he being a Man in years, has of fo good a Memory, that he alone can remember words fpoken at a full Council Table, which no Person of "Honour remembers but himself; but I would not have if him brag of it; for I have read in St. Austin, that Some, even the worst of Men, have great Memories, " and fo much the worse for having them. God bless Sir " Henry !

Parliament's Power in matters of Religion. M. Charge.

2. The Archbishop had affirmed, "That the Parlia"ment might not meddle with Religion, without the as"fent of the Clergy in Convocation. Now, if this were

" so (say the Managers) we should have had no Reforma-

" tion, for the Bishops and Clergy dissented."

Abp's Reply. Laud's Hift. P. 401.

The Archbishop in his Reply cited the Statute, I Eliza cap. t. which fays, that "what is Herefy shall be deter-" mined by the Parliament, with the affent of the Clergy " in Convocation," from whence he concluded, the Parliament could not by law determine the truth of Doctrine without the affent of the Clergy; and to this the Managers agreed, as to the point of Herefy, but no further. The Archbishop added, that in his opinion, It was the Prerogative of the Church alone to determine Truth and Falshood, but that the power of making laws for the punishment of erroneous persons, was in the Parliament, with the affent of the Clergy. Indeed the King and Parliament may, by their absolute Power, change Christianity into Turcism, if they please, and the Subjects that can't obey must fly, or endure the penalty of the Law; but of Right they can't.

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can't do this without the Church. Thus the Parliament in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, by absolute power, abolish'd popish Superstition; but when the Clergy were fettled, and a form of Doctrine was to be agreed on, a Synod was called 1562. and the Articles of Religion were confirmed by Parliament, with the affent of the Clergy, which gave all Parties their just Right, and is so evident, that the Heathens could fee the justice of it, for Lucullus fays in Tully, that " the Priests were judges of Religion, " and the Senate of the Law."

3. " At a Reference between Dr. Gill, School-master of of the K. "St. Paul's, and the Mercers Company, the Archbishop Prerogative " had faid, that the Company could not turn him out of and the Ca-" the School, without confent of his Ordinary; and that Church.

" upon mention of an Act of Parliament, he replied, I see M. Charge. " nothing will down with you but Acts of Patliament, no

" regard at all to the Canons of the Church; but I will " rescind all Acts that are against the Canons, and I hope " fhortly to fee the Canons and the King's Prerogative of

" equal force with an Act of Parliament."

The Archbishop was so provok'd with the Oath of this Abp's Reply Witness [Mr. Samuel Blood] that he was going to Bind his Laud's Hift Sin on his Soul, not to be forgiven him, till he should ask him forgiveness; but he conquered his passion, and replied, That fince by a Canon no person is allowed to teach school Can. 77, 79. without the Bishop's Licence, and that in case of offence, he is liable to Admonition and Suspension, it stands good, that he may not be turned out without the faid Bishop's knowledge and approbation. As for the words, that "he " faw nothing would down with them but an Act of Par-" liament, and that no regard was had to the Canons," he conceived them to be no offence; for though the Superiority belongs to Acts of Parliament in this Kingdom, yet certainly some regard is due to the Canons; and therefore he fays again, that " if nothing will down with Men but " Acts of Parliament, the Government in many particu-" lars can't fubfist." But as to the last words, of his rescinding those Acts that were against the Canons, he is morally certain he could not fay them; nor does he believe any man that knows him will believe him fuch a fool, as to fay, He hoped to fee the Canons and the King's Prerogative of equal force with an Act of Parliament, fince he has lived to fee fundry Canons rejected, and the King's Prerogative discussed by Law, neither of which can be done by any Judges to an Act of Parliament. But however, if

p. 236, 237

King 1644. fuch Words should have escaped him, he observes, there is but one Witness to the Charge; and if they be within the danger of the Statute, then to that Statute which requires his Trial within fix months he refers himfelf.

2d Charge, Attempts to Laws. Of Shipmoney, Ton. nage and Poundage. M. Charge.

The Managers went on to the Second Charge against the fet afide the Archbishop, which was his design "To subvert the Fun-"damental Temporal Laws of the Kingdom, and to In-" troduce an Arbitrary Government against Law and the " Liberty of the Subject. In maintenance whereof they alledged, " His illegal pressures of Tonnage and Poundage " without Act of Parliament, Ship-Money, Coat and Con-"duct-Money, Soap-Money, &c. and his Commitment of divers persons to prison for non-payment; for proof of which there appeared, among others, three Aldermen. " (viz.) Aldermen Atkins, Chambers, and Adams."

Abp's Reply. 234

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The Archbishop confessed, that as to the business of Laud's Hift. Ship-Money, he was zealous in that affair, but not with p. 232, 233, an intent to violate the Law, for though this was before Judgment given for the King, yet it was after the Judges had declated the legality of it under their hands, and he thought he might fafely follow fuch Guides. He was likewife of opinion, that Tonnage and Poundage, Coat and Conduct-Money, were lawful on the King's Part; that he was led into this opinion by the express judgment of some Lords present, and by the silence of others; none of the great Lawyers at the Table contradicting it; however, that it was the common Act of the Council Table, and therefore All were as culpable as himself; but he was sure this could not amount to Treason, except it were against the three Aldermen, Atkins, Chambers, and Adams.

Depopulations and pulling down Houses.

They objected further, "Sundry Depopulations, and " pulling down Houses; that for the repair of St. Paul's " above fixty Dwelling-houses had been pulled down, by M. Charge. " Order of Council, without any fatisfaction to the Teof nants, because they did not accept of the Committee's "Composition. — That he had obliged a Brewer " near the Court not to burn Sea-coal, under penalty of having his Brew-house pulled down; and that by a like Order of Council many Shop-keepers were " forcibly turn'd out of their houses in Cheapside, to " make way for Goldsmiths, who were forbid to open 66 Shop in any other Places of the City. When a Com-" mission was issued under the Broad Seal to himself to compound with delinquents of this kind, Mr. Talboys was 66 fined 1.0.1

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Charles I.

1644.

" fined fifty Pounds for non-compliance; and when he plead-" ed the Statute of the 30th of Eliz. the Archbishop replied,

"Do you plead Law here? Either abide the order, or take " your trial at the Star Chamber. When Mr. Wakern had

" one hundered Pounds allowed him for the pulling down " his house, he was soon after fined one hundred Pounds in

" the High Commission Court, for Profanation; of which

" he paid thirty."

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This the Archbishop admitted, and replied to the rest, Abp's Reply: that he humbly and heartily thanked God that he was coun- Laud's Hift. ted worthy to suffer for the repair of St. Paul's which had P. 235, 244, cost him out of his own purse, above twelve hundred Pounds. As to the Grievances complained of, there was a Compofition allotted for the sufferers, by a Committee named by the Lords, not by him, which amounted to eight or nine thousand Pounds, before they could come at the Church to repair it; so that if any thing was amiss it must be imputed to the Lords of the Conncil, who are one Body, and whatfoever is done by the major part is the act of the whole; that however, here was some recompence made them, whereas in King James's time, when a Commission was iffued for demolishing these very houses, no care was taken for Satisfaction of any private Man's Interest; and I cannot forbear to add (fays the Archbithop) that the Bishop and Dean, and Chapter, did ill in giving way to the buildings, to encrease their Rents by a facrilegious Revenue; there being no Law to build on confecrated Ground. When it was replied to this. "That the King's Commif-" fion was no legal Warrant for pulling down houses, with-" out Authority of Parliament," he answered, That houses more remote from the Church of St. Paul's had been pulled down by the King's Commission only in King Edward the Third's Time. As to the Brew-House, the Archbishop owned that he had faid to the Proprietor, that he must seal a Bond of two thousand Pounds to brew no more with Sea-Coal; but was at the Council Table when he was delivering the sense of the Board, which Office was usually put upon him if present; so that this or any other hardship he might fuffer ought not to be imputed to him, but to the whole Council; and he was very fure it could not amount to Treafon, except it were Treason against a Brew-House. The like answer he made to the Charge about the Goldsmiths Shops, namely, That it was the order of Council, and was thought to be for the Beauty and Grandeur of the City, and he did apprehend the Council had a right to command in VOL. III.

Marine 3

King Charles I. 1644. things of Decency, "and for the fafety of the Subject, and "where there was no Law to the contrary." As to the words which he fpoke to Mr. Talboys, they were not defigned to derogate from the Law, but to shew, that we fat not there as Judges of the Law, but to offer his Majesty's Grace, by way of composition to them that would accept it, and therefore he had his option, whether he would agree to the fine he imposed upon him, or take his trial elsewhere. But the Commons replied with great reason, That no Commission from the King could justify the pulling down Men's houses, or oblige them to part with their Estates without Act of Parliament.

Illegal Commitments and Prohibitions in the Spiritual Courts M. Charge.

The Managers objected further to the Archbishop, "feveral illegal commitments, and exorbitant fines and cenfures in the Star Chamber, and High Commission Court,
as in the cases of Prynne, Burton, Bastwick, Huntley,
and others; and that when the Persons aggrieved brought
Prohibitions he threatened to lay them by the heels, saying, Does the King grant us Power, and are we then
prohibited? Let us go and complain, I will break the
Back of prohibitions, or they shall break mine. Accordingly several persons were actually imprisoned for delivering prohibitions, as was testified by many Witnesses;
nay, Mr. Wheeler swore, that he heard the Archbishop
in a Sermon say, That they which granted prohibitions
to the disturbance of the Church's Right, God will prohibit their entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven."

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Abp'sRep'y. Laud's Hift. p. 270, 271. 273, 274.

The Archbishop replied, That the Fines, Imprisonments, and other Censures complained of, were the Acts of the several Courts that directed them, and not his. That the Reason why several Persons were imprisoned for Prohibitions, was, because they delivered them into Court in an unmannerly way, throwing them on the Table, or handing them over the heads of others on a flick to the affront of the Court; notwithstanding which as many Prohibitions had been admitted in his time as in his Predecessors; but after all, he apprehended these Prohibitions were a very great Grievance to the Church; nor was there the fame reason for them now, as before the Reformation, for then the Bishops Courts were kept under a foreign Power, whereas now all Power exercised in Spiritual Courts, is from the King, as well as in Temporal. As to the Words of his Sermon, though he did not remember them, yet he faw no great harm in them. And here the Archbishop put the Lords in mind, that nothing had been done of late in the

Star Chamber, or Council Table, but what had been done in King James and Queen Elizabeth's times. Nor is there any one witness that says, what he did was with a defign to overthrow the Laws, or introduce arbitrary Government; no, that is only the construction of the Managers, " for which, and fomething elfe in their proceedings, I am

King Charles I. 1644

" confident, fays he, they shall answer at another Bar." The Managers objected further, " The Archbishop's Bribery ob-

" taking undue gifts, and among others, his receiving two jected to the " Butts of Sack, in a cause of some Chester Men, whom it Charge, " was in his power to relieve, by mitigating the fine fet on " them in the High Commission, and taking several large "Sums of Money by way of composition for fines in the " High Commission Court, making use of the method

" of Commutation, by virtue of a patent obtained from the "King, which took away all opportunity from his Maje-

" fly of doing Justice, and shewing Mercy to his poor Sub-" jects, and invested the Archbishop with the final deter-

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His Grace heard this part of his charge with great refent- Abp's Reply. ment and impatience. If I would have had any thing to Laud's Hitt. do in the base, dirty business of bribery (says he) I needed P. 274, not be in such want as I now am. As to the Sack, he protefted, as he should answer it to God, that he knew nothing of it, and offered to give his Oath, if it might be admitted. He declared, that when his Steward told him of Mr. Stone's defign, he absolutely forbid his receiving it, or any thing from any Man that had business before him; but Mt. Stone watching a time when his Steward was out of Town, and the Archbishop at Court, brought the Sack, telling the Yeoman of the Wine-Cellar, that he had leave to lay it in. Afterwards, when his Steward acquainted him, that the Sack was brought in, he commanded it should be carried back, but Mr. Stone entreated he might not be so disgraced, and protested he did not do it on the account of the Chester Bufiness, though after this he went home and put it to their account; for which they complained to the House of Commons, and produced Mr. Stone for their witness. The Archbishop observes, that Mr. Browne in summing up his charge did him Justice in this particular, for neither to the Lords nor Commons did he fo much as mention it.

As to the other Sums of Money which he took by way of Commutati-Composition, or otherwise, for fines in the High Commission of Pehon, he said, that he had the Broad Seal form the King, for nance. applying them to the repairing the West End of St. Paul's,

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King Charles I. 1644.

for the space of ten years, which Broad Seal is now in the hands of Mr. Holford, and is on Record to be feen. Now all fines in the High Commission belonging to the Crown, his Majesty had a Right to give them to what Use he pleased; that as for himself, he thought it his duty to get as much Money for so good a Work as he could, even by way of Commutation for certain crimes; which method of pecuniary Commutations is according to Law, and the ancient custom and practise of this Kingdom, especially where Men of quality are offenders, and is as legal in that Court as any other; but he had applied no part of it to his own benefit or advantage.

Alterations M. Charge.

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It was next objected, "That he had made divers alterain the Coro " tions in the King's Coronation Oath, and introduced fenation Oath. ee veral unwarrantable innovations with relation to that august Ceremony; as particularly, that he had inserted those " words into the Oath, " agreeable to the King's Preroga-" tive," with about twenty other alterations of less moment which they apprehended to be a matter of most dangerous consequence. That he had revived certain " old Popish Ceremonies, difused fince the Reformation, " as the placing a Crucifix on the Altar, the confecrating the " Holy Oil, the anointing the King in form of a Cross, the offering up the Regalia on the Altar, without any Rubrick or Direction for these things, and inserting the fol-" lowing charge, taken verbatim out of the Roman Ponti-" fical, " Stand and hold fast, from henceforth, the place to " which you have been heir by the Succession of your Fore-" fathers, being now delivered to you by the authority of Al-" mighty God, and by the hands of us, and all the Bishops " and Servants of God; and as you see the Clergy come " nearer the Altar than others, fo remember, that in place " convenient you give them greater honour, that the Mediator of God and Man may establish you in the Kingly Throne, to be the Mediator between the Clergy and the Laity, and that you may reign for ever with Jesus Christ, " the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, who with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth for ever.

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Abp. Reply. p. 318. Prynne, p. 475.

The Archbishop replied, that he did not insert the words Laud's Hift above-mentioned into the Coronation Oath, but that they were first added in King Edward VI. or Queen Elizabeth's time, and had no relation to the Laws of the Kingdom, mentioned before in the beginning of the Oath, but to the Profession of the Gospel, whereby the King swears

Charles I.

1644.

to maintain his Prerogative against all foreign jurisdictions; but if this be not the meaning, he avers, that the Clause was in the Coronation Oath of King James. As to the other alterations they are admitted not to be material; but his Grace confesses, that when they met in the Committee they were forced to mend many flips of the Pen in some places, and to make sense and good English in others, and the Book being intrusted with him he did it with his own Hand, openly in the Committee, and with their Approbation. As to the Ceremonies of the Coronation, they are nothing to him, fince he did not crown the King, but his Predecessor, therefore he did not anoint him in form of a Cross; indeed he supplied the place of the Dean of Westminster, and was therefore obliged to look after the Regalia, and he conceives the offering them at the Altar could be no offence. He does not remember the Crucifix was brought out [though Heylin fays it was] and as to the Prayer, it was not taken out of the Pontifical by him, for it was used at King James's Coronation, and being a good one 'tis no matter whence it was taken. To all which the Managers replied, that it appeared by his own Diary, that he had the chief direction of all these Innovations.

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The Managers went on, and charged the Archbishop, Attempt to " with endeavouring to let up an independent power in the Independent "Church, by attempting to exempt the Clergy from the Power in " jurisdiction of the civil Magistrate; of which they pro- the Clergy, " duced several Examples; one was, the Archbishop's for-charge. " bidding the Lord Mayor of the City of London to car-" ry the Sword upright in the Church, and then obtaining " an order of Council for fubmitting it in time and place " of divine Service. Another was taken out of the Arch-" bishop's Diary; upon making the Bishop of London " Lord Treasurer, he says, " No Churchman had it since " Henry VII. and now, if the Church will not hold up " themselves, under God, I can do no more." A third " was, his faying in the High Commission, that no Con-" stable should meddle with Men in holy Orders. A " fourth was, his calling some Justices of Peace into the " High Commission, for holding the Sessions at Tewks-" bury in the Church-yard, being confecrated Ground, " though they had Licence from the Bishop, and though

" the eighty eighth Canon of the Church of England gives

leave, that temporal Courts or Leets may be kept in the

" Church or Church-yard. And a fifth was, that he had

" caus'd certain Church-Wardens to be prosecuted, for

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Laud's Hift.

King Charles I, 1644.

" Ale-house Keeper, contrary to the Statutes of 7 Jacob. "Cap. 3."

Abp's Reply. Laud's Hitt. p. 287, 292,

The Archbishop replied in general, that he never attempted to bring the temporal Power under the Clergy, nor to free the Clergy from being under it; but this he confess'd, that he had labour'd to preserve the Clergy from fome Lay-men's oppressions, for Vis Laica has been an old, and a just complaint; and this I took to be my Duty (fays he) affuring myfelf that God did not raife me to that place of Eminency to fit still, and fee his Ministers discountenanced and trampled upon. To the first particular he replied, that it was an order of Council, and therefore not his; but it was a reasonable one, for the Sword was not submitted to any foreign, or home power, but to God only, and that in the place, and at the performance of his holy Worship, at which time and place Kings submit themselves, and therefore can't infift upon the Emblems of their Power. To the fecond and third Examples he replied, that he faw no Treason nor Crime in them. To the fourth he replied, that no temporal Courts ought to be kept upon confecrated Ground; and that, though some such might upon urgent occasions be kept in the Church with leave, yet that is no Warrant for a Sessions, where there might be a Trial for Blood; and certainly it can be no crime to keep off Profanation from Churches; but be it never so criminal it was the act of the High Commission, and not his; nor is there any thing in it that looks towards Treason. To the profecuting the Church-Wardens he answer'd, that those Statutes concern'd Ale-house Keepers only, and the reason why they were profecuted was, because being Church-Officers they did not complain of it to the Chancellor of the Diocese, for certainly standing in such a Relation to the Church they ought to have been as ready to inform the Bishop as to obey the Justice of the Peace.

Lastly, "The Managers objected to the Archbishop,

Sitting of the Convocation after the Parliament. M. Charge. Article 5.

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"the Convocation's fitting after the Parliament was dissol"ved, contrary to Law; their imposing an oath on the
"Subject, and their making fundry Canons, which had
"fince been voted by both Houses of Parliament contrary
to the King's Prerogative, to the fundamental Laws of
"the Realm, to the Rights of Parliament, to the Property and Liberty of the Subject, and containing matters
"tending to Sedition, and of dangerous Consequence."

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The Archbishop replied, that the sitting of the Convocation after the dissolution of the Parliament was, in the opi-Charles L. nion both of Judges and other Lawyers, according to Law; that as they were called to fit in Convocation by a Abp's Reply, different Writ from that which called them, as Bishops to Laud's Hist, fit in Parliament, fo they could not rife till they had a Writ P. 282. to discharge them. As for the Oath so much complain'd of, it was according to Law, or elfe they were misled by such Precedents as were never excepted against, for in the Canons made in King James's time, there was an oath against Simony, and an oath for Licences for Marriages, and an oath for Judges in ecclefiaftical Courts, and all these established by no other authority than the late one. As to the Vote of both Houses, which condemn'd the Canons, fince their Lordships would not suffer him to debate the Justice and Equity of it, he could only reply, that all these Canons were made in open and full Convocations, and are Acts of that Body, and cannot be ascribed to him, though President of that Synod, so by me (fays the Archbishop) they were not made.

These were the principal Evidences produced by the Commons in maintenance of the first branch of their charge (viz.) his Grace's Endeavours to subvert the Rights of Parliament, and the fundamental temporal Laws of the Kingdom. From whence it is easy to observe, that besides the sharpness of the Archbishop's Temper, there are three capital Mistakes which run through this part of his Desence.

t. A groundless supposition, that "where the Law is Remarks." silent the Prerogative takes place;" and that in all such Cases, a Proclamation, an order of Council, or a Decree of the Star-cnamber, &c. is binding upon the Subject; and that disobedience to such Proclamations or Orders might be punished at discretion. This gave rise to most of the unwarrantable Orders by which the Subject was insufferably oppress'd in the former part of this Reign, and to the exorbitant Fines that were levied for Disobedience, in which the Archbishop himself was notoriously active.

2. "The false conclusions drawn from his being but a "fingle Member of the Council or High Commission (viz.) that therefore he was not answerable for their Votes or Orders, even tho' he had set his hand to them; because Laud's Hist.

"What is carried by a Majority is supposed to be the Act P. 437.

"of the whole Body, and not of any particular Member."

According to which way of reasoning the constitution

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King Charles I. 1644 might be destroy'd, without a possibility of punishing the Authors.

3. "His wilful Misconstruction of the Managers Rea"fonings;" as when he replies with an air of Satisfaction
and Triumph, he hopes this or the other particular will not
be construed Treason, unless it be against a Brew-house or
an Alderman, or the like; though he was told over and
over, by the Managers for the Commons, that they did not
ebject these things to him as so many treasonable Acts, but
as proofs and evidences of one general charge, which
was, "a traiterous attempt and endeavour to subvert the
"fundamental temporal Laws, Government, and Liberties
" of the Realm;" and how far they have made good this
part of their Charge must be left with the Reader.

3d general Charge. Subverting Religion. The Commons proceeded next to the third general Charge, relating to Religion, in which our History requires us to be more particular; and here they aver, "That the

"Archbishop had traiterously endeavoured and practised to alter and subvert God's true Religion by Law Establish-

es ed in this Realm, and instead thereof to set up Popish

"Superstition and Idolatry, and to reconcile us to the

" Church of Rome."

This was divided into two Branches,

First, " His introducing and practifing certain Popish In-"novations, and superstitious Ceremonies, not warranted

" by Law, nor agreeable to the practice of the Church of

" England fince the Reformation.

Secondly, "His countenancing and encouraging fundry doctrinal Errors in favour of Arminianism and Popery."

The Managers began with Popish Innovations and Ceremonies, in Maintenance of which they insisted on the following Proofs.

Paintings, and Images, and Crucia fixes.
M. Charge.
Psynne's
Cant.
Doom, p.
60, &c.
462 (1.) "His countenancing the setting up of Images in Churches, Church Windows, and other places of religious Worship. That in his own Chapel at Lambeth he had repaired the Popish Paintings on the Windows. that had been destroy'd at the Reformation, and made up the History of Christ crucified between two Thieves; of his rising out of the Grave; of his Ascension into Heaven; of the Holy Ghost descending in form of a Dove; of Christ raising Lazarus out of the Grave; and of God himself raising down Manna from Heaven; "of

1644.

" of God's giving the Law to Moses on Mount Sinai; of " fire descending from Heaven at the Prayer of Elisha, of " the Holy Ghost over-shadowing the Virgin, &c. all taken " from the Roman Missal, with several superstitious motto's " and inscriptions. That he had caused divers Crucifixes " to be fet up in Churches over the Communion Table, " in his Chapel at Lambeth, at Whitehall, and at the "University of Oxford, of which he was Chancellor. "That in the Parish of St. Mary's there was fince his " time erected a statue of the Virgin Mary cut in stone, " with a Child in her Arms, to which divers people bow'd " and did reverence as they went along the streets, which " could not be done without his allowance; nay, so zea-" lous was this Prelate (fay the Managers) in defence of "Images, that he procured Mr. Sherfield to be fentenced " in the Star-Chamber, for defacing a Church window in " or near Salisbury, because there was an Image in it " of God the Father; all which is contrary to the statute " of the 3d and 4th of Edward VI. and the injunctions of " Queen Elizabeth, which enjoin, " All Pictures, Paint-" ings, Images, and other monuments of Idolatry and Su-" perstition to be destroy'd, so as that there remain no me-" mory of them in Walls, Glass-windows, or elsewhere, " within any Church or House."

The Archbishop answer'd in general, that Crucifixes and Abp's An-Images in Churches were not simply unlawful; that they fwer. were in use in Constantine's time and long before, and there- p. 311. fore there could be no Popery in them. Tertullian fays they Prynne, had the picture of Christ engraven on their Chalice in form P. 462, 463. of a Shepherd carrying home a lost Sheep; and even Mr. Calvin allows an historical use of Images, Instit. l. 1. cap. 11. Sect. 12. " Neque tamen ea Superstitione teneor ut " nullas prorfus Imagines ferendas cenfeam, fed quia sculp-" tura & pictura, Dei dona funt, purum & legitimum utri-" usque usum requiro." The Archbishop appealed likewife to the Homilies, p. 64, 65. for an historical use of Images; but if it should be granted (fays he) that they are condemn'd by the Homilies, yet certainly one may subscribe to the Homilies as containing a godly and wholesome Doctrine, necessary for those times, without approving every passage or sentence, or supposing it necessary for all times. I do not approve of Images of God the Father, though some will justify them from Dan. vii. 22. but as for the Images of Things visible, they are of use, not only for the beautifying and adorning the places of divine Wor-

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King Charles I. 1644

thip, but for Admonition and Instruction; and can be an offence to none but fuch as would have God ferved flovenly and meanly, under a pretence of avoiding Superstition.

Prynne, P. 462.

Laud's Hift.

P. 329.

Ib. p. 434.

As to the Particulars, the Archbishop allowed his repairing the Windows of his Chapel at Lambeth, and making out the History as well as he could, but not from the RomanMissal, since he did not know the Particulars were in it, but from the fragments of what remained in the Windows fince the Reformation; but if they had been originally painted by his order, as in the Cafe of the new Chapel at Westminster, he knows no crime in it. The Image of the Virgin Mary in Oxford was fet up by Bishop Owen, and there is no evidence that I countenanced, the fetting it up, nor that any complaint was made to me of any abuse of it. As to Mr. Sherfield's Case, one of the Witnesses says, it was the picture of an old man with a budget by his fide, pulling out Adam and Eve, 'tis not therefore certain that it was the Image of God the Father; but if it was, yet Mr. Sherfield ought not to have defaced it but by Command of Authority, though it had been an Idol of Jupiter; the orders of the Vestry which Mr. Sherfield pleads, being nothing at all without the Bishop of the Diocese. The statute of Edward VI. has nothing to do with Images in Glass Windows, the words of the statute are, " Any Images of "Stone, Timber, Alabaster, or Earth, graven, carved, or painted, taken out of any. Church, &c. shall be de-

M. Reply to Antiq. of Images in Churches. Prynne,

Images in them.

The Managers for the Commons replied, that it was notoriously false, that the primitive Christians approved of Images, for Justin Martyr, Clemens Alexandrinus, Irenæus, and all the antient Fathers agree, that they had none in P. 463, 464 their Churches. Lactantius fays, There can be no Religion in a place where any Image is. Epiphanius rent in pieces an Image painted on Cloth, which he found in a Church, out of holy Indignation. All the ancient Councils are against Images in Churches; and many godly Emperors cast them out, after they began to be in use in later times, as our own Homilies expressly declare, Peril of Idolatry, Part II. p. 38. As for Tertullian, all that can be proved from him is, that those Hereticks against whom he write had fuch a Chalice, not that the orthodox Christians allowed of it. Calvin only fays, That he is not so superstitious as to think it altogether unlawful to make Images of Men

" stroy'd." So here is not a Word of Glass Windows, nor

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or Beasts for a civil use, because painting is the gift of God. But he affirms in the very next Section, that there were no Images in Churches for five hundred years after Christ; and fays expresly, that they were not in use till the Christian Religion was corrupted and depraved. He then adds, that he accounts it unlawful and wicked to paint the Image of God, because he has forbid it. But the Homiles are so ex- Peril of Idol. press, that they wonder the Archbishop can mention them p. 41, 42, without blushing; as well as his not knowing that the 43. paintings were according to the Mass-Book, when his own Mass-book was marked in those places with his own hand. The Images in those Windows were broken and demolished at the Reformation, by virtue of our Statutes, Homilies and Injunctions, and remained as monuments of our Indignation against Romish Idolatry, till the Archbishop repaired them. The Managers observed further, that the Archbishop had confessed the Particulars of this part of their Charge, and had only excused himself as to the University of Oxford, though they conceive it impossible he could be ignorant of those Innovations, being Chancellor and Visitor, and having entertain'd the King, Queen, and Elector Palatine there for feveral days. As for Mr. Sherfield's case, they apprehend the authority of the Vestry was fufficient in a place exempt from the Jurisdiction of the Bishop, as St. Edmund's Church was. And the Managers are still of opinion, that the Statute of Edward VI. extends to Images in Glass Windows; and that which confirms them in it is, that the Injunctions of Queen Elizabeth made in pursuance of this Law, extend in direct terms to Images in Glass Windows; and the practice of those times in defacing them infallibly proves it.

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(2.) Another Popish Innovation charged on the Archbi-Consecration shop, was, " His superstitious manner of consecrating Cha- of Churches pels, Churches, and Church-yards; they instanced in Creed- and Altars, Church, of which the Reader has had an account before; and Feasts of Dedication. " and in St. Giles's in the Fields, which being fallen to de- M. Charge. cay, was in part re-edified and finish'd in Bishop Moun-Prynne, " taine's time, Divine Service, and Administration of Sa- P. 114, 49 craments having been performed in it three or four " years before his death; but no sooner was the Archbishop translated to the See of London, but he interdicted the "Church, and shut up the doors for several Weeks, till he " had re-confecrated it, after the manner of Creed-Church, to the very great cost and charge of the Parish, and con-

They objected further, his confecrating of Altars, with all their furniture, as Pattens, Challices, Altar-cloths, &c. " even to the knife that was to cut the facramental bread; " and his dedicating the Churches to certain Saints, toge-

"ther with his promoting annual Revels, or Feafts of "Dedication on the Lord's day in feveral parts of the "Country, whereby that holy Day was profaned, and the

" people encouraged in superstition and ignorance.

Abp's Anfwer to the confecrating

The Archbishop answer'd to the consecration of Churches. that the practice was as antient as Moses, who consecrated the Tabernacle, with all its veffels and ornaments; that the Land's Hift. Temple was afterwards confecrated by King Solomon; that P. 339, 340- as foon as Christian Churches began to be built, in the Reign of Constantine the Great, they were consecrated, as Eusebins testifies concerning the Church of Tyre, in his Ecclesiastical History, 1. 10. cap. 3. and so it has continued down to the present time. Besides, if Churches were not consecrated they would not be holy; nor does Archbishop Parker speak against Consecrations in general, but against Popish Confectations, which mine were not (fays the Archbishop) for I had them from Bishop Andrews.

The Feafts of Dedica-

Prynne, P. 115.

> As to the manner of confecrating Creed-Church, St. Gile's, &c. his Grace confessed, that when he came to the Church door, that passage in the Psalms was read, " Lift " up your heads, O ye Gates, even lift them up, ye ever-" lasting Doors, that the King of Glory may come in;" that he kneel'd and bow'd at his entrance into the Church, as Mofes and Aaron did at the Door of the Tabernacle; that he declared the place holy, and made use of a prayer like one in the Roman Pontifical; that afterwards he pronounced divers curses on such as should profane it, but denied his throwing Dust into the air, in which, he faid, the witnesses had forsworn themselves, for the Roman Pontifical does not prescribe throwing Dust into the air, but Ashes; and he conceives there is no harm, much less treason in it. The practice of giving the names of Angels and Saints to Churches at their Dedication, for distinction sake, and for the honour of their memories (fays his Grace) has been very ancient, as appears in St. Austin, and divers others of the Fathers, but the Dedication strictly speaking is only to God; nor is the observing the annual Feasts of Dedication less ancient; the Feast of the Dedication of the Temple was observed in our Saviour's time, and though no doubt,

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it was abused by some among the Jews, yet our Saviour King honoured it with his Presence. Judge Richardson, indeed, Charles L. had made an order, in his circuit, for putting down thefe Wakes, but he was obliged to revoke it by authority, and Laud's Hift. under favour (fays the Archbishop) I am of opinion, that p. 209. the Feasts ought not to be put down for some abuses, any more than all Vines ought to be rooted up because some will be drunk with the juice of them. The Feafts are convenient for keeping up hospitality and good Neighbourhood; nor can there be a more proper time for observing them, than on Sundays after divine Service is ended.

And as the confecrating of Churches, and dedicating To confethem to God, has been of ancient usage, so has the crating Alconfectation of Altars, and their furniture, and fuch confe-tarsand their crations are necessary, for else the Lord's Table could not Ibid. p. 313 be called holy, nor the Vessels belonging to it holy, as they usually are; yea, there is an holiness in the Altar which fanctifies the gift, which it could not do, except itfelf was holy; if there be no Dedication of these Things to God, no separation of them from common use, then there can be no such Thing as Sacrilege, or difference between an holy Table, and a common one. And as to the Form of confecrating these Things, I had them not from the Romau Pontifical, but from Bishop Andrews.

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The Managers for the Commons replied, that if the Managers Temple was confecrated it was by the King himself, and Reply to the not by the High Priest; and if the Tabernacle was confe- Confecrating crated, it was by Moses, the civil Magistrate, and not by Churches, Aaron the High Priest; but we read of no other conse-Prynne, crating the Tabernacle and its utenfils, but anointing them P. 115, 499. with oil, for which Moses had an express command; nor of any other confecrating the Temple, but of Solomon's making an excellent Prayer in the outward Court, not in the Temple itself, and of his hallowing the middle Court by offerings and Peace-offerings; and 'tis observable, that the Cloud and Glory of the Lord filled the Temple, so as the Priests could not stand to minister before Solomon made his Prayer, which fome call his Confectation. But if it should be allowed, that the Temple was consecrated in an extraordinary manner, we have no mention either in Scripture, or Jewish Writers, of the confectation of their Synagogues, to which our Churches properly succeed. And after all, 'tis no conclusive way of arguing, to derive a Christian Institution from the Practice of the Jewish Church, because many of their Ordinances were tem-

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porary, ceremonial, and abolished by the Coming of Christ.

From the beginning of Christianity we have no credible authority for confecrating Churches for three hundred years. Eusebius, in the life of Constantine the Great, indeed, mentions his confecrating a Temple that he built over our Saviour's Sepulchre at Jerusalem; but how? With Prayers, Disputations, Preaching, and Exposition of Scripture, as he expresly defines it, cap. 45. Here were no Processions, no knocking at the Doors by the Bishop, crying, Open, ye everlasting Doors; no casting Dust or Ashes into the Air, and pronouncing the ground holy; no reverencing towards the Altar, nor a great many other Inventions of later ages; no, these were not known in the Christian Church till the very darkest times of Popery; nay, in those very dark times, we are told by Otho, the Pope's Legate, in his Ecclesiastical Constitutions, that in the Reign of King Henry III, there were not only divers Parish Churches, but some Cathedrals in England, which had been used for many years, and yet never consecrated by a Bishop. But it's plain to a Demonstration, that the Archbishop's method of consecrating Churches is a modern Popish invention, for 'tis agreed by Gratian, Platina, the Centuriators, and others, that Pope Hyginus, Gelasius, Silvester, Felix, and Gregory, were the first inventors and promotors of it; and it is no where to be found but in the Roman Pontifical, publish'd by command of Pope Clepultario no'i ment VIII. De Ecclesiæ Dedicatione, p. 209, 280. for which reasons it was exploded and condemned by our first Reformers, and particularly by Bishop Pilkington, in his Comment upon Haggai, ch. i. ver. 7, 8. and Archbishop Parker, who in his Antiq. Britan. expresly condemns the Archbishop's method of Confecration as Popish and Superstitious, p. 85, 86, 87. But the Archbishop says, if Churches are not consecra-

> ted they can't be holy, whereas many places that were never confecrated are stiled holy, as the most holy Place, and the holy City Jerusalem; and our Homilies say, that the Church is called Holy, not of itself, but because God's People reforting thither are Holy, and exercise themselves in holy things; and 'tis evident that Sanctification, when applied to places, is nothing else but a separating them

> from common use to a religious and facred one, which may be done without the fuperstitious method above-men-

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Prynne, p. 116, 117.

Ib. p. 115.

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Ib. p. 502:

tioned; and though the Archbishop avers, he had not his form of Confecration from the Roman Pontifical, he ac- Charles L knowledges, he had it from Bishop Andrews, who could have it no where elfe.

King

As for confecrating Altars, Pattens, Chalices, Altar- To confecracloths, and other Altar Furniture; their original is no higher and the Furthan the Roman Missal and Pontifical, in both which there niture. are particular Chapters, and let forms of Prayer for this Prynne, purpose; but to imagine that these Vessels may not be re- p. 65, &cc. puted Holy, though separated to an holy Use, unless thus confecrated, is without any Foundation in Reason or Scripture, and contrary to the practice of the Church of England, and the opinion of our first Reformers.

To the Archbishop's account of Feasts and Dedication To Antig. of we answer as before, that an Example out of the Jewish Fealts of Law is no Rule for the Christian Church. Ezra kept a Prynne, Feast at the Dedication of the Temple, when it was re- p. 128. built, and offered a great many Burnt-Offerings, Ezra vi. 16, 17. but it was not made an annual Solemnity; for the Feast of Dedication mentioned John x. 22. was not of the Dedication of the Temple, but of the Altars, instituted by Judas Maccabæus, to be kept annually by the space of eight days, 1 Mac. iv. 56, 59. which being of no divine Institution, but kept only by the superstitious Jews, not by Christ or his Apostles (who are only faid to be at Jerusalem' at that time) can be no Precedent for our modern Confecrations.

Pope Felix and Gregory are the first that decreed the annual Observation of the Dedication of Churches since our Saviour's Time, which were observed in England under the names of Wakes and Revels, but were the occasion of so much idleness and debauchery, that King Henry VIII. Ann. 1536, restrained them all to the first Sunday in October, not to be kept on any other day; and afterwards, by the Statute 5 and 6 Edward VI. cap. 3. of holy Days, they were totally abolish'd. But these Feasts being revived again, by degrees, in fundry places of this Realm, and particularly in Somersetshire, Judge Richardson, when he was on the Circuit, at the Request of the Justices of the Peace for the County, publish'd an order for suppressing them; but was obliged the next year as publickly to revoke it, and to declare fuch Recreations to be lawful; and as a further punishment on the Judge, the Archbishop obtain'd his Removal from that Circuit. 'Tis very certain,

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King Charles I, 1644 that at these Revels there were a great many disorders; as Drunkenness, Quarrelling, Fornication and Murder, 'tis therefore very unlikely they should answer any good purpose, and how fit they were to succeed the publick Devotions of the Lord's Day, we shall leave to your Lordships Consideration.

Antig. of Altars, their Situation and Railing them in. M. Charge. Prynne, p. 42, pt, to.

moitist.

(3.) The Managers charged the Archbishop further. " with giving orders to Sir Nath. Brent, his Vicar-General, " to enjoin the Church-wardens of all Parish Churches within his Diocese, that they should remove the Com-" munion Table from the middle of the Chapel to the " upper end, and place it in form of an Altar, close to the wall, with the ends North and South, and encompass it 45 with rails, according to the model of Cathedrals. They " objected likewise to his furnishing the Altar in his own "Chapel, and the King's at Whitehall, with Bafins, Can-"dlefticks, Tapers, and other Silver Vessels, not used in his " Predecessors time; and to the Credentia or Side-Table, " in conformity to the Roman Ceremoniale, on which the "Elements were to be placed on a clean Liuen Cloth be-" fore they were brought to the Altar to be confecrated; " and to the hanging over the Altar a piece of Arras with " a large Crucifix."

Abp's Anfwer.
Laud's Hift.

The Archbishop answer'd, that the placing the Communion Table at the east end of the Chancel was commanded by Queen Eliabeth's Injunctions, which fay, that the holy Table shall be set in the place where the Altar stood, which all that are acquainted with Antiquity know, was at the east end of the Chancel, with the ends North and South, close to the Wall, and thus they were usually placed both in this and other Churches of Christendom; the Innovation therefore was theirs who departed from the Injunctions, and not mine who have kept to them. Besides, Altars, both Name and Thing, were in use in the Primitive Churches long before Popery began; yea, they are to be found both in the Old and New Testament, and that there can be no Popery in railing them in, I have proved in my Speech in the Star Chamber. However I aver, that I gave no orders nor directions to Sir Nath. Brent, my Vicar-General, neither by Letter, nor otherwise, to remove or rail in Communion Tables in all Parish Churches; and I de-

fire Sir Nath. may be called to testify the truth upon his oath. Sir Nath. being fworn, the Archbishop asked him upon his oath, whether he had ever given him fuch orders? to which he replied, "My Lords, upon the oath I have taken, I " received an express direction and command from the " Archbishop himself to do what I did of this kind, other-" wife I durst never have done it." The Archbishop infisting that he never gave him fuch orders, and wondering that he should be so unworthy as to affirm it upon oath, Sir Nath. produced the following Letter under the Archbishop's own hand, directed to himself at Maidstone.

King Charles I' 1644.

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Require you to command the Communion Table at " Maidstone to be placed at the East, or upper end of " the Chancel, and there railed in, and that the Commu-" nicants there come up to the Rail to receive the bleffed "Sacrament; and the like you are required to do in all " Churches, and in all other places where you visit Metro-" politically."

W. Cant.

To which the Archbishop, being out of countenance, made

no other reply, but that he had forgot it.

As to the furniture upon the Altar, he added, that it was no other than was used in the King's Chapel at Whitehall before his time, and was both necessary and decent; as is likewife the Credentia or Side-table, the form of which he took from Bishop Andrew's Model; and the piece of Arras that was hung up over the Altar in Passion Week, he apprehended, was very proper for the place and occasion, such Representations being approved by the Lutherans, and even by Calvin himself, as had been already shown.

The Managers replied to the antiquity of Altars, that M. Reply to though the name is often mentioned in Scripture, yet 'ris Antiq. of never applied to the Lord's Table; but Altars and Priests Railing are put in opposition to the Lord's Table, and Ministers of them in. the New Testament, Cor. ix. 13, 14. Christ himself ce- Prynne, p. lebrated the Sacrament at a Table, not at an Altar, and 480, 481. he calls it a Supper, not a Sacrifice; nor can it be pretended by any Law of Canon of the Church of England, that it is called an Altar more than once, Stat. 1. Edward VI. cap. 1. which Statute was repealed within three years, and Vol. III. another M

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King Charles I. 1644. Life of Bp. Williams.

Prynne, p.

another made, in which the Word Altar is changed into Table. 'Tis evident from the unanimous Suffrage of most of the Fathers that lived within three hundred years after Christ; and by our most learned Reformers, that for above two hundred and fifty years after Christ there were no Altars in Churches but only Lord's Tables, Pope Sixtus II. being the first that introduced them; and the Canons of the Popish Council of Aix, 1583, being the only ones that can be produced for railing them in; one of which prescribes thus, "Unumquodque Altare sepiatur omnino septo ferreo, " vel lapideo vel ligneo." Let every Altar be encompaffed with a Rail of Iron, Stone or Wood. The Text, Heb. xiii. 10. "We have an Altar, whereof they have no right " to eat which serve the Tabernacle," is certainly meant of Christ himself, and not of the Altar of Wood or Stone, as our Protestant Writers have proved at large; agreeably to which all Altars in Churches were commanded to be taken away and removed, as superstitious and Popish, by publick Laws and Injunctions at the Reformation, and Tables were fet up in their stead, which continued till the Archbishop was pleas'd to turn them again into Altars.

To their Situation.
Altars anciently not fixed to the Eaft Wall of the Chancel.
Prynne, p. 482, 484.

Vide Bp. William's Life, p. 109.

But the Archbishop is pleased to maintain, "That the "Queen's Injunctions prescribe the Communion Table to " be set in the place where the Altar stood, and that this " was anciently at the East end of the Choir;" whereas we affirm, that he is not able to produce one Precedent or Authority in all Antiquity for this Affertion; on the contrary, we are able to demonstrate to your Lordships, that Altars and Lord's Tables amongst Jews and Christians, stood anciently in the midst of their Churches or Choirs; * where the people might fit, stand, and go conveniently round them. So it was certainly in the Jewish Church, as every one allows; and it was so in the Christian Church, till the very darkest times of Popery, when private Masses were introduced. Eusebius, Dionysius, Areopagita, Chrysostom, Athanasius, Augustine, &c. affirm, that the Table of the Lord stood in the middle of the Chancel, so that they

*Choir or Chorus has its Denomination from the Multitude standing round about the Altar [in modum Coronæ] in the form of a Ring or Circle. In the ancient Liturgies they prayed for all those that stood round about the Altar.—The Priests and Deacons stood round about the Altar when they officiated, and so did the Bishops when they consecrated it.

King

Charles I. 1644.

might compass it about; nay, Durandus, a Popish Writer informs us, that when a Bishop confecrates a new Altar, he must go round about it seven times; by which 'tis evident, it could not stand against a Wall; but our most eminent Writers against Popery, as Bucer, Bishop Jewel, Bishop Babington, Bishop Morton, and Archbishop Williams, have proved this fo evidently, that there is no room to call it in question; and we are able to produce several Authorities from venerable Bede, St. Austin the first Archbishop of Canterbury, and others, that they stood thus in

England in their times.

Nor do Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions in the least favour the Archbishop's Practice, of fixing the Communion Table to the East Wall with Rails about it, for they order " the Table to be removed when the Sacrament is to be di-" stributed, and placed in such fort within the Chancel, as " whereby the Minister may be more conveniently heard " of the Communicants, and the Communicants may more " conveniently, and in greater numbers, communicate with

" him." Now, if it be to be removed at the time of Com-Prynne, p. munion, 'tis abfurd to suppose it to be fix'd to the Wall, and 467, 481. encompass'd with Rails. Besides, the Rubrick of the Common Prayer Book, and the eighty fecond Canon of 1603, appoint the Communion Table to be placed in the Body of the Church, where the Chancel is too fmall, or near the middle of the Chancel, where 'tis large enough; and thus they generally flood in all Churches, Chapels, and in Lambeth Chapel itself till the Archbishop's time, which puts the matter out of question. And if it be remember'd, that the faying of private Masses brought in this situation of Altars into the Church of Rome, contrary to all Antiquity, the Archbishop's imitating them in this particular must certainly be a Popish Innovation.

The Furniture upon the Altar which the Archbishop To their pleads for, is exactly copied from the Roman Pontifical and Furniture; the Popish Council of Aix, and is condemned by our Homilies and Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions, which cenfure,

condemn, and abolish as Superstitious, Ethnical, and Popith, all Candlesticks, Trendals, Rolls of Wax, and setting up of Tapers, as tending to Idolatry and Superstition, Injunct. 2, 23, 25. Therefore instead of conforming to the Chapel at Whitehall, he ought, as Dean of that Chapel, to have reformed it to our Laws, Homilies, and Injunctions.

The like may be faid of the Credentia [or Side-table] Prynne, p. which is taken expresly out of the Roman Ceremonial and 63, 468.

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King 1644. Pontifical, and is used amongst the Papists only in their most folemn Masses. It was never heard of in any Protestant Church, nor in the Church of England, till the Archbishop's time; and as for the stale pretext, of his having it from Bishop Andrews; if it be true, we are certain that Bishop could have it no where else but from the Roman Missal.

Ib. p. 62.

The Arras hangings, with the Picture of Christ at his last Supper, with a Crucifix, are no less Popish than the former, being enjoin'd by the Roman Ceremoniale, Ed. Par. 1633. lib. 1. c. 12. p. 69, 70. in these Words, " Quod si Al-" tare parieti adhæreat, applicari poterit ipsi parieti supra Al-" tare pannus aliquis cæteris nobilior & speciosior, ubi intex-" tæ fint D.N. Jesu Christi aut gloriosæ Virginis, vel sancto-" rum Imagines. If the Altar be fix'd to the Wall, let there " be some hangings more noble and beautiful than the rest, "fasten'd upon the Wall over the Altar, in which are " wrought the Images of Christ, the blessed Virgin, or the Besides, these things being condemned by our Statutes, Homilies, and Injunctions, as we have already proved, ought not certainly to have been introduced by a Prelate, "who challenges all that is between Heaven and " Hell, justly to tax him in any one particular favouring of " Popish Superstition or Idolatry."

Antiquity of wards the Altar. M. Charge. Prynne, p. 72, &cc.

"Another Innovation charged on the Archbishop, was Bowing to- " his introducing divers Superstitions into divine Worship, " as bowing towards the Altar, bowing at the Name of Jesus, enjoining people to do Reverence at their entrance into Church, reading the fecond Service at the Commu-" nion Table, standing up at the Gloria Patri, and intro-" ducing the use of Copes and Church Musick. objected further, his repairing old Crucifixes, his new Statutes of the University of Oxford, among which, " fome were arbitrary, and others very superstitious; of the " former fort, are the imposing new oaths; the Statute of " Bannition; referring some Misdemeanors to arbitrary Pe-" nalties, and obliging Students to go to Prison on the Vice " Chancellor's or Proctor's command. Of the latter fort, " are bowing to the Altar, finging the Litany, and reading " Latin Prayers in Lent; together with the above-menti-" on'd Superstitions in the manner of divine Worship."

Abp's An-

The Archbishop answered, that bowing in divine Worship was practifed among the Jews, 2 Chron. xxix. 29. p. 313, 361. and the Pfalmist says, "O come, let us worship, and bow " down, let us kneel before the Lord our Maker, Pfal. xcv. " 6." that it was usual in Queen Elizabeth's time; and, that the Knights of the Garter were obliged to this practice by the Orders of their Chapter. Besides, the Altar is the chief Place of God's Residence on Earth, for there it is, "This is my Body; whereas in the Pulpit 'tis only, "This " is my Word." And shall I bow to Men in each House of Parliament, and not bow to God in his House whither I come to worship him? Surely I must worship God, and bow to him, though neither Altar nor Communion Table be in the Church.

King

Bowing at the Name of Jesus is prescribed in direct Bowing at Terms by Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions, No 12. and by the Name the 18th Canon of our Church; and the' standing up at the of Jesus, Gloria Patri is not prescribed by any Canon of the Church, 'tis, nevertheless, of great Antiquity; nor is the reading the fecond Service at the Communion Table an Innovation, it being the constant practice in the Cathedrals, and warranted by the Rubrick.

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The use of Copes is prescribed by the 24th Canon of 1603, Of Copes, which fays, "That in all Cathedrals, and Collegiate Church-" es, the Communion shall be administered on principal " feast days, sometimes by the Bishop if present, sometimes " by the Dean, and sometimes by the Canon or Prebenda-"-ry, the principal Minister using a decent Cope;" so that here is no Innovation, any more than in the use of Organs, which our Church has generally approved and made use of.

As to the Statutes of the University of Oxford, 'tis ho- Laud's Hift. nour more than enough for me, that I have finished and p. 304. fettled them; nor did I any thing in them but by the confent of the Convocation; and as to the particulars, there is nothing but what is agreeable to their Charters, and the anci-

ent custom and usage of the University.

The managers replied, that Bowing to the Altar, is Po- M. Reply to pish, Superstitious, and Idolatrous, being prescribed only by Bowing to Popish Canons, and introduced on purpose to support the the Altar. Doctrine of Transubstantiation, which the Archbishop's Prynne, p. Practice feems very much to countenance, when at his 477, 487. coming up to the Altar to confecrate the Bread, he makes three low bows, and at his going away three more, giving this Reason for it, "Quia hoc est corous meum," because, "This is my Body;" whereas he does not bow to the Pulpit, because a greater Reverence is due to the Body than to "the Word of the Lord." Besides, it has no foundation in Antiquity, nor has it been approved by any Proteflant writers, except the Archbishop's Creatures, such as Dr. M 3

King Charles I. 1644.

Heylin, Pocklington &c. but has been condemned by the best writers as Popish and Superstitious. The black Book of the Knights of the Garter at Windsor, is but a forry Precedent for a Protestant Archbishop to follow, being made in the darkest times of Popery (viz.) in the reign of King Henry V. and if they bow Deo & Altari, to God and to his Altar, as the Archbishop in his Speech in the Star Chamber is of opinion Christians ought to do, we can't but think it both Popish and Idolatrous. His passages of Scripture are nothing to the purpose, for "Kneeling before the Lord our " Maker" has no relation to bowing to the Altar; nor is there any Canon or Injunction of the Church to support the practice.

To the Glo-Bowing at lefus. Prynne, p. 64.

The Archbishop confesses, that there is neither Canon nor ria Patri and Injunction for standing up at the Gloria Patri, which must the Name of therefore be an Innovation, and is of no greater Antiquity than the Office of the Mass, for 'tis derived from the Ordo Romanus, as appears from the works of Cassander, p. 98. And tho' Bowing at the Name of Jefus be mentioned in the Canons, yet these Canons are not binding, not being confirmed by Parliament, especially since the Homilies, the Common-Prayer-Book, the Articles of Religion, and the Book of Ordination, which are the only authentick Rules of the Church, make no mention of it; nor was it ever introduced before the time of Pope Gregory X. who first prefcribed it; and from the Councils of Basil, Sennes, and Augusta, it was afterwards inserted into the Roman Ceremoniale; besides, our best Protestant Writers have condemned the practice.

A. D. 1431. the fecond Service. Prynne, p. 492.

Reading the second service at the Altar when there is no To Reading Communion, is contrary to the Canons of 1571, and 1603, contrary to the Queen's Injunctions, the Homilies, and Rubrick in the Common-Prayer-Book, and was never practifed in Parish Churches till of late, tho' used in some Cathedrals, where the Rubrick enjoins the Communion to be administered every Sunday in the year, which being omitted, the fecond Service at the Table was left to supply it. The Lord's Table was ordained only to administer the Sacrament, but the Epistle and Gospel, which are the chief parts of the second Service, are appointed to be read with the two Lessons in the Reading Pew.

To Copes. Ib. p. 64, 479, 480.

As for Copes, neither the Common-Prayer-Book, nor Book of Ordination, nor Homilies, confirmed by Parliament, nor Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions in her first year, make any mention of them, they are evidently derived from

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the Popish Ward-robe, and the last Common-Prayer-Book of King Edward VI. expresly prohibits them. The 24th Canon of 1603, enjoins only the chief Minister to wear a Cope at the Administration of the Sacrament, whereas the Archbishop prescribed them to be worn by others, besides the chief Minister, and as well when the Sacrament was not administered, as when it was. But as we observed before, those Canons not being confirmed by Parliament, expired with King James, and therefore can be no Warrant for their present use. Nor is the use of Mu- Ib. p. 65. fick in Churches, or chaunting of Prayers, of any great An- A. D. 666. tiquity, being first introduced by Pope Vitalian, and encouraged only by Popish Prelates.

And though the Archbishop pleads, that the Statutes of To the Uni-Oxford are agreeable to ancient custom and usage, we af- versity Stafirm they contain fundry Innovations, not only with regard tutes. to the Liberty of the Subject, but with regard to Religion, for Latin Prayers were formerly faid only on Ash Wed- Prynne, p. nesdays before the Batchelors of Arts, whereas now, none 478. others are to be faid throughout all Lent; the Statute for finging in folemn processions was made in time of Popery, and renewed in these Statutes to keep up the practice of such superstitious Perambulations; and though the Archbishop with his wonted affurance wonders what these things have to do with Treason, we apprehend, that if they appear so many proofs of a defign "to subvert the established Reli-" gion of the Church of England, they will be judged so " in the highest degree."

Further they charged the Archbishop with advising the Book of King "to publish his Declaration for the use of Sports on M. Charge. " the Lord's day, in order to suppress Afternoon Sermons; Prynne, p. " with obliging the Clergy of his diocese to read it in their 128, 156, " Pulpits, and punishing those that refused."

The Archbishop answered, that he had the King's War- Abp's Anrant for printing the Book of Sports; that there is no proof fwer. Laud'e that it was by his procurement, nor that it was done on Hiff. p. 343. that it was by his procurement, nor that it was done on 344. purpose to take away Afternoon Sermons, fince the Recreations are not allowed till they are over; besides, the Declaration allows only lawful Recreations, which is no more than is practifed at Geneva, though for his own part "he " always observed strictly the Lord's Day." What he enjoned about the reading the Declaration was by his Majesty's command, and he did not punish above three or four for not reading it. M 4

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King Charles I. 1644. Managers Reply, Prynne, p. 505.

The Commons replied, That it was evident by the Archbishop's Letter to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, that the Declaration was printed by his procurement, the Warrant for printing it being written all with his own hand, and without date, and therefore might probably be obtained afterwards; moreover, fome of the Recreations mentioned in it are unlawful on the Lord's Day, according to the opinion of Fathers, Councils, and Imperial Laws; and though Calvin differs from our Protestant writers about the morality of the Sabbath, yet he expresly condemns dancing and pastimes on that day. As for his Grace's own strict observation of the Lord's Day, 'tis an averment without truth, for he fat constantly at the Council Table on that day; and it was his ordinary practice to go to bowls in the Summer time, and use other Recreations upon it; nor is it probable, that the Archbishop would have punished conscientious Ministers for not reading the Book of Sports, if the thing had been difagreeable to his practice, especially when there is no Warrant at all in the Declaration that Ministers should publish it, or be punished for refusing it; and that he punished no more, was not owing to his Clemency, who gave command to suspend all that refused, but to the Clergy's compliance; for fo zealous was this Archbishop, and some of his Brethren in this affair, that it was inferted as an Article of enquiry in their Visitations, " Whether the King's Declara-" tion for Sports has been read and published by the Mini-" fter?" And defaulters were to be presented upon oath. Now we appeal to the whole Christian World, Whether ever it has been known, that any who have been called, " Fathers of the Church," have taken fo much pains to have the Lord's Day prophaned, as first to advise the King to publish a Declaration to warrant it, then to enjoin the Clergy to read it in their Pulpits, and to fulpend, sequester and deprive, all whose Consciences would not allow them to comply, and this not only contrary to the Laws of God, but to the Laws of the Land. 10 2000 acit

Remarks. The Reader will, no doubt, remark upon this part of the Archbishop's Trial, that those Rites and Ceremonies which have bred fuch ill Blood, and been contended for with fo much fierceness, as to disturb the peace of the Church, and divide its Communion, have no Foundation in Scripture, or primitive Antiquity, but had their rife for the most part, in the darkest and most corrupt times of the Papacy. I fpeak not here of those Rites that are established by Law, as the Cross in Baptism, and kneeling at the Com-

munion,

munion, &c. because the Commons could not charge these upon the Archbishop as criminal. But it will be observed further, that when men claim a right to invent Ceremonies for decency of worship, and impose them upon the people, there is no knowing where to stop. Archbishop Laud would, no doubt, by degrees, have introduced all the follies of the Roman Church; and indeed, if we admit of an authority to impose Rites and Ceremonies not mentioned in Scripture, 'tis not easy to give a reason why fifty may not be enjoined as well as five.

King Charles L 1644.

The Managers went on next to the fecond Branch of Dodrinal the Charge, to prove the Archbishop's design to subvert Errors. the Protestant Religion, " by Countenancing and Encou-" raging fundry Doctrinal Errors in favour of Arminianism

" and Popery."

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And here they charged him, First, "With being the Armini-" great Patron of that part of the Clergy who had declared M. Charge.

" themselves in favour of these Errors, and with procuring " their advancement to the higest Stations in the Church,

" even though they were under censure of Parliament, as

1 Dr. Manwaring, Montague, &c. They averr'd, that the " bell Preferments in his Majesty's Gift, ever since the

"Archbishop's administration in 1627, had, by his advice,

" been bestow'd on persons of the same principles; and

" that he had advised the King to publish a Declaration, " prohibiting the Clergy to preach on the Five controverted

"Points, by virtue of which the mouths of the orthodox

" Preachers were flopt, and some that ventur'd to trans-

" gress the King's Declaration were punished in the High

"Commission, when their adversaries were left at large to

" fpread their opinions at their pleasure."

The Archbishop answered, that he had not defended any Abp's Anpoints of Arminianism, though he heartily wished for the !met. peace of Christendom, that these differences were not pur- p. 352. fued with fuch heat and animofity. He confessed, that he Pryone, had been taxed in a Declaration of the House of Commons P. 529. as a favourer of Arminians, but without proof, and he took it as a very great flander. Nor had he, to the best of his remembrance, advanced any fuch to Ecclefiastical Livings; if they proved fo afterwards it was more than he could foresee; but he had preferr'd divers orthodox Minitters, against whom there was no exception. He denied that he had any hand in the preferment of Dr. Manwaring or Montague, who were under censure of Parliament, nor

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King Charles I. 1644.

Prynne, P. 508.

Managers Reply. Prynne, P. 529.

is the Pocket Book a sufficient proof of it; he was of opinion, that Neale, Lindsey, Wren, Bancroft, Curle, and others mentioned in the charge, were worthy men, and every way qualified for their preferments, though it does not appear he had any hand in bestowing them. As for the King's Declaration, prohibiting the Clergy to preach on the Five Points, it was his Majesty's own, and not his; and fince the publishing of it, he had endeavour'd to carry it with an equal hand, and to punish the transgressors of it on one fide as well as the other.

The Commons replied, that they wonder'd at the Archbishop's assurance in denying his endeavours to promote Arminianism in the Church; that the Remonstrance of the Commons was a fufficient evidence of his guilt, being confirmed by many proofs, though his answer to it was full of bitterness and sawciness, as throwing scandal on the whole

representative Body of the Nation.

As to the particulars, they fay, that his preferring Mr. Downham and Taylor, orthodox men, to some Benefices, was but a blind to cover his advancing fo many popishly affected Clergymen. 'Tis known to all the world that Montague and Manwaring were his Creatures; the Pocket-book fays, that his Majesty's royal Assent to their preferment was fignified by order of this Prelate, when only Bishop of London, and himself was the person that consecrated them. It would be too long to go into particulars, but every body knows, that the disposal of all, or most of the Bishopricks, Deanries, and most considerable Benefices since the year 1627, have been under the direction of this Archbishop; and what fort of persons have been preferr'd, is apparent to all men, by the present distracted condition of the Church and Universities.

The King's Declaration for prohibiting preaching on the five controverted Points, was an artifice of the Archbishop's to introduce the Arminian errors, by preventing orthodox P 172, 511. Ministers from awakening the minds of people against them. And whereas he avers, that he has carried it with an even hand, and could bring Witnesses from Oxford to prove it, we challenge him to name one Scholar or Minister that was ever imprisoned, deprived, filenced, prosecuted in the high Commission, or cast out of favour on this account; there was indeed one Rainsford, an Arminian, who in the year 1632, was obliged publickly to confess his error, in disobeying his Majesty's Declaration, but that was all his punishment; whereas great numbers of the other fide have been perfecuted, perfecuted, so as to be forced to abandon their native Charles I. Country, at a time when the most notorious and declared Arminians were advanced to the best preferments in the Church. as Montague made a Bishop, Harsnet an Archbishop, Lindsey promoted to two Bishopricks; Potter to a Deanry, and Duppa to a Deanry and a Bishoprick, and made Tutor to the Prince, &c.

The Managers objected further to the Archbishop, "That Abuse of the " having obtained the fole licenfing of the Press, by a De-hibiting

" claration of the Star-Chamber in the year 1637, he had Books. " prohibited the reprinting fundry orthodox books formerly M. Charge:

" printed, and fold by authority, as the Geneva Bible with p. 180, " notes, Gillibrand's Protestant Almanack, in which the 182, &c.

" Popish Saints were left out of the Kalendar, and Protestant " Martyrs put in their places; that his Chaplains had refused

" to licence the Confession of Faith of the Palatine Churches,

" Fox's book of Martyrs, Bishop Jewel's works, some part

" of Dr. Willet's, and the History of the Gun-powder-"Treason, as was attested by the Clerks of Stationer's

" Hall, and this reason given for the refusal, That we

" were not now so angry with the Papists as formerly, and

"therefore it was not proper to exasperate them, there
being a design on foot to win them with mildness. That By castrating them.

" the Archbishop had suppress'd sundry new books written

" against Arminianism and Popery, and had castrated others, " expunging such passages as reflected upon the Superstition

" and Idolatry of that Church;" a large catalogue of which the Commons produced; many Authors appeared in maintenance of this part of the charge, and among others, Prynne, Dr. Featley, Dr. Clarke, Dr. Jones, Mr. Ward, &c. It p. 257.

was faid in particular, " that he had expunged divers paf- 258, &c.

" fages which bore hard upon the Papifts out of the col-" lection of publick prayers for a general Fast against the

" Plague; and that in the Prayer-book appointed by au-

" thority for the 5th of Nov. instead of "Root out that Ba-" bylonish and Antichristian Sect, whose Religion is Rebel-

" lion, whose Faith is Faction, and whose Practice is mur-

" dering of Soul and Body;" he had altered that passage, and artfully turn'd it against the Puritans, thus, "Root

" out the Antichristian Sect of them, who turn Religion

" into Rebellion, and Faith into Faction.

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"And as the Archbishop had castrated some books, be- By licensing " cause they refuted the Doctrines he would countenance; Books,

" fo he gave full licence to others, wherein the groffest Prynne, 66 points p. 188, 202.

King rles I 1644.

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" points of Arminianism and Popery were openly affer-"ted; as Cosins's Hours of Prayer, Sales's Introduc-tion to a devout Life, Christ's Epistle to a devout Soul, and others, in which the following Doctrines were " maintained. (1.) The necessity of auricular Confession, " and the power of Priests to forgive Sins. (2.) The lawte fulness and benefit of Popish Penance, as wearing Haircloth, and other corporal punishments. (3.) Absolute " fubmission to the commands of Priests as directors of Con-" science. (4.) That in the Sacrament, the Body and Blood " of Christ is a true and proper facrifice; that the natural 46 Body and Blood of Christ is really and substantially pre-" fent in the Eucharist; and that there can be no true Sacrament or Confecration of it where there is no Altar, (5.) That Crucifixes, Images and Pictures, may be law-" fully fet up in Churches, and ought not to be removed, " (6.) That the Pope is not Antichrist. (7.) That there " are venial fins. (8.) That there is a Purgatory or Limbus 55 Patrum. (9.) That the Reliques of Saints are to be pre-" ferved and reverenced. (10.) That the Virgin Mary and " Saints are to be invoked and prayed to. (11.) That the " Church of Rome is the Mother Church, and never erred in fundamentals. (12.) That there are written Traditions of equal authority with the Word of God." To which were added fundry articles of Arminian Doctrine, as of Free-will, total and final Apoltacy from Grace; examples of which the Managers produced from the feveral Authors.

And conniing at their Importation. Prynne, P 349

And as a further encouragement to Popery, they objected his Grace's "conniving at the importation of popish Books, " and restoring them to the owners when seized by the " fearchers, contrary to the Statute of 3 Jacob. I. by which means many thousands of them were dispersed over the " whole Kingdom; whereas he gave the strictest commands to his Officers to feize all imported Bibles with " Notes, and all books against Arminian and Popish Inor novations. All which put together, amount to no less than a demonstration of the Archbishop's defign to sub-" vert our established Religion, by introducing doctrinal " Arminianism and Popery.

Abp's An-Laud's Hift. P. 350.

The Archbishop answered, That the Decree of the Star Chamber for regulating the Press was the act of the whole Court, and not his; that the Stationers themselves gave him thanks for it; and he is still of opinion, that it was both a necessary and useful Act, being design'd to

1644.

suppress seditious, schismatical, and mutinous books. As to the particulars, he replied, that the Geneva Bible was only tolerated, not allowed by authority, and deferved to be fuppressed for the marginal note on Exod. i. 17. which allows disobedience to the king's command. Gillibrand's Almanack had left out all the Saints and Apostles, and put in those named by Mr. Fox, and therefore deserved to be censured. As to the Book of Martyrs, it was an abridgment of that Book, I opposed (fays his Grace) lest the book itself should be brought into difuse, and lest any thing material should be left out. But the licensing of books was left in general to my Chaplains, for an Archbishop had better grind than take that work into his own hands; and whereas it has been inferr'd, that what is done by my Chaplain must be taken as my act, I conceive no man can by law be punished criminally for his servants fact, unless it be proved that he had a hand in it.

The like answer the Archbishop gave to the castrating and licenfing Books, his Chaplains did it; and fince it was not proved they did it by his express command they must answer for it. He admits, that he altered the prayers for the 5th of Nov. and for the general Fast, by his Majesty's command; and he is of opinion, the expressions were too

harsh, and therefore ought to be changed.

He denied that he ever connived at the importation of popish books; and if any such were restored to the owners, it was by order of the High Commission, and therefore he

is not answerable for it.

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The Commons replied, that the decree for regulating Managers the Press was procured by him, with a design to enlarge his Reply. jurisdiction; and though some things in it might deserve the 515. thanks of the Stationers, they complain'd loudly that Books formerly printed by Authority, might not be reprinted without a new Licence from himself ----- As to particulars, they affirm, that the Geneva Bible was printed by authority of Queen Elizabeth and King James, Cum Privilegio; and in the 15th Jacob. there was an impression by the King's own Printer, notwithstanding the note upon Exodus, which is warranted both by Fathers and Canonists. Gillibrand's Almanack was certainly no offence, and therefore did not deferve that the Author should be tried before the High Commission; and if the Queen and the Papists were offended at it, it was to be liked never the worse by all good

King Charles I.

was directed.

good Protestants. The Archbishop is pleased, indeed, to cast the whole blame of the Press on his Chaplains; but we are of opinion (fay the Managers) that the Archbishop is anfwerable for what his Chaplains do in this case; the trust of licenfing books being originally invested in him, his Chaplains being his Deputies, he must answer for them at his peril. When the Archbishop of York, in the Reign of Edward I. was question'd in Parliament for excommunicating two Servants of the Bishop of Durham, employed in the King's Service, the Archbishop threw the blame on his Commissary, who was the person that excommunicated them; but it was then resolved in Parliament, that the Commissary's act was his own, and he was fined four thousand marks to the King. Now the Commissary was an Officer established by Law; but the Archbishop's Chaplains are not Officers by Law, and therefore dare not license any thing without his privity and command.

Besides, 'tis apparent, these Books were castrated by the Archbishop's approbation, for otherwise he would have punished the Licencers, Printers, and publishers, as he always did when information was given of any new Books published against the late Innovations. His Grace has forgot his refusing to licence the Palatine Confession of Faith, which is his peculiar happiness, when he can make no answer; and it looks a little undutiful in him to cast the Alteration of the Prayers for Nov. 5, on the King, when every body knows by whom the King's Conscience

But whereas the Archbishop denies his conniving at the Importation of Popish Books, he does not so much as alledge, that he ordered such Books to be seized, as he ought to have done; he consesses, that such Books as were seized, had been restored, by order of the High Commission, whereas it had been sworn to be done by his own order; but if it had not, yet he being President of that Court ought to have cross'd those orders, that Court not daring to have made any such Restitutions without his consent; so that we cannot but be of opinion, that the whole of this Charge, which shows a manifest partiality on the side of Arminianism and Popery, and the strongest and most artificial attempts to propagate these Errors in the Nation, still remains in its full strength.

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The Managers went on to charge the Archbishop with his " fevere profecution of those Clergymen who had dared " to preach against the dangerous increase of Arminianism Profecuting " and Popery, or the late Innovations; they instanced in Puritans. M. Charge. " Mr. Chancey, Mr. Workman, Mr. Davenport, and others; Prynne p. " some of whom were punished in the High Commission for 361,362,&c. " not railing in the Communion Table, and for preaching " against Images; and when Mr. Davenport fled to New " England, to avoid the storm, the Archbishop said " His " Arm should reach him there." They objected further, "his suppressing afternoon Sermons on the Lord's Day,

" and the laudable defign of buying in Impropriations, " which was defigned for the encouraging fuch Lec-

" tures."

The Archbishop answer'd, that the Censures past on the Abp's An-Ministers abovementioned was the Act of the High Com- Laud's Hift. mission, and not his; but he confesses their Sentences ap- p. 332, 348. peared to him just and reasonable, in as much as the passages that occasioned them were against the laudable Ceremonies of the Church, against the King's Declaration, tending to infuse into the minds of people groundless Fears and Jealousies of Popery, and to cast aspersions on the Governors of the Church; that therefore if he did fay, his Arm should reach Mr. Davenport in New England, he fees no harm in it, for there is no reason that the Plantations should secure offenders against the Church of England from the edge of the Law; and he meddled with none but fuch as were Puritanical, Factious, Schismatical, and enemies to the good orders of the Church.

As to the Suppressing Afternoon Sermons, the Instruc- Prynne, tions for turning them into catechizing was before his time, P. 388. and he could not but approve of the Defign, as a proper expedient for preserving peace between Ministers and People, the Lecturers being for the most part factious, and the occasion of great contentions in the Parishes where they

preached.

He confessed, that he overthrew the design of buying up Impropriations, and thanked God he had destroyed it, because he conceived it a plot against the Church, for if it had succeeded, more Clergymen would have depended on these Feoffees than upon the King, and on all the Peers and Bishops of the Kingdom beside; but he proceeded against them according to Law, and if the fentence was not just it must be the Judges fault, and not his. The

Charles I.

King Charles I. 1644. M. Reply. Prynne, p. 535, &c.

The Commons replied, that it was notorious to all Men. how cruel he had been towards all Men who had dared to make a stand against his proceedings. They put him in mind of Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, and of great numbers, whom he had forced into Holland, and into the Plantations of America, to avoid the ruin of themselves and families; yea, so implacable was this Prelate, that he would neither fuffer them to live in the Land, nor out of it, an embargo being laid on all Ministers going to New England; and if any such got over clandestinely, he threaten'd "his Arm " should reach them there." In vain does he shelter his fevere proceedings under the authority of the Court, for if this Plea be admitted, no corrupt Judges or Counfellors can be brought to Justice for the most arbitrary proceedings; but in reality, "the Act of the Court is the Act of every par-ticular Person that gives his Vote for it, and every individual Member is accountable." Many inflances of this might be produced; but there has been one very lately, in the case of Ship-money, which is fresh in the Memory of all Men; and we do aver, that the Sermons or Books, for which the abovementioned persons suffer'd so severely, were neither factious nor feditious, but necessary for these times, wherein the Protestant Religion runs so very low, and Superstition and Popery is coming in like a flood.

Prynne, p. 370. 537, 538. As to the Instructions for suppressing Asternoon Sermons, whensoever they were drawn up, 'tis evident he was the Man that put them in execution, and levell'd them against those conscientious Persons who scrupled reading the Prayers in their Surplice and Hood, or taking a Living with Cure of Souls, all such persons, how orthodox soever in Doctrine, or how diligent soever in their Callings, and pious in their Lives, being reputed factious, schissmatical, and unworthy of the least employment in the Church.

Prynne, P. 357. As to the Impropriations, there was no defign in the Feoffees to render the Clergy independent on the Bishops, for none were presented but conformable Men, nor did any preach but such as were liceused by the Bishop; indeed, the design being to encourage the preaching of the Word of God, the Feoffees were careful to employ such persons as would not be idle; and when they perceived the Archbishop was bent on their ruin, Mr. White went to his Grace, and promised to recisfy any thing that was amiss, if the thing itself might stand. But he was determined to destroy it, and by his mighty influence obtain'd a decree,

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that the money should be paid into the King's Exchequer, by which an end was put to one of the most charitable designs for the good of the Church that has been formed these many years.

The last Charge of the Managers, was "his Grace's Reconciling " open attempts to reconcile the Church of England with the Church "open attempts to reconcile the Church of England with Rome, the Church of Rome, as appears, First, By the papal with Rome, " Titles he suffered the Universities to give him in their and assuming " letters, as Sanctitas vestra, your Holiness; Sanctissima Papal Titles, " Pater, most holy Father; Spiritus sancti effusissime ple- and discou-" nus, full of the Holy Ghost; Summus Pontifex, optimus reign Pro-" maximusque in terris, &c. Agreeably to this he assumed testants. " maximulque in terris, &c. Agreeably to this ite and M. Charge, to himself the Title of Patriarch, or Pope of Great Ib. p. 441. " Britain, Alterius Orbis Papa; which gave the Roma-" nists such an opinion of him, that they offered him " twice a Cardinal's Hat; though as things then stood, he " did not think it prudent to receive it. But Sir H. Mild-"way, and Sir N. Brent, swore, that both at Rome and " elsewhere, he was reputed a Papist in his heart; which " opinion was not a little confirm'd; (1.) By his forbidding " the Clergy to pray for the Conversion of the Queen to " the Protestant Faith. (2.) By his owning the Church of " Rome to be a true Church; by denying the Pope to be "Antichrift, and wishing a Reconciliation with her; and " affirming, that she never erred in Fundamentals, no, not " in the worst of times. (3.) By his sowing Discord be-"tween the Church of England and foreign Protestants, " not only by taking away the Privileges and Immunities " of the French and Dutch Churches in these Kingdoms, " but by denying their Ministers to be true Ministers, and Prynne, their Churches true Churches. (4.) By maintaining an p. 539. " intimate correspondence with the Pope's Nuncio and with " divers Priefts and Jesuits, conniving at the Liberties they " took in the Clink, and elsewhere, and threatning those " Pursuivants, who were diligent in apprehending them; " to all which they added, the Influence the Archbishop " had in marrying the King to a Papift, and his Conceal-" ment of a late Plot to reduce these Kingdoms to Po-

" pery and Slavery." To this long Charge the Archbishop answered forme swer. things in general, in satyrical and provoking Language: My p. 285, 286, Lords (fays he) I am charged with an endeavour to reconcile the Church of England to the Church of Rome; I Prynne; shall recite the fum of the evidence, and of the arguments 1.543 Hift.

VOL. III.

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King Charles I. 1644:

to prove it, (1.) I have reduced several persons from Popery, whom I have named in my Speech; ergo, I have endeavoured to bring in Popery. (2.) I have made a Canon against Popery, and an oath to abjure it; ergo, I have endeavoured to introduce it. (3.) I have been twice offer'd a Cardinalship and refused it, because I would not be subject to the Pope; ergo, I have endeavoured to subject the Church of England to him. (4.) I writ a Book against Popery; ergo, I am inclinable to it. (5.) I have been in danger of my life from a Popish Plot; ergo, I cherish'd it, and endeavoured to accomplish it. (6.) I endeavoured to reconcile the Lutherans and Calvinists; ergo, I laboured to bring in Popery.

To his af-

To the Particulars he answer'd thus, that whatever papal fumingPapal power he had affumed, he affumed it not in his own right, as the Popes did, but from the King. That the stile of Holiness was given to St. Augustine, and others, and therefore not peculiar to the Pope; why then should so grave a Man as Mr. Brown (fays he) disparage his own Nation, as if it was impossible for an English Bishop to deserve as good a Title as another? As for the other Titles, they must be taken as compliments for my having deserved well of the University; but after all, 'tis one thing to assume papal Titles, and another to assume papal Power. As to the Title of Patriarch, or Pope of the other World; 'tis the Title that Anselm says belongs to the Archbishops of Canterbury, and not so great an one as St. Jerom gave to St. Augustine, when he writ to him with this Title, Beatiffimo Papæ Augustino. I confess I have been offered a Cardinal's Hat, but refused it, saying, " I could not accept it till Rome " was otherwise than it now is." If after this, Others will repute me a Papist I can't help it, I hope I shall not be answerable for their uncharitableness. Sir Henry Mildmay will witness how much I am hated and spoken against at Laud's Hill. Rome. It does not appear that I forbad Ministers praying for the Queen's Conversion; but when I was told the Queen was pray'd for in a factious and feditious manner I referr'd the matter to my Visitors, and do acknowledge that Mr. Jones was punished in the High Commission on this Account.

p. 383.

To the Church of

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To the Objection, of the Church of Rome's being a true Church, I confess myself of that opinion, and do still believe, that she never erred in Fundamentals; for the Rome's be- foundations of the Christian Religion are in the Articles of the Creed, and she denies none of them; and it would be 1b. p. 392 fad if the should, for "tis through her that the Bishops E

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King 1644.

" of the Church of England; who have the honour to be " capable of deriving their Calling from St. Peter, must Charles I. " deduce their Succession." She is therefore a true Church, though not an orthodox One; our Religion and theirs is one in essentials, and people may be faved in either: It has not been proved, that I deny the Pope to be Antichrist, though many learned Men have denied it; nor do I conceive that our Homilies affirm it; and if they did I din't conceive myself bound to believe every Phrase that is in them. I confess, I have often wish'd a Reconciliation Prynne, between the Churches of England and Rome in a Just and P. 556. Christian way, and was in hopes in due time to effect it; but a Reconciliation without Truth and Piety I never defired.

To the Objection of the foreign Protestant Churches, To the Uh-I deny that I have endeavoured to fow discord between churching them, but I have endeavoured to unite the Calvinifts and foreign Pro-Lutherans; nor have I absolutely unchurched them. I say Laud's Hist. indeed, in my book against Fisher, according to St. Jerom, P. 374-"No Bishop, no Church;" and that none but a Bishop p. 540. can ordain, except in cases of inevitable necessity; and whether that be the case with the foreign Churches the World must judge. The Judgement of the Church of England is, that Church Government by Bishops is unalterable; for the Preface to the Book of Ordination fays; That from the Apostles time there have been three orders of Ministers in the Church, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; now, if Bishops are the Apostles Successors, and have continued in the Church above fixteen hundred years, what authority have any Christian States to deprive them of that Right which Christ has given them? As to the French and Dutch Churches in this Kingdom, I did not question them for their antient Privileges, but for their new Encroachments, for it was not the design of the Queen [Elizabeth] fbid. p. 378. to harbour them, unless they conformed to the English Liturgy; now, I infifted on this only with respect to those who were of the fecond Descent, and born in England; and if all such had been obliged to go to their Parish Churches as they ought, they would not have done the Church of England fo much harm as they have fince done:

To the fourth Objection I answer, that I had no intimate To his cor-Correspondence with Priests or Jesuits, nor entertained responding them at my Table, knowing them to be furch. I never put Priests. my hand to the releasing any Priest out of Prison, nor have Laud's Hift. I connived at the Liberties they assumed; the Witnesses P. 394 that pretend to prove this are either mean persons, or

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King / Charles I. 1644.

strongly prejudiced; and to most of the facts there is but one Witness. As to the Nuncios from Rome, it was not in my power to hinder their coming, the King having condescended to it, at the earnest request of the Queen; nor had I any particular intimacy with them whilst they were here; nor do I remember my checking the Pursuivants in doing their duty. But if it could be supposed that I said, "I will have nothing to do with any Priest-catching "Knaves," I hope the Words are not Treason; nor is it any offence not to be a perfecutor, or not to give ill Language to Jesuits; and I do affirm, that I never persecuted any orthodox Ministers or Puritans, though I may have profecuted some for their Schisms and Misdemeanors.

As to the King's marrying, 'tis not proved that I had any hand in it, though I acknowledge the Duke of Buckingham did me the honour to make me his Confessor. Nor did I conceal the late Plot to bring in Popery, but discovered it to the King as foon as I had intelligence of it; for the truth of which I appeal not only to my Letters, but to the Earl of Northumberland here present; who stood up,

but faid he remembered no fuch thing.

M. Reply. Prynne, P. 543.

The Commons replied to the Archbishop's general de fence, that he had been fighting with his own shadow, for they never objected those things to him for the purposes which he mentions; they never objected his reducing any from Popery, but that many were hardened in it by his means. Nor did they object the Canons or Oath to prove him guilty of introducing Popery, but to quite different purposes. So that the Archbishop in these, and the other Particulars abovementioned, has given us a Specimen of his Sophistry and Jesuitism, transforming his own Defence into our Charge and Evidence, and making our Objections stand as proofs of a Fact which they were not in the least intended to support.

Titles and Honours.

To the Particulars they replied, that the Titles he had famingPapal affumed were peculiar to the Papacy; that they were never assumed by any Protestant Archbishop before himself; nay, that in the times of Popery there are hardly any examples of their being given to English Bishops, and that it is Blasphemy to give the Title of Holiness in the Abstract to any but God himself; the Archbishop therefore ought, in his Answers to the Letters of the University, to have check'd them, whereas he does not fo much as mention these exorbitances, nor find the least fault with them. And though there be a difference between papal Titles and

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papal Power, yet certainly his claiming the Title of " Al-King " terius Orbis Papa," Pope of the other World, is a de- Charles L. monstration that he was grasping at the same power in Great Britain as the Pope had in Italy; and though for prudent Reasons he refused the Cardinal's Hat when it was of- Prynne, p. fer'd, yet when he had made his terms, and accomplished 413. that Reconciliation between the two Churches that he was contriving, no doubt he would have had his Reward. Sir Henry Mildmay being summoned, at the Archbishop's Request, to give in evidence, how much he was hated and spoke against at Rome, swore, that when he was at Rome some of the Jesuitical Faction spoke against the Archbishop, because they apprehended he aimed at too great an ecclefiaftical Jurisdiction for himself; but the Seculars commended and applauded him, because of the near approaches he made to their Church, and shewed himself favourable to their Party. The like Evidence was given by Mr. Challoner, and others.

And whereas the Archbishop had said, that it was not To his Forproved, that he had forbid Ministers to pray for the Queen's bidding to of St. Martin's Ludgate substitute that Sin Note Pray for the Queen's of St. Martin's Ludgate, who fwore, that Sir Nath. Brent Convertion. his Vicar General, at a Visitation at Bow Church, gave in Prynne, p. charge to the Clergy in his hearing, these Words, "Where-418. " as divers of you, in your Prayers before Sermon, used to " pray for the Queen's conversion, you are to do so no " more, for the Queen does not doubt of her conversion." And both before and after, the Archbishop himself caused Mr. Bernard, Mr. Peters, and Mr. Jones, to be profecu- 1b. p. 444. ted in the High Commission on this account. The Archbishop having faid, that he never put his Hand to the releafing any Priest out of Prison, the Managers produced a Warrant under his own Hand, dated Jan. 31, 1663, for the Release of William Walgrave, deposed to be a dangerous feducing Priest, in these Words:

"THE SE are to will and command you, to fet at
"I full Liberty, the Person of William Walgrave,
"formerly committed to your custody, and for your so
"doing this shall be your sufficient Warrant."

W. Cant. R. Ebor.

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King Charles I. 1644.

Church of Rome no true Church. Prynne, p. 552, &c.

But the Archbishop's Memory frequently fail'd him on these occasions.

His Grace confesses the Church of Rome to be a true Church, whereas we aver her to be a false and antichristian one, for she has no sure Foundation, no true Head, no Ordinances, Sacraments nor Worship, no true Ministry, nor Government of Christ's Institution; she yields no true subjection to Christ's Laws, Word, or Spirit, but is overspread with damnable Errors in Doctrine, and Corruptions in Manners and Worship, and is therefore defined by our Homilies to be a false Church. Must she not err in Fundamentals, when the affirms the Church to be built on Peter, not upon Christ, and resolves our Faith into the Church, and not into the Scriptures? when the deifies the Virgin Mary, and other Saints, by giving them divine Worship, and obliges us to adore the confecrated Bread in the Sacrament as the very Body and Blood of Christ; when she denies the Cup to the Laity, obliges people to pray in an unknown Tongue, and fets up a new Head of the Church instead of Christ, with the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven at his Girdle? what are these, but fundamental Errors, which nullify the Church that maintains them? the Religion of the Church of Rome and ours is not one and the same, for theirs is no Christian Religion, but a Heap of Superstition and Idolatry; and his affirming Salvation may be had in that Church, is contrary to the opinion of our best Protestant Writers, who make her damnable Errors the foundation of our Separation from her. And though the Archbishop makes light of his not believing the Pope to be Antichrift, we do aver, that our Statutes and Homilies do either in direct or equivalent expressions define him to be Antichrist, and particularly in the Subsidy Act, 3 Jac. penn'd by the Convocation.

To his Re-Church of England to Ro ne.

But can any thing more fully demonstrate the Archbiconciling the shop's design to reconcile the Church of England with Rome than his own confession? he says, he has laboured this matter with a faithful and fingle Heart, Reply to Fisher, p. 388, though not to the prejudice of Truth and Piety. But it must be observed, that the Archbishop's design was not to bring over the Church of Rome to us, but to carry us over to them; and what large advances he has made that way appears, by his fetting up Altars, Crucifixes, Images, and other Innovations. What advance has the Church of Rome made towards us? why none at all; nor is it possible she should, till she lays aside her InfallibiliCC

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Arcl half ty. The pretence, therefore, of the Church of Rome's meeting us half way, was a meer Blind to deceive the peo Charles I. ple of England, till he had carried them wholly over into her Territories.

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The Archbishop has denied his Endeavours to fow discord To his Unamong foreign Protestants, and afferted his Endeavours to churching reconcile the Lutherans and Calvinifts, though he has pro-foreign Produced no Evidence of it; but his late Behaviour towards tellants. the Scots, on the account of their having no Bishops, and to the foreign Settlements among ourselves, is a sufficient proof of the contrary. The maxim that he cites from St. Prynne, p. Jerom, No Bishop, no Church, is a plain perverting of his 541. Sense, for his Words are, "Ubi non est sacerdos, non est " ecclefia;" but 'tis well known, that according to St. Ierom, Buthops and Presbyters are one and the same in Junildiction and Office, and Presbyters have the power of Ordination as well as Bishops; and therefore this is a conclusion of the Archbishop's framing, which if it be true, must necessarily unchurch all the foreign reformed Churches, and render all the Ordinations of their Ministers invalid, which is a sufficient Evidence of his Enmity to them.

As to the French and Dutch Churches, who were fettled by Charter in the reign of King Edward VI. Mr. Bulteel's Book, of the manifold troubles of those Churches by this Archbishop's Prosecutions, evidently proves, that he invaded and diminished their ancient Immunities and Privileges in all Parts; and that he was so far from being their Friend,

that they accounted him their greatest Enemy.

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To the fourth Objection, relating to the Archbishop's To his correspondence with Popish Priests, we reply, that the countenan Archbishop's intimacy with Sir Toby Mathew, the most cing Popish active Jesuit in the Kingdom, has been fully proved; that Prynne p. he was fometimes with him in his Barge, fometimes in his 448, 456, Coach, fometimes in private with him in his Garden, and 559, 561. trequently at his Table. The like has been proved of Sancta Clara, St. Giles Leander, Smith, and Price, and we can't but wonder at his denying that he knew them to be Priests, when the Evidence of his Knowledge of some of them has been produced under his own Hand; and the Witnelles for the others were no meaner Persons than the Lords of the Council, and the High Commissioners, (amongst which was himself) employed to apprehend Priests and Delinquents; from whence we conclude, that all the Archbishop's Predecessors since the Reformation had not half the intimacy with Popish Priests and Jesuits as himself,

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and his harbouring some of them that were native English Men, is within the Statutes of 23 Eliz. cap. 1, and 27 Eliz. cap. 2. 'Tis very certain, that the Liberty the Jesuits have enjoyed in prison, and elsewhere, was owing to his Connivance; and though the Archbishop is so happy as not to remember his checking the Officers for their Diligence in apprehending Popish Priests, yet his distinction between not persecuting Papists, and prosecuting Puritans, besides the Quibble, is an unanswerable argument of his affection to the one beyond the other. "goese" streamptibe 'ngerior base

Prynne, p. 485, 448.

And difcountenancing their Profecutors. Prynne, P. 446.

The Managers produced fix or eight Witnesses to prove the Archbishop's discountenancing, and threatening such as were active in apprehending Priests and Jesuits. And tho he would wash his Hands of the affair of the Pope's Nuncio, residing here in Character, and holding an intimate correspondence with the Court, because himself did not appear in it, yet 'tis evident, that Secretary Windebank, who was the Archbishop's Creature and Confidant, held an avowed correspondence with them. If he had no concern in this affair, should he not, out of regard to the Proteftant Religion, and Church of England, even to the hazard of his Archbishoprick, have made some open Protestation, when Gregorio Panzani refided here in Character two years; Gregorio Con, a Scot, for three years and two months; and last of all, Count Rosetti, till driven away by the present Parliament. and sestions and bedientaria in

. It had been fufficiently proved, that the Archbishop was concern'd in the Spanish and French Matches, and in the Instructions given to the Prince at his going to Spain, to satisfy the Pope's Nuncio about King James's having declared the Pope to be Antichrist; for the Duke of Buckingham was the Prince's Director, and himfelf acknowledged that

he was the Duke's Confessor, mental the soundary

To his conbernfield's Plot. Prynne, p. 564, &cc.

And as to the late Plots of Habernfield we have own'd in cealing Ha- our Evidences, that at first he discover'd it to the King, because he imagined it to be a Plot of the Puritans, but when he found the Parties engaged in it to be Papifts, and among others, Secretary Windebank and Sir Toby Mathew, his own Creatures, he then concealed his Papers, called it a sham Plot. and Brow-beat the Informers, whereas he ought at least to have laid it before the Parliament, that they might have fifted it to the Bran. But that it was a real Plot, his own Diary, together with our later tent had to the grow of the soull exclusioned a difcoveries,

the intuiting with Poplin Produced Jetuin as Martelly,

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discoveries, fully prove; and his concealment of it, we conceive to be an high and treasonable offence, tending to subvert the Protestant Religion, and subject us to the Church of Rome, two with the s

Thus we humbly conceive, we have made a fatisfactory The Manareply to all the Archbishop's Answers, and have fully made gers Conclugood the whole of our charge, namely, "That the Arch-fion. ff bishop has traiterously endeavored to destroy our civil Li-"berties, and to introduce tyranny and arbitrary power; " and, secondly, that he has endeavoured to subvert the " Protestant Religion established by Law in these King-"doms, and to subject us to the Church of Rome;" where-

fore we do, in the name of all the Commons of England, pray Judgment against him as a traytor.

Before the Archbishop withdrew from the Bar he moved Abp's the Lords, that confidering the length of his Trial, and Speech at the close of the distance of time between the several days of hearing, the Trial. they would allow him a day that he might fet before their Laud's Hift. Lordships in one view the whole of the Commons charge, 412, 419. and his defence; to which they condescended, and appointed Sept. 2, which was five weeks from the last day of his Trial. When the Archbishop appeared at the Bar he began with a moving address, befeeching their Lordships to consider his Calling, his Age, his long Imprisonment, his Sufferings, his Patience, and the Sequestration of his estate. He then complained, (1.) Of the uncertainty and generality of the Commons charge. (2.) Of the short time that was allowed him for his Answer. (3.) That he had been fifted to the Bran, and had his Papers taken from him. (4.) That the things he had taken most pains in, were for the publick good, and done at his own great expence, as the repair of St. Paul's, and the Statutes of Oxford. (5.) That many of the Witnesses were Sectaries and Schifmaticks, whereas by the Canon Law, "No Schismatick " should be heard against his Bishop." He complained alfo of the number of witnesses produced against him, which were above one hundred and fifty; whereas the Civil Law lays, That the Judges should moderate things so as no Man should be oppressed with the multitude of witnesses. (6.) That he had been charged with passionate and hasty words, which he hopes their Lordships will pardon as human frailties. (7.) That other Men's actions had been laid to his charge, as those of his Chaplains and the actions of the High Commission and Star Chamber, which he infifts cannot by any Law be put upon him, it being a known

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King Charles I. 2644.

Laud's Hift. P. 422.

rule, "Refertur ad universos quod publice fit per majorem " partem." He then went over the particular charges abovementioned, and concluded with a request, that when the Commons had replied to the facts, his Council might be heard as to matters of Law. The Commons replied to the Archbishop's Speech Sept. 11, and the same day his Council delivered in these two Queries, (1.) " Whether in all, or any of the Articles charged against the Archbishop, "there be contained any Treason by the established Laws " of this Kingdom. (2.) Whether the Impeachment and Arsticles did contain such Certainties and Particularities as is " required by Law in Cases of Treason." The Lords fent down the Queries to the Commons, who, after they had referr'd them to a Committee of Lawyers, agreed that the Archbishop's Council might be heard to the first Query, but not to the second. Accordingly, Octo. 11, the Archbishop being present at the Bar, Mr. Hearn proposed to argue these two general Questions.

Laud's Hift. P 423

Points of Law debat-

ed.

Mr. Hearn's Argument.

(i.) "Whether there be at this day any other Trea"fon than what is enacted by the Statute of 25th Ed"ward III. cap. 2. or enacted by some other subsequent
"Statute?

"charged against the Archbishop, contain any of the Articles fons declared by that Law, or enacted by any subsequent Law."

Fo. p. 424,

And for the clearing of both these he humbly insisted, that an "Endeavour to subvert the Laws, the Protestant "Religion, and the Rights of Parliament, which are the three general Charges to which all the particulars alledged ed against the Archbishop may be reduced, is not Treasion within the Statute of 25 Edward III. nor any other particular Statute."

In Maintenance of this Proposition he observed, First,

That the particulars alledged against the Archbishop

were not within the Letter of the Statute of the 25th

Edward III. and then argued, that the Statutes of this

Land ought not to be construed by Equity or Inference,

because they are declarative Laws, and were designed

for the security of the Subject in his Life, Liberty and

Estate; and because since the time of Henry IV. no

Judgment has been given in Parliament for any Treason

not expressly contained, or declared in that, or some other

Statute, but by Bill; from whence it will follow, that

"the particulars charged against the Archbishop, being only "an endeavour to subvert fundamental Laws," are of so great Latitude and Uncertainty, that every Action not warranted by Law may be extended to Trea-Laud's Hist, son, though there is no particular Statute to make it so. P. 427.

"If it be replied, that the Statute of 25th Edward III.

"takes no notice of "compassing or imagining," we answer, it confines it to the death of the King; but an "Endeavour to subvert the Laws of the Realm is no determinate crime by the Laws of England, but has been esteemed an Aggravation of a crime, and has been usual"ly joined as the result of some other offence below Trea-"son."

"The like may be observed to the second Charge of Ib. p. 429, Endeavouring to subvert Religion; 'tis not Treason by the Letter of any Law established in this Kingdom; for the Statute of 1 Edward VI. cap. 12. makes it but Felony to attempt an Alteration of Religion by force, which is

"As to the third Charge, of Endeavouring to subvert the

" the worse kind of Attempt,

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4 Rights of Parliament. We insist on the same reply that
4 was made under the first head. We allow, that by the
4 Statute of 5 Jac. cap. 4. 'tis provided, that if any Man
4 shall put in practice to reconcile any of his Majesty's Sub4 jects to the Pope or see of Rome it shall be deemed Trea4 son; but we conceive this does not reach the Archbishop,
4 because, (1.) He is charged only with an Endeavour, where4 as in the Statute it is putting in practice. (2.) Because the
4 Archbishop is charged with reconciling the Church of
5 England with the Church of Rome, whereas in the Sta5 tute it is reconciling any of his Majesty's Subjects to the
6 See of Rome; now reconciling with, may as well be con6 construed a reducing Rome to England, as England to

"Rome.
"Thus, says Mr. Hearn, we have endeavoured to make
"it appear, that none of the matters in any of the Articles
"charged are Treason within the letter of the law; indeed,
"the crimes, as they are laid in the charge, are many and
"great, but their number cannot make them exceed their
nature; and if they be but crimes and misdemeanors a"part, below Treason, they cannot be made Treason by
"putting them together."

These arguments of the Archbishop's Council stagger'd the House of Lords; nor could the Managers for the Commons satisfy

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fatisfy them in their reply; they had no doubts about the truth of the facts, but "whether any of them were Treason by the "Laws of the land?" This the Judges very much questioned. and therefore the Lords deferred giving Judgment till the Commons thought fit to take another method to obtain it.

Centures of e Abp's Behaviour.

Laud's Hift.

Various are the accounts of the Archbishop's behaviour on his Trial; his friends and admirers flattered him beyond measure, and said, that he perfectly triumphed over his Accufer's; and his Grace feems to be of the fame mind, when he tells us, that " all Men magnified his answer to the House of Commons, but he forbore to fet down in what language, " because it was high." Mr. Prynne allows, that "he made as full, as gallant and pithy a defence, and spake as " much for himself as was possible for the wit of Man to "invent; and that with fo much art, fophistry, vivacity, oratory, audacity and confidence, without the least blush, or acknowledgment of guilt in any thing, as argued him " rather obstinate than innocent, impudent than penitent, " and a far better Orator and Sophister than Protestant or Christian." But then he imputes his boldness to the King's

Prynne, p. 4624

Hift. of his P 50,

Pardon, which he had in his pocker. Bishop Burnet is of opinion, that " in most of the par-Life, Vol. I. "ticulars the Archbishop made but frivolous excuses; as, " that he was but one of many, who either in Council, Star Chamber, or High Commission, voted illegal Things. Now, though this was true, yet a chief Mi-" nifter, and one in high Favour, determines the rest so " much, that they are little better than Machines acted by " him. On other occasions he fays, the Thing was proved but by one witness. Now, how strong soever this defence " may be in Law, it is of no force in the appeal to the world; for if a thing be true, 'tis no matter how full or " defective the proof is."

His Character of the Wineffes.

The Archbishop himself has informed us of his great Patience under the hard usage he met with at his Trial; but his Diary furnishes too many examples to the contrary; for it appears from thence, that he fometimes gave the witneffes very rude Language at the bar, infinuating to the Court, that many of them were perjured; that their evidence was the effect of malice, envy, and a thrift after his blood: Sometimes he threatened them with the Judgments of God, and once he was going to bind their Sins upon one of them, not to be forgiven till he asked pardon; but he recovered himself. He is pleased sometimes to observe, that his crimes

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were proved but by one Witness; and yet, at last, he complains, that he was oppressed with numbers, no less than one Charles L. hundred and fifty, and calls them, " A pack of fuch Wit-" nesses as were never produced against any man of his Laud's His. " place and calling; Pursuivants, Messengers, Pillory-men, p. 237. " Bawds, and fuch as had shifted their Religion to and Ib. p. 417. " again." And yet there were among them men of the best fashion and quality in the Kingdom, as Sir H. Vane, fen. Sir H. Mildmay, Sir William Balfore, Sir Nath. Brent, Vicar General; fundry Aldermen of the City of London, and many excellent Divines, as Dr. Feately, Dr. Haywood the Archbishop's Chaplain, Mr. Dell his Secretary, Mr. Ofbaldiston, and others, of an equal, if not superior character. When his Grace was check'd at the Bar for reflecting upon Ib. p. 434 the witnesses, and put in mind by the Managers that some of them were Aldermen, some Gentlemen, and some Men of Quality, he replied fmartly, "That is nothing, there is " not an active Separatist in England but his hand is against " me; both Gentlemen, Aldermen, and Men of all Condi-" tions are Separatists from the Church of England, and I " would to God fome of my Judges were not."

After this it can hardly be expected, that the Managers His Censure for the Commons should escape his Grace's censure; it must of the Mabe admitted, that in the course of their evidence they made nagera. use of some harsh expressions, which nothing but the chatacter they sustained could excuse; but it was no argument of the Archbishop's patience and discretion, to fight them at their own Weapons. The Managers were Serjeant May- Laud's Hift. nard, one of the ablest Lawyers of his Age; he lived to be P. 330. the Father of his Profession; and when the Prince of Orange [afterwards King William III.] complimented him upon his having out-lived all his Brethren of the Law, he made this handsome reply, that if it had not been for the wonderful Revolution that his Highness had brought about, he should have out-lived the Law itself. He managed the first part of the Evidence March 13th, 16th, 18th, and 28th. " This "Gentleman (fays the Archbishop) pleaded, though strong-

" ly, yet fairly against me." Serjeant Wild was the Son of Serjeant George Wild, of Droitwich in Worcestershire; he was afterwards Reader of the Inner Temple, a great Lawyer, and of unblemished Morals. After the Restoration of King Charles II. he was Ib. p. 330, made Lord Chief Baron, and esteemed a grave and vene- 320. rable Judge. He managed that part of the evidence which concerned Religion, May 20, 27. June 6,11, 17, 20, and 27.

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King Charles I.

July 20 and 24. But "this Gentleman (fays the Archbishop) tho' he had language good enough sometimes, he had little or no sense. I had a character given me before of him; which I forbear to express, but by his proceedings with

" me I found it exactly frue."

Samuel Brown, Efq; was an able and grave Lawyer; in the Reign of King Charles II. he was knighted, and made Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; he summed up the whole evidence at the Lord's Bar. "His behaviour towards the Archbishop was decent and civil, but his

Pleadings (according to his Grace) very unfair; the Archbishop blames him for not using his own notes, but copying other Mens. This is most christian-like in Mr.

"Browne (fays he) but it may be he learn'd it out of the

" Notes his Father-in-law takes at Sermons."

Robert Nicolas, Efq; prefs'd the Archbishop very hard, and therefore no wonder that he was displeased with him. The Archbishop allows, that he had some Sense, but extream virulent and foul Language. He managed the second and fourth branches of the Evidence April 16, May 4, 16, July 29. This Gentleman happening to call the Archbishop "Pander to the Whore of Babylon;" the Archbishop bids him remember, "That one of his zealous witnesses against the Whore of Babylon got all his means by being a Pander to other lewd Women, and was not long since taken in bed with one of his Wife's maids. Good Mr. Nicolas (says he) do not dispense with all

" whores but the Whore of Babylon!"

As for Mr. Hill, the other Manager, he is called Conful Bibulus, because he said nothing. Upon the whole the Archbishop is of opinion, that the Managers for the Commons sought his blood; "and made salse constructions, for which (says he) I am confident they shall answer at another Bar, and for something else in these Proceedings."

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1b. p. 271.

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Laud's Hift.

p. 390.

Such was the unhappy spirit of this Prelate, who, "tho'
he had seen the violent effects of his ill counsels, and
had been so long shut up, and so much at leisure to reflect upon what had past in the hurry of passion, and in
the exaltation of his prosperity, yet (as Bishop Burnet
observes) he does not in any one part of his Diary acknowledge his own errors, nor mix any wise or pious reflections upon the unhappy steps he had made." It
was, no doubt, a great mortification to his high spirit, to

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be exposed to the people, and to wait sometimes an hour or two before he was called to the Bar; but as for his charity Charles I. and patience under his fufferings, I must leave it with the reader.

King

While the proceedings against the Archbishop were at a Petitions fland, by reason of the Lords being dissatisfied, "Whether for Justice " the Facts proved against him were Treason by Statute against him. " Law;" the Citizens of London got together, and prefented a Petition to the House of Commons, Octob. 28th, figh'd with great numbers of hands, praying for speedy justice against Delinquents, and particularly against the Archbishop; which was; no doubt, an artful contri-The Commons, to prevent all vance of his enemies. further delays, determined not to press the Lords for judgment upon the trial, but ordered a Bill of Attainder to be brought in; and when it had been twice read, the Archbishop was brought to the Bar of the House of Commons, to hear the Evidence on which it proceeded, and to make what further defence he thought proper; Mr. Browne fummed up the charge, Nov. 2. and the Archbishop had nine days given him to prepare his Defence. Nov. 11. he spoke for himself some hours at the Bar of the House of Commons, and Mr. Browne replied before the Archbishop withdrew; after which the Bill of Attainder past the House the very fame day with but one diffenting voice, and that not upon the matter of the Charge but upon the manner of proceeding. The Bill being fent up to the Lords they made an Order, Dec. 4. " That all books, Writings, &c. concern-" ing the Archbishop's Trial, should be brought in to the "Clerk of the Parliament," which being done, they examined over again all the heads and principal parts of the Evidence, and voted each particular as they went forward; so tender were they of the Life of this Prelate, and so careful to maintain the honour and justice of their Proceedings. When they had gone through the whole, they voted him Condemned by Bill of guilty of all the facts charged against him, in three branches, Attainder, namely, "Guilty of endeavouring to subvert the Laws;---" Of endeavouring to overthrow the Protestant Religion,---" And the Rights of Parliaments." After this they fent a message to the Commons, to defire them to answer the argument of the Archbishop's Council, as to the Point of Law, which they accordingly did at a Conference, Jan. 2, when Serjeant Wild, Mr. Browne, and Mr. Nicolas, having given the reason of the Commons for their Attainder, the Lords were fatisfied, and Jan. 4, passed the Bill, whereby it

King Charles L 1644.

Whitl. Mem. P. 117.

was ordained, that he should suffer death as in cases of high Treason. To stop the consequence of this Attainder the Archbishop produced the King's Pardon under the Great Seal, fign'd April 12. 19th Car. but it was over-ruled by both Houses, i. Because it was granted before conviction. And, a. If it had been subsequent, yet in the present case of Treafon they argued, that the King could not pardon a Judgment of Parliament, especially as the Nationwas in a state of war; for, if the King's pardon was a protection, not a Deferter, nor a Spy, nor an Incendiary of any kind against the Parliament, would have fuffer'd in his life or liberty.

All the favour therefore the Archbishop could obtain. was, upon his petition, to have his Sentence altered from hanging to being beheaded on Tower Hill, which was appointed to be on Friday Jan. 10, when the Archbishop, being conducted to the Scaffold, attended by his Chaplain, Dr. Stern, and by Mr. Marshal and Palmer, sent by the Parhament, read his last Speech to the people, which was a fort of Sermon, from Heb. xii. 2. " Let us run with patience the race that is fet before us, looking unto Jesus, the " author and finisher of our Faith, who, for the joy that was fet before him, endured the Cross, despising the " shame, and is fat down at the right hand of the Throne of God." In which he acknowledges himself to have been a great finner; but having ranfacked every corner of his heart he thanks God, that he has not found any of his fins deferving of death by any of the known Laws of the Kingdom, though he does not charge his Judges because they are to proceed according to evidence—He thanks God that he is as quiet within, as ever he was in his life, and hopes that his Cause in Heaven will look of another colour than it does here. "It is clamour'd against me (says he) that I defigned to bring in Popery, but I pray God, that the Pope does not come in by means of these Secta-" ries which clamour fo much against me." As for the King, he affures the world, that he is as found a Protestant as any Man in the Kingdom, and would venture as freely for it. He complains of the Citizens for gathering hands to Petitions, and particularly against himself, whereby they were bringing the guilt of innocent blood upon themselves and their City. He laments the ruins of the Hierarchy, and concludes with declaring himself a true Protestant, according to the Church of England established by law, and takes it upon his death, that "he never endeavoured the

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" subversion of the Laws of the Realm, nor any change " of the Protestant Religon into Superstition; nor was he

" an Enemy to Parliaments."

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In his last prayer he defires that God would give him pa- And Prayer tience to die for his honour, for the King's happiness, and the Church of England. He then prays for the preservation of the King in his just Rights; for the Parliament in their antient and just power; for the Church, that it may be fettled in truth and peace, and in its patrimony; and for the people, that they may enjoy their antient laws, and other liberties; and then, having forgiven his enemies, he concluded with the Lord's Prayer. After which he gave his paper to Dr. Sterne, faying, Doctor, I give you this, to shew your fellow Chaplains, that they may see how I am gone out of the World, and God's Bleffing, and his Mercy be upon them. When the scaffold was cleared, he pulled off his doublet, and faid, "God's Will be done, I am " willing to go out of the World; no man can be more " willing to fend me out." Then turning to the Executioner he gave him fome money, and bid him do his office in mercy; he then kneeled down, and after a short prayer, laid his head on the block, and faid, " Lord Jefus receive " my Spirit ;" which being the fign, the Executioner did his office at one blow. The Archbishop's Corpse was put into a coffin, and by the permission of Parliament buried in Barkin Church, with the Service of the Church read over him. The inscription upon the Cossin was this, " In hac " ciftula conduntur Exuviæ Gulielmi Laud, Archiepiscopi " Cantuariensis, qui securi percussus Immortalitatem adiit, die xo Januarii, Ætatis suæ 72. Archiepiscopatus xii." But after the Restoration, his body was removed to Ox-

Thus died Dr. William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbu- His Characry, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan; sometime ter. Chancellor of the Universities of Oxford and Dublin, one of the Commissioners of his Majesty's Exchequer, and Privy Counsellor to the King, in the feventy fecond year of his age, and 12th of his Archiepiscopal Translation. He was of low stature, and a ruddy countenance; his natural temper was fevere and uncourtly, his spirit active and restless, which push'd him upon the most hazardous enter-Priles... His conduct was rash and precipitate, for according VOL. III.

ford, and deposited with great solemnity in a brick vault, according to his last Will and Testament, near the altar of the Chapel of St. John Baptist College, July 24, 1663.

1644-

King Charles I. 1644.

to Dr. Heylin, he attempted more alterations in the Church in one year, than a prudent man would have done in a great many. His Counsels in State Affairs were high and arbitrary, for he was at the head of all the illegal projects, of Ship-money, Loans, Monopolies, Star-Chamber Fines, &c. which were the ruin of the King and Constitution.

His maxims in the Church were no less severe, for he sharpen'd the spiritual Sword, and drew it against all forts of offenders, intending (as Lord Clarendon observes) that the discipline of the Church should be felt as well as spoken of. There had not been such a Crowd of Business in the High Commission Court since the Reformation, nor so many large Fines imposed, as under this Prelate's Administration, with little or no abatement, because they were affigned to the repair of St. Paul's, which gave occasion to an unlucky Proverb, that the " Church was repaired with the

" fins of the people."

As to the Archbishop's Religion, he declared himself, upon the Scaffold, a Protestant, according to the Constitution of the Church of England, but with more Charity to the Church of Rome than to the foreign Protestants; and though he was an avowed enemy to Sectaries and Fanaticks of all forts, yet he had a great deal of superstition in his Make, as appears from those passages in his Diary, in which he takes notice of his Dreams, of the falling down of Pictures, of the bleeding of his Nofe, of auspicious and iuaufpicious Days of the Year, and of the Polition of the Stars; a variety of which may be collected out of that performance.

Diary, p. 56.

His Grace must be allowed to have had a considerable share of Knowledge, and to have been a learned man, though he was more a Man of Business than of Letters. He was a great Benefactor to the College in which he was educated, enriching it with a variety of valuable Manuferipts, besides five hundred pounds in money. He gave eight hundred pounds to the repair of the Cathedral of St. Paul, and fundry other Legacies of the like nature. But with all his accomplishments he was a cruel perfecutor, as long as he was in Power, and the chief incendiary in the War between the King and Parliament, the calamities of which are in a great measure chargeable upon him. "That which gave me the strongest prejudices against him (fays

" Bishop Burnet) is that, in his Diary, after he had seen the " ill effects of his violent counfels, and had been fo long that

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" up, and so long at leisure to reflect on what had passed " in the hurry of passion, in the exaltation of his prosperi-" ty, he does not in any one part of that great work ac-" knowledge his own errors, nor mix any wife or ferious reflections on the ill ulage he met with, or the unhappy " steps he had made." The Bishop adds withal, " That Hitt of his " he was a learned, fincere, and zealous man, regular in Life. Vol. I. " his own life, and humble in his private deportment, but P. 49, 50. " hot and indifcreet, eagerly pursuing such Matters as " were either very inconfiderable or mischievous; such as " fettling the Communion Table by the east Wall of the " Church, bowing to it, and calling it an Altar, suppres-" fing the Walloon privileges, breaking of Lectures, and " encouraging of Sports on the Lord's Day, &c. His fe-" verity in the Star Chamber, and in the High Commissi-" on Court; but above all his violent, and indeed inexcusa-" able injustice, in the profecution of Bishop Williams, were fuch visible blemishes, that nothing but the put-" ting him to death in so unjust a manner could have raised " his character. His Diary represents him as an abject " fawner upon the Duke of Buckingham, and as a super-" stitious regarder of dreams; his defence of himself, writ with fo much care when he was in the Tower, is " a very mean performance; and his friends have really " lessen'd him; Heylin by writing of his life, and Whar-" ton by publishing his vindication of himself." Mr. Ra- Rapin, Vol. pin adds, "Let the Archbishop's Favourers say what they XII. p. 254. " please, he was one of the chief authors of the troubles " that afflicted England, First, By supporting with all his " might the principles of that arbitrary Power which the "Court strove for several years to establish. Secondly, " By using too much strictness and rigidness in the ob-" fervance of trifles in divine Service, and in compelling " every body to conform themselves thereto." To which I would beg leave to add, that fince nothing relating to the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England established by law was objected to him at his Trial, but only certain Innovations in the Church, without or contrary to Law, I cannot conceive with what propriety of language his friends and admirers have canonized him as the bletled Martyr of the Church of England.

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The last, and most memorable transaction of this year, Treaty of was the treaty of Uxbridge. His Majesty had fent the two Uxbridge.

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King Char es I. 1644-5.

Whitlock, P. 114.

King's Ca-Whitlock, P. 277.

took them up a great deal of time to form into propositions for his Majesty's assent. The Commissioners were two Lords, four Commoners, and those of the Scots Commissioners; they arrived at Oxford Nov. 26, but though the King had given them a safe conduct, Mr. Whitlock observes, they met with very rude treatment from the populace, who faluted them as they passed along the streets with the names of Traytors, Rogues, and Rebels, throwing stones and dirt into their coaches; when they came to their inn they were infulted by the foldiers, fo that they were obliged to fhut up the doors till the King ordered them a guard. When they delivered their propositions, his Majesty received them but coldly; and because they were only to receive his answer, told them, " a Letter Carrier might " have done as well." Next day his Majesty gave them his answer in writing sealed up; and when they defired to fee it, he replied with a frown, " What is it to you, " who are but to carry what I fend; if I will fend the " fong of Robin Hood, or Little John, you must carry " it." But at length they obtained a Copy, which was only to defire a fafe conduct for the Duke of Lenox and Earl of Southampton to come to London with his Majefly's answer; but the Letter not being directed to the Parliament of England, the Houses would not consent but upon that condition. The King's Council advised him to yield, but could not prevail, till his Majesty had found out an evafion, and enter'd it upon Record in the Council Books, as appears by his Letter to the Queen, dated Jan. 2. in which he fays, " That his calling them a binet opened " Parliament did not imply his acknowledging them as fuch; " upon which construction, and no other (fays he) I called " them, as it is register'd in the Council Books, and if " there had been but two of my opinion (fays the King) I " would not have done it." In another intercepted letter to the Queen he tells her, " He could not prevail with his " Parliament at Oxford to vote those at Westminster no " Parliament, but affures her, he would not make peace " without her Approbation, nor go one jot beyond the pa-" per the fent him." In another the King informs his Queen, " That the Parliament were fending him proposi-" tions for peace, which if she likes, he thinks may be the best way for Settlement as things stand;" so that the Fate of England was to be determined by the Queen and her popish Council. Besides, his Majesty was unhappily

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Charles I.

1644-5-

happily elevated at this time by the Divisions at Westminfler, which produced the new modeling the Army; and with a false romantick account of the Successes of the Marquis of Montrofs in Scotland, which were so magnified, that it was expected the Scots should immediately march back into their own Country; whereas, in reality, they were not fo confiderable, as to oblige them to draw off a fingle Regiment.

In this fituation of affairs it was agreed, according to the Proposals of the King's Commissioners, that there should be a Treaty of Peace at Uxbridge, to commence Jan. 30,

1644-5, and to continue twenty days.

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There were fixteen Commissioners for the King, (viz.) The Comnine Lords, fix Commoners, and one Divine; twelve for the Parliament, and ten for the Scots, and one Divine, (viz.) Mr. Henderson; the King's Divine was Dr. Steward, who was affifted by Dr. Sheldon, Laney, Fern, Potter, and Hammond. Affiltant Divines for the Parliament were Mr. Vines, Marshal, Cheynel, and Chiesly. These with their Retinue, to the number of one hundred and eight Persons, were included in the fafe conduct.

The Propositions to be treated of were Religion, the Militia, and Ireland; each of which were to be debated three days fuccessively, till the twenty days were expired.

The Treaty was preceded by a day of fasting and Prayer Treaty beon both fides for a bleffing, but was interrupted the very gins. first day, by a Sermon preached occasionally in the Church of Uxbridge by Mr. Love, then preacher to the garrison of Windsor, wherein he had said, that they [his Majesty's Sermon. Commissioners " came thither with hearts full of Blood, " and that there was as great a distance between this Treaty " and Peace, as between Heaven and Hell. The Commissi- Dugdale's ners having complained of him next day, the Parliament Com- Treaty of Uxb idge, missioners laid it before the two Houses, who sent for him p. 764. to London, where he gave this account of the affair; that the people being under a disappointment at their Lecture, he was defired unexpectedly to give them a Sermon; which was the same he had preached at Windsor the day before. He admits that he cautioned the People not to have too great a dependance upon the Treaty, because, " whilst our enemies (fays he) go on in their wicked Prac-"tices, and we keep to our Principles, we may as foon " make fire and water to agree; and I had almost faid, reconcile Heaven and Hell, as their Spirits and ours. "They must grow better, or we must grow worse, before

King Charles I. 1644 5. "tis possible for us to agree." He added further, "That there was a generation of Men that carried blood and revenge in their hearts against the well affected in the Nation, who hated not only their bonnes but their souls, and in their cups would drink an health to their damnation." Though there might be some Truth in what the Preacher said, yet these expressions were unbecoming a private person in so nice a conjuncture; he was therefore confined to his House during the treaty, and then discharged.

Rapin, p. 278.

It was too evident, that neither party came to the Treaty with a healing Spirit; the King's Commissioners were under such Restraints, that little good was to be expected from them, and the Parliament Commissioners would place no manner of considence in his Majesty's Promises, nor abate any thing of a full security for themselves and the constitution. The King therefore, in his Letter to the Queen of Jan. 22. assures her of the utter improbability that this present Treaty should produce a peace, "Considering the great, and strange difference, if not contrariety of Grounds that were between the Rebels Propositions and his; and that I cannot alter mine, nor will they ever theirs, but by force."

Of the Mi-

We shall but just mention the Propositions relating to the Militia and Ireland, our principal View being to Religion. The King's Commissioners proposed to put the Militia " into the hands of Truffees for three years, half to " be named by the King, and half by the Parliament, and then to revert absolutely to the Crown on pain of High "Treason. But the Parliament Commissioners replied, that by the King's naming half the Commissioners, the Militia would be render'd unactive, and that after three years they should be in a worse condition than before the war; they therefore proposed, that " the Parliament should " name the Commissioners for seven years, and then to be " fettled as the King and Parliament should agree, or elfe " to limit their Nomination three years after the King and " Parliament should declare the Kingdom to be in a set-" tled peace." It had been easy to form this Proposition, fo as both parties might have complied with honour and fafety, if they had been in earnest for an accommodation; but his Majefty's Commissioners could yield no further.

Rapin, p. 287.

Of Ireland.

As to Ireland, the King's Commissioners justified his Majesty's Proceedings in the Cessation, and in sending for the

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1644-5.

Rebels over to fill up his Armies; and when the Commissioners on the other fide put them in mind of his Majesty's folemn Promises to leave that Affair to the Parliament, and to have those Rebels punished according to law; the others reply'd, "They wished it was in his Majesty's power " to punish all Rebellion according as it deserved; but " fince it was otherwise, he must condescend to treaties, " and to all other expedients necessary to reduce his re-" bellious Snbjects to their duty and obedience." Admirable arguments to induce the Parliament to put the Sword

into the King's hands!

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The Article of Religion was, in the opinion of Lord Of Religion Clarendon, of less consequence with many in the Parliament House, for if they could have obtained a Security for their Lives and Fortunes, he apprehends this might have been accommodated, the', confidering the influence of the Scots, and the growing strength of the Presbyterian and Independant parties, 'tis very much to be doubted. However, this being the first thing debated in the Treaty, and a Church Controversy, it will be proper to represent the Instructions on both fides. While this was upon the Carpet Dr. Steward, Clerk of the Closet, and a Commissioner for the King, sat covered without the Bar, behind the Commissioners; as did Mr. Henderson behind those of the Parliament. flant Divines were present in places appointed for them, oppolite to each other.

His Majesty's instructions to his Commissioners on the King's Inhead of Religion were these: " Here (says the King) the aructions to "Government of the Church will be the chief Question, his Commit-" wherein two things are to be considered, Conscience and Rushw, " Policy; for the First, I must declare, that I can't yield Vol. V. " to the change of the Government by Bishops, not only p. 887. " because I fully concur with the most general opinion of " Christians in all ages, in Episcopacy's being the best Go-"vernment, but likewise I hold myself particularly bound " by the oath I took at my Coronation, not to alter the "Government of this Church from what I found it; and " as for the Church Patrimony, I can't fuffer any Dimi-" nution or Alienation of it, it being, without peradven-" ture, Sacrilege, and likewife contrary to my Coronation " oath; but whatfoever shall be offered for rectifying Abu-" fes, if any have crept in, or for the eafe of tender Con-" sciences, (provided the Foundation be not damaged) I " am content to hear, and willing to return a gracious Ar-" fwer.

Charles I. 1644-4.

" fwer. Touching the Second, That is the point of Policy, as it is the King's duty to protect the Church, fo the

- "Church is reciprocally bound to affift the King in the maintenance of his just Authority. Upon these Views " my Predecessors have been always careful (especially fince
- " the Reformation) to keep the dependence of the Clergy " entirely upon the Crown, without which it will fcarce fet
- " fast on the King's head, therefore you must do nothing to

" change or leffen this natural dependance."

Parliament's Instructions. Dugdale, P. 766.

The Commissioners from the two Houses of Parliament at Westminster, instead of being instructed to treat about a Reformation of the Hierarchy, were ordered to demand the passing of a bill for abolishing and taking away Episcopal Government; for confirming the Ordinance for the calling and fitting of the Assembly of Divines; that the Directory for publick Worship, and the Propositions concerning Church Government; hereunto annexed, be confirmed as a part of Reformation of Religion and Uniformity; that his Majesty take the Solemn League and Covenant, and that an Act of Parliament be passed, enjoining the taking it by all the Subjects of the three Kingdoms.

The Propositions annex'd to these demands were these, (viz.) "That the ordinary way of dividing Christians into "distinct Congregations, as most expedient for edification,

" be by the respective bounds of their dwellings.

" That the Ministers and other Church-Officers in each " particular Congregation, shall join in the Government of the Church in fuch manner as shall be established by Parliament of the Charce will be the withern Parliament

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That many Congregations shall be under one Presbyterial Government. A sale flore a de de orde son eu

"That the Church be governed by Congregational, Claif fical, and Synodical Affemblies, in fuch manner as shall "be established by Parliament, " 338 1883 1883

"That Synodical Affemblies shall confift both of Provin-

" cial and National Affemblies."

One may eafily observe the distance between the Instructions of the two Parties; one being determined to maintain Episcopacy, and the other no less resolute for establishing Presbytery. After several Papers had past between the Commissioners, about the bill for taking away Episcopacy, it was debated by the Divines for two days together and have been and behivered team "Ma content to heart and willing to return a compensation

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Mr. Henderson, in a labour'd Speech, endeavour'd to fhew the necessity of changing the Government of the Charles I. Church for the preservation of the State. - " That 45 the question was not, whether the Government of the Mr. Hen-" Church by Bishops was lawful, but whether it was so ne-derson's " ceffary that Christianity could not subsist without it? - speech against Bps. "That this latter Polition could not be maintain'd in the Clar. Vol. II. " affirmative, without condemning all other reformed P. 584 "Churches in Europe.—That the Parliament of Eng-" land had found Episcopacy a very inconvenient and cor-" rupt Government.—That the Hierarchy had been a " publick Grievance from the Reformation downwards.— "That the Bishops had always abetted Popery, had re-" tained many superstitious Rites and Customs in their "Worship and Government; and over and above had late-" ly brought in a great many Novelties into the Church, " and made a nearer approach to the Roman Communion, " to the great scandal of the Protestant Churches of Ger-" many, France, Scotland, and Holland. That the Pre-" lates had embroil'd the British Island, and made the two " Nations of England and Scotland fall foul upon each " other.—That the Rebellion in Ireland, and the civil "War in England, may be charged upon them. That " for these Reasons the Parliament had resolved to change " this inconvenient, mischievous Government, and set up " another in the room of it, more naturally form'd for the " advancement of Piety. That this Alteration was the " best expedient to unite all Protestant Churches, and ex-" tinguish the Remains of Popery.—He hoped therefore " the King would concur in fo commendable and godly an " undertaking; and conceived his Majesty's conscience " could not be urged against such a compliance, because " he had already done it in Scotland; nor could he believe " that Episcopacy was absolutely necessary to the support of "the Christian Religion."

Dr. Steward, Clerk of the King's Closet, addressing him- Doctor felf to the Commissioners, replied, " He knew their Lord- Steward's " thips were too well acquainted with the Constitution of Reply. " the Church of England, and the Basis upon which it " stood, to imagine it could be shaken by the force of Mr. "Henderson's Rhetorick.—That he was firmly of opi-" nion, that a Government, which from the first planting " of Christianity in England had continued without Inter-" ruption

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Charles i. 1644-5.

" ruption; that a Government under which Christianity " had spread and flourished to a remarkable degree, could " have nothing vicious or antichristian in its Frame; that " he expected, that those who had sworn themselves to an "Abolition of this primitive Constitution, and came hither " to perswade their Lordships and his Majesty to a Concur-" rence, would have endeavoured to prove the unlawful-" ness of that Government they pressed so strongly to re-" move. But though in their Sermons and Prints they " gave Episcopacy an antichristian addition, Mr. Henderson " had prudently declined charging fo deep, and only argu-" ed from the Inconveniences of that Government, and " the advantages which would be confequent on an alterati-" on. Forasmuch as an union with the Protestant "Churches abroad was the chief Reason for this change, " the Doctor defired to know what foreign Church they " designed for a pattern. That he was sure the model in the Directory had no great refemblance to any foreign " reform'd Church.---And though he would not enter up-" on a censure of those Communions, yet it was well " known that the most learned Men of those Churches had " lamented a defect in their Reformation; and that the want of Episcopacy was an unhappy circumstance—That " they had always paid a particular Reverence to the " Church of England, and look'd on it as the most perfect " conflitution, upon the score of its having retained all " that was venerable in Antiquity. - From hence he pro-" ceeded to enlarge upon the Apostolical Institution of E-" piscopacy, and endeavoured to prove, that without Bi-" shops the facerdotal Character could not be conveyed, " nor the Sacaraments administred to any fignificancy. " As to his Majesty's consenting to put down Episcopacy " in Scotland, he would fay nothing, though he knew his "Majesty's present thoughts upon that Subject. But he " observed that the King was further obliged in this King-"dom than in the other; that in England he was tied by " his Coronation Oath to maintain the Rights of the "Church, and that this single engagement was a restraint " upon his Majesty's Conscience, not to consent to the " abolition of Episcopacy, or the Alienation of Church " Lands." IDEA I ... THE RESERVE Mr. Henderson and Mr. Marshal declared it "to be false

Rufhw, p. 848. Mr. Henderson and Mr. Marshal declared it "to be false in fact, and a downright imposition upon the Commissioners,

oners, that the foreign Protestants lamented the want of " Episcopacy, and esteemed our Constitution more persed Charles L. " than their own." They then ran out into a high Commendation of Presbyterial Government, as that which had the only claim to a divine Right. Upon which the Marquis of Hertford spoke to this effect.

Kmg 1644-5.

My Lords, "HERE is much faid concerning Church Govern-ment in the general; the Reverend Doctors on " the King's part affirm, that Episcopacy is Jure Divino; " the Reverend Ministers on the other part affirm, that " Presbytery is Jure Divino; for my part, I think neither " the one nor the other, nor any Government what-" foever to be Jure Divino; and I defire we may leave this " Argument, and proceed to debate on the particular Pro-" pofals."

Dr. Steward defired they might dispute Syllogistically, as became Scholars, to which Mr. Henderson readily agreed; in that way they proceeded about two days; the points urged by the King's Doctors were strongly opposed by Mr. Henderson, Mr. Marshal, and Mr. Vines, and very learnedly replied to by his Majesty's Divines, who severally declared their Judgments upon the apostolical Institution of Episcopacy; but neither Party were convinced or fatisfi-

When the debate concerning Religion came on a fecond time, his Majesty's Commissioners delivered in their anfwer to the Parliament's demands in writing, with their Reasons why they could not consent to the Bill for abolishing Episcopacy, and establishing the Directory in the room of the Common Prayer, nor advise his Majesty to take the Covenant: But for the uniting and reconciling all difference in matters of Religion, and procuring a bleffed peace, they were willing to confent.

(1.) " That freedom be left to all Perfons, of what o- King's " pinion foever, in matters of Ceremony, and that all Concessi-

" the penalties of the Laws and Customs which enjoin ons. Rushw. " those Ceremonies be suspended.

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(2.) "That the Bishop shall exercise no act of Jurisdiction Dugdale,

" or Ordination, without the confent and counsel of the P. 780. " Presby-

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Presbyters, who shall be chosen by the Clergy of each " Diocefe, out of the most learned and grave Ministers of 56 the Diocefe. in the new med went l'est

(3.) "That the Bishop keep his constant residence in his "Diocese, except when he shall be required by his Majeser ty to attend him on any occasion, and that (if he be not " hinder'd by the infirmities of old age, or fickness) he " preach every Sunday in fome Church within his Dio-Live much faid concerning Church (slapant

(4) " That the Ordination of Ministers shall be always in a publick and folemit manner, and very first Rules observed cocerning the sufficiency, and other qualifi-" cations of those Men who shall be received into holy Or-" ders, and the Bishops shall not receive any into holy Orders, without the approbation and confent of the Presbyters, or the major part of them

(5.) " That a competent maintenance and provision be " established by Act of Parliament, to such Vicarages as " belong to Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, out of the im-" propriationss and according to the value of those impro-

priations of the feveral Parishes.

(6.) " That for time to come no Man shall be capable of * two Personages or Vicarages, with cure of Souls.

- (7.) " That towards fettling the publick peace, one hun-" dred thousand pounds shall be raised by A& of Parliament, out of the Estates of Bishops, Deans, and Chap-" ters, in fuch manner as shall be thought fit by the King and two Houses of Parliament, without the Alienation " of any of the faid Lands.

(8.) "That the jurisdiction in causes Testamentary, De-" cimal, Matrimonial, be fettled in such manner as shall

" feem most convenient by the King and two Houses of 46 Parliament. and sid olivbe rone, mys y lengther

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(9.) "That one or more Acts of Parliament be passed " for regulating of Visitations, and against immoderate " fees in ecclefiaffical Courts, and abuses by frivolous excommunications, and all other abuses in the exercise of " Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, in such manner as shall be agreed upon by rhe King and both Houses of Parliacomplice mentalistic sense for College which work home

"And if your Lordships shall insist upon any other Thing, which your Lordships shall think necessary for Reformation, we shall very willingly apply ourselves to the confideration thereof." But they abfolutely refused refused their consent to the main points (viz) the abolishing Episcopacy, establishing the Directory, confirming the Assembly of Divines, and taking the Covenant.

King Charles I. 1644-5.

Mr. Rapin observes upon the first of these concessions, Remarks, that since the penal laws were not to be abolished, but only suspended, it would be in the King's power to take off the suspension whensoever he pleased. Upon the third, fourth, and fifth, that they were so reasonable and necessary, that it was not for the King's honour to let them be considered as a condescension to promote the peace; and the remainder, depending upon the joint consent of King and Parliament, after a peace, it would always be in the King's breast

to give or with-hold his assent, as he thought fit.

The Commissioners for the Parliament replied to these Parliament's concessions, that they were so many new propositions, wholly different from what they had propos'd that they contained p. 100 by the laws of the Land; that they were already in possession of by the laws of the Land; that they were no way satisfactory to their desires, nor "consisting with that Reformation to "which both Nations are obliged by the Solemn League and Covenant;" therefore they can give no other answer to them, but must nsist to desire their Lordships, that the Bill may be passed, and their other demands concerning Religion granted. The Parliament Commissioners, in their last papers, say, that all objections in favour of the present Hierarchy, arising from conscience, law, or reason, being fully answered, they must now press for a determinate answer to their proposition concerning Religion.

The King's Commissioners deny, that their Objections against passing the Bill for abolishing Episcopacy have been answered, or that they had received any satisfaction in those

particulars, and therefore cannot confent to it.

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The Parliament Commissioners add, that after so many lb. p. 787. days debate, and their making it appear, how great a hindrance Episcopal Government is, and has been to a perfect Reformation, and to the growth of Religion; and how prejudicial it has been to the State, they hoped their Lordships would have been ready to answer their expectations.

The King's Commissioners replied, "'Tis evident, and "we conceive confented to on all sides, that Episcopacy has continued from the Apostles time, by a continued succession, in the Church of Christ, without intermission or

" interruption, and is therefore Jure Divino."

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King arlea I, 1644-5. Dugdale, P. 788. Ih. p. 790,

878.

The Parliament Commissioners answer, "So far were " we from confenting that Episcopacy has continued from " the Apostles time, by a continued succession, that the " contrary was made evident to your Lordships, and the " Unlawfulness of it fully proved."

The King's Commissioners replied, That they conceived the fuccession of Episcopacy from the Apostles was consented to on all fides, and did not remember that the unlawfulness of it had been afferted and proved. However, they apprehend all the inconveniencies of that Government are remedied by the alterations which they had offered. Nor had the Parliament Commissioners given them a view in particular of the Government they would substitute in place of the present; if therefore the alterations proposed do not fatisfy, they defire the matter may be fuspended till after the disbanding the Armics, and both King and Parliament can agree in calling a national Synod.

upon them.

The above-mentioned Concessions would furely have been a sufficient foundation for peace, if they had been made twelve months fooner, before the Scots had been called in with their Solemn League and Covenant, and fufficient fecurity had been given for their performance; but the Commissioners hands were now tied; the Parliament apprehending themselves obliged by the Covenant to abolish the Hierarchy; and yet if the Commissioners could have agreed about the Militia, and the punishment of evil Counsellors, the affair of Religion would not, in the opinion of Lord Clarendon, have hindered the fuccess of the Treaty; his words are thefe, "The Parliament took none of the points of controversy less to heart, or were less united " in any thing than in what concerned the Church; the " Scots would have given up every thing into the hands of " the King for their beloved Presbytery; but many of the "Parliament were for peace, provided they might have " indemnity for what was past, and security for time to " come." And were not these reasonable requests? Why then did not the Commissioners prevail with the King to give them fecurity, and divide the Parliament, or put an end to the War.

Claren. p. 581.

Ib. p. 594-

breaks up.

The last day of the Treaty the Parliament continued fitting till nine of the clock at night, in hopes of hearing fomething from their Commissioners that might encourage them to prolong the Treaty; but when an Express brought word, that the King's Commissioners would not yield to one of their Propositions they broke up without doing any

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thing in the business. Each Party laid the blame upon the other; the King's Commissioners complain'd, that the Par- Charles L. liament would not confent to prolong the Treaty; and the others, that after twenty days conference not one Propofition had been yielded. All fober men, and even fome of the King's Commissioners, were troubled at the event; but confidering the state of the King's affairs, and his fervile attachment to the counfels of a Popish Queen, it was eafy to forefee it could not be otherwise.

Bishop Burnet in the History of his Life and Times, says, Reasons of it.

that Lord Hollis, who was one of the Commissioners, told him, "That the King's affairs were now at a crisis, for " the Treaty of Uxbridge gave him an opportunity of " making peace with the Parliament, but all was undone "by the unhappy fuccess of the Marquis of Montross at " this time in Scotland, which being magnified to the King " far beyond what it really was, prevailed with his Majesty " to put fuch limitations on his Commissioners as made the

" whole defign mifcarry."

BREET SOURCE DELICE WHERE Most of the King's Commissioners who were not excepted out of the article of !ndemnity, were for accommodating matters before they left Uxbridge. The Earl of Southampton rid post from Uxbridge to Oxford, to press the King to yield fomething to the necessity of the times; feveral of his Council press'd him to it on their knees; and tis faid his Majesty was at length prevailed with, and appointed next morning to fign a Warrant to that purpose, but that Montross's romantick letter, of his conquest in Scotland, coming in the mean time, made the unhappy

King alter his resolution.

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But there was fomething more in the Affair than this: Remarks. Lord Clarendon is of opinion, that if the King had yielded some things to the demands of the Parliament, relating to Religion, the Militia, and Ireland, there were still other Articles in referve that would have broke off the Treaty; in which I cannot but agree with his Lordship; for not to mention "the giving up Delinquents to the justice of Par-" liament," of which himfelf was one, there had been, as yet, no debate about the Roman Catholicks, whom the Parliament would not tolerate, and the King was determined not to give up, as appears from the correspondence between himself and the Queen at this time. In the Rapin, Queen's Letter, Jan. 6, 1644-5, the defires his Majesty p. 275. " to have a care of his Honour, and not to abandon thole " who had ferved him- for if you agree upon strictness

King Charles I. 1644-5-

Rufhw. Vol. V.

946, 947.

" against Roman Catholicks it will discourage them from " ferving you; nor can you expect relief from any Roman " Catholick Prince. " In her Letter of Jan. 27, she adds, " Above all have a care not to abandon those who " have ferved you, as well the Bishops as the poor Catho-" licks." In answer to which the King writes Jan. 30. " I defire thee to be confident, that I shall never make " peace by abandoning my Friends." And Feb. 15. "Be " confident, that in making peace I shall ever shew my " confidence, in adhering to the Bishops, and all our " Friends.—" March 5. "I give thee power in my " name, to declare to whom thou thinkest fit, that I will p. 942, 944, 66 take away all the penal Laws against the Roman Catho-" licks in England, as foon as God shall make me able " to do it, fo as by their means, I may have fo powerful " affiftance as may deferve fo great a favour, and enable " me to do it. " As for Ireland, his Majesty had already commended the Duke of Ormond, by his Letter of Feb. 27, to make peace with the Papists, cost what it would, "If the fuspending Poyning's Act will do it (fays he) and if taking away the penal Laws, I shall not think it a hard bargain. When the Irish give me that affishance "they have promifed I will confent to the repeal by

Ib. p. 712, 978.

> It appears from hence, that the peace which the King feemed fo much to defire was but an empty found. The Queen was afraid he might be prevailed with to yield fomething; but his Majesty bids her be confident of the contrary, for "his Commissioners would not be disputed from " their ground, which was according to the note she re-" members, and which he would not alter." When the Treaty was ended he writes thus to the Queen, March 13. "Now is it come to pass what I foresaw, the fruitless End of " this Treaty—Now if I do any thing unhandsome to " myself or my friends it will be my own fault——— I was " afraid of being pressed to make some mean overtures to " renew the treaty, but now if it be renewed it shall be to " my honour and advantage." Such was the Queen's afcendant over the King, and his Majesty's servile attachment to her imperious dictates; the fate of three Kingdoms was at her disposal; no Place at Court or in the Army must be disposed of without her allowance; no peace must be made but upon her terms; the Oxford mungrel Parliament (as his Majesty calls it) must be dismissed with Disgrace, because they voted for peace; the Irish Protestants must be destroyed

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Rapin, p. 283.

Claren. Vol. III. P. 364.

Charles f.

destroyed and given up, and the English must go on to destroy each other with Fire and Sword, to make way for the Toleration or Establishment of a Popish Religion and an

arbitrary Government.

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As a farther demonstration of this melancholy remark, E. of Glahis Majesty authorized the Earl of Glamorgan, by a War-morgan's Treaty with rant under his Royal Signet, dated March 12, 1644, to con- the Irish. clude privately a peace with the Irish Papists upon the best Rushw. Vol. Terms he could, though they were such as his Licutenant VI. p. 239, the Duke of Ormond might not well be feen in, nor his Ma-Rapin, p. jesty himself think fit to own publickly at present, en- 330. Hist. gaging on the Word of a King and a Christian, to ratify Stuarts, p. and perform whatfoever he should grant under his Hand 305. and Seal, on condition they would fend over into England a body of ten thousand Men, under the command of the faid Earl. The date of this warrant is remarkable, for it was at a time when his Majesty's affairs were far from being desperate; when he thought the divisions in the Parliament-House would quickly be their ruin, and that he had little else to do but to sit still and be restored upon his own Terms, for which reason he would yelld very little at the treaty of Uxbridge; and yet the Earl, by his Majesty's Commission, yielded every thing to the Irish even to the establishing the Roman Catholick Religion, and putting it upon a level with the Protestant; he gave them all the Churches and Revenues they were possessed of since the Rebellion, and not only exempted them from the Jurisdiction of the Protestant Clergy, but allowed them their own Jurisdiction over their feveral Flocks, fo that the Reformed Religion in that Kingdom was in a manner fold for ten thousand Irish Papists to be transported into England, and maintained for three years. Let the Reader now Judge, what prospect there could be of a well grounded peace by the treaty of Uxbridge ! What fecurity there was for the Protestant Religion! How little Ground there was to rely upon the King's Promises! and confequently, to whose account the calamities of the war, and the confusions that followed after this time ought to be placed.

The day before the commencement of the treaty of Ux- Death of bridge the Members of the House of Commons attended Mr. White. the Funeral of Mr. John White, Chairman of the Grand Committee of Religion, and Publisher of the Century of Scandalous Ministers; he was a grave Lawyer (fays Lord Clarendon) and made a confiderable Figure in his Profefsion. He had been one of the Feossees for buying in Im-Vol. III. propriations,

King Charles I. 1645.

Mem. p.

propriations, for which he was censured in the Star Chamber. He served in Parliament for the Borough of Southwark; having been a Puritan from his youth, and in the opinion of Mr. Whitlock, an honest, learned, and faithful Servant of the publick, though somewhat severe at the Committee for plundered Ministers. He died Jan. 29, and was buried in the Temple Church with great Funeral Solemnity.

CHAP. VI.

The Progress of the War. Debates in the Assembly about Ordination. The Power of the Keys. The divine Right of Presbyterian Government. Committees for Comprehension and Toleration of the Independents.

Clarend. p. 595. THE King's Commissioners had been told at the treaty of Uxbridge, that the Fate of the English Monarchy depended upon its Success; that if the treaty was broken off abruptly there were a set of Men in the House who would remove the Earl of Essex, and constitute such an Army as might force the Parliament and King to consent to every thing they demanded, or change the Government into a Commonwealth; whereas, if the King would yield to the necessity of the times, they might perserve the General, and not only disappoint the design of the enemies to Monarchy, but soon be in Circumstances to enable his Majesty to recover all he should part with. However, the Commissioners looked upon this as the language of despair, and made his Majesty believe the divisions at Westminster would soon replace the Scepter in his own hands.

Earl of Effex removed, and the Army new modeiled.

The House of Commons had been distaissfied with the conduct of the Earl of Essex and Manchester last Summer, as tending to lengthen out the War, least one party should establish itself upon the ruins of the other; but the warmer Spirits in the House seeing no period of their calamities this way, apprehended a decisive Battle ought to be fought as foon as possible, for which purpose, after a solemn Fast, it was moved that all the present Officers should be discharged, and the Army intrusted in such hands as they could conside in. Dec. 9, it was resolved, That no Member of either House should execute any Office Civil or Military, during the present war; accordingly the Ordinance commonly called the "Self-denying Ordinance" was brought

in, and past the Commons ten days after, but was laid aside by the Lords till after the treaty of Uxbridge, when Charles I. it was revived and carried, with some little opposition. The Earls of Essex, Manchester, Warwick, and Denbigh, the Lord Roberts, Willoughby, and others, were dissmissed by this Ordinance, and all Members of the House of Commons, except Lieutenant General Cromwell, who after a few Months was dispensed with, at the request of the new General. All the Regiments were disbanded, and such only listed under the new Commanders as were determined to conquer or die. Sir Tho. Fairfax was appointed General, and Oliver Cromwell, after some time, Lieutenant General; the Clause " for preservation of the King's Person" was left out of Sir Thomas's Commission; nor did it run in the Name of the King and Parliament, but of the Parliament only. The Army confisted of twenty one thousand re-solute Soldiers, and was called in contempt by the Royalists " the new nodelled Army;" but their courage quickly revenged the contempt.

Sir Thomas Fairfax was a Gentleman of no quick parts Character or Elocution; but religious, faithful, valiant, and of a of the Genegrave, fober, resolute disposition; neither too great, nor too Baxer's Life, cunning to be directed by the Parliament. But Oliver p. 49. Cromwell was more bold and afpiring; and being a Soldier of undaunted courage and intrepidity, proved at length too powerful for his Masters. The Army was more at his dispofal than at Fairfax's, and the wonders they wrought fprung

chiefly from his Counfels.

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When the old Regiments were broken the Chaplains be- Rife of Ening discharged of course, returned to their Cures; and as thusiasm in new ones were formed, the Officers applied to the Parlia- the Army. ment and Assembly for a fresh recruit; but the Presbyterian Ministers being possessed of warm Benefices, were unwilling to undergo the fatigues of another Campaign, or it may be, to serve with Men of such desperate measures. This fatal accident proved the ruin of the Cause, in which the Parliament were engaged; for the Army being destitute of Chaplains, who might have restrained the Irregularities of their Zeal, the Officers fet up for Preachers in their feveral Regiments, depending upon a kind of miraculous Affistance of the divine Spirit, without any study or preparation; and when their Imaginations were heated, they gave vent to the most crude and undigested absurdities; nor did the evil rest there, for from preaching at the Head of their Regiments, they took pollession of the Country Pulpits P 2

1645.

King Charles I. 1645

where they were quartered, till at length they spread the Infection over the whole Nation, and brought the regular Ministry into contempt. Most of the common Soldiers were religious and orderly, and when released from Duty spent their Time in Prayer and religious Conferences, like Men who carried their Lives in their Hands; but for want of prudent and regular instruction, were swallowed up in the depths of Enthusiasm. Mr. Baxter therefore observes very justly, " It was the Ministers that lost all by forfaking the "Army, and betaking themselves to an easier and quieter " way of Life. When the Earl of Essex's Army went out each Regiment had an able Chaplain, but after " Edge-Hill Fight most of them went home, and left the "Army to their own conduct." But even after the deci-five Battle of Nasebay he admits, great numbers of the Officers and Soldiers were fober and orthodox; and from the little Good which he did whilst among them, concludes, that if they had but had Ministers, who would have followed his measures, the King, the Parliament, and Religion, might have been faved.

Baxter's Life, p. 5 56.

Their frice Discipline.

The new modelled Troops were kept under the severest Discipline, Commissioners being appointed to take care that the Country was not oppressed; that no Soldiers were quartered in any place but by appointment of the Quarter-master; that ready Money be paid for all Provisions and Ammunition; every Soldier had six Pence a day for his diet, and every Trooper eight Pence. No inhabitants were compelled to furnish more Provisions than they were able and willing to spare, under the severest Penalties; wheras the Royal Army having no regular Pay, lived upon the plunder of those places that had the missortune to receive them.

Progress of the King's Forces. Whitl. Mem. p. 140, 144. May 30, the King took the Town of Leicester, by storm, with a very great Treasure, which the Country People had brought thither for Security, but his Soldiers divided the Spoil and treated the Inhabitants in a most cruel and unmerciful manner; After this conquest, his Majesty writ to the Queen, that his "Affairs were never in so hopeful a "Posture since the Rebellion" The Parliament Army were preparing to lay siege to the City of Oxford, but upon news of this disaster had orders to follow the King, and hazard a Battle at all events; whereupon Sir Tho. Fairfax petitioned the two Houses to dispense with their "Self-denying Ordi-"nance" with respect to Lieutenant General Cromwell, whose courage and counsels would be of great service in the present criss; Cromwell was accordingly dispensed with during plea-

fure, and having joined the Army with fix hundred Horfe, and Dragoons, they overtook the King, and gave him battle, Charles I. June 14, at Naseby, about three miles from Harborough in Leicestershire.

King

The Battle began about ten in the morning, and ended Battle of about three or four in the Afternoon, in an absolute defeat Naseby. of the King's Forces, which was owing, in a great meafure, to the wife conduct and resolution of Lieutenant General Cromwell on one hand, and to the indifcreet fury and violence of Prince Rupert on the other. The Atmies were pretty equal in number, about twelve or fourteen thousand on a side, but the Parliament Soldiers were better disciplin'd, and fought with all the bravery and magnanimity that an enthusiastick zeal could inspire. General Fairfax having his helmet beat off rode up and down the field bare-headed; Major General Skippon received a wound in the beginning of the fight, upon which being defired to go off, he answered, "He would not stir as long as a " Man would stand." Ireton was run through the thigh with a pike, had his horse killed under him, and was made a prisoner, but found means to escape upon the turn of the Battle. The King shewed himself a couragious General, white. 146. but his Soldiers were struck with such a panick, that when Clarendon, they were once disordered they would never rally, whereas p. 658. if the others were beaten from their ground they presently returned, and kept their ranks till they received new instructions. When Prince Rupert had routed Ireton's left wing, he loft his advantage; First, by following the chase almost three miles, and then by trying to become Matter of the Train of Artillery, before he knew the success of the main body; whereas when Cromwell had broke the right wing of the enemy, he purfued them but a quarter of a mile, and leaving a small party of Horse to prevent their rallying, returned immediately to the Battle, and with his victorious troops charged the Royal Infantry in Flank, and drove them entirely out of the field. The Parliament Raping Army took above five thousand prisoners; all the King's P. 310. Train of Artillery, Bag and Baggage, with his Cabinet of Letters, some of which were afterwards published to the World; but not above fix or feven hundred of his Men were killed, with about one hundred and fifty Officers. The King with a party of House, fled into Wales, and Prince Rupert to Briftol; but the Parliament Forces purfued their Victory with fuch eagerness, and marched with that rapid swiftness over the whole West of England, to the

P 3 .

King 1645

very Land's End, that in a few months all the Royal Forces were dispersed, and his Majesty's Garrisons surrender'd almost before they were summon'd. The City of Bristol, into which Prince Rupert had thrown himself, capitulated before the Besiegers approached the Walls, which provoked the King to that degree, that he commanded him by Letter to depart the Land; as did also the Prince of Wales, for the Security of his Person; so that by the end of the Campaign the unhappy King was exposed to the mercy of his enemies, and thut up all the Winter little better than a Prisoner in his Garrison of Oxford.

Parliament's Care for a regu ar Clersy.

Husb. Col. p. 645.

To return to the affairs of the Church. When it is recollected what great numbers of Clergymen had deferted to the King, or were otherwise distatisfied with the new Terms of Conformity, we must conclude it very difficult to supply the vacant Pulpits in the Country with a learned and regular Clergy: One of the Universities was entirely useless, and the young Students that adher'd to the Parliament could not obtain Ordination in a legal Way, because all the Bishops were in the opposition, and would ordain none but those of their own Principles, which was another cause of the increase of unqualified Preachers. To put some stop to the clamours of the Royalists, and to the mischiefs of Lay-preaching, which began to appear in the Army, the Parliament ordained April 26, "That no per-" fon shall be permitted to preach who is not ordained a "Minister in this or some other reformed Church, ex-" cept fuch as intend the Ministry who shall be allowed for " the trial of their Gifts, by those that shall be appointed " thereunto by both Houses of Parliament; and it is ear-" neftly defired, that Sir Tho. Fairfax take care, that this " Ordinance be put in execution in the Army. It is fur-" ther ordered to be fent to the Lord Mayor, and Com-" mittee of the Militia in London; to the Governors and "Commanders of all Forts, Garrisons, Forces, Cities and "Towns, with the like Injunction; and the Mayor, She-" riffs, and Justices of the Peace, are to commit all Of-" fenders to fafe custody, and give notice to the Par-" liament, who will take a speedy course for their Pu-" nithment." about navel act and water

Directory for Ordina-tion of Mimitters.

At the fame time the Lords fent to the Assembly, to prepare a new Directory for the Ordination of Ministers in the Church of England, without the presence of a Diocesan Bishop. This took them up a great deal of time, by reason of the Opposition it met with from the Erastians and IndepenIndependants, but was at last accomplished, and passed into an Ordinance, bearing date Nov. 8, 1645, and was to continue in force by way of Trial for twelve months; after which, on the 28th of August following, it was prolonged for three years, at the expiration of which it was made

King

The Ordinance fets forth, "That whereas the words Rushw. " Presbyter and Bishop do in Scripture signifie the same Part IV. "Function, though the Title of Bishop has been, by cor- P. 212. " rupt custom, appropriated to one, who has assumed to " himself, in the matter of Ordination, that which was " not meet; which Ordination, notwithstunding, being performed by him, we hold for Substance to be valid, and not to be disclaimed by any that have received it; " and whereas it is manifest, that Ordination, that is, An " outward, folemn fetting apart of Persons for the Office " of the Ministry in the Church by preaching Ptesbyters, " is an Institution of Christ, it is therefore ordained by the " Lords and Commons, with the advice of the Assembly " of Divines at Westminster, that the several and respec-"tive Classical Presbyters within their respective bounds " may examine, approve, and ordain Presbyters, accord-

the Appendix, and is in Substance as follows: First, " The person to be ordained must apply to the " Presbytery, with a Testimonial of his taking the Cove-

" nant, of his proficiency in his studies," &c.

Secondly, "He is then to pass under an examination as " to his Religion and Learning, and call to the Ministry. "Then follow Rules for examination, as in the Ap-

" pendix. " After Examination he shall receive a publick Testimo-" nial from his Examiners, which shall be read publickly " before the People, and then fixed to the Door of the " Church where he preaches for Approbation, with Liber-"ty to any Person or Persons to make Exceptions. Upon the Day of Ordination a solem Fast shall be kept " by the Congregation, in which, after a Sermon, the " person to be ordained shall make a publick Confession of " his Faith, and declare his Resolutions to be diligent and " constant in the discharge of his pastoral Duty. After

which he shall be separated, or set apart to the Pastoral " Office with a short prayer, and the laying on of the " hands of the Ministers present. After the Ordination

tach Sumples.

" ing to the following Directory," which I have placed in Appendix.

King 1645.

dinations

" there is to be an exhortation to Minister and People, and the whole Solemnity to conclude with a Pfalm and er Prayer.

It is further ordained, " That all Ordinations, according

to the former usage of the Church of England, as well " as those of Scotland, and other reformed Churches shall be effeemed valid.

44 A Register is to be kept by every Presbytery of the " names of the Persons ordained by them, of the Miniters concerned, and of the Time and Place where they

were fettled. No Money or Gift whafoever shall be re-" ceived from the person ordained, or from any on his be-

" half, for his Ordination, or any thing relating to it, exee cept for the Instruments or Testimonials, which shall not

" exceed ten shillings.

"Lastly, It is ordained, "That all persons ordained ac-" cording to this Directory, shall be for ever reputed and " taken, to all intents and purposes, for lawfully, and suf-" ficiently authorized Ministers of the Church of England, " and as capable of any ministerial Employment in the

"Church, as any other Presbyter already ordained, or bereafter to be ordained."

hereafter to be ordained."

Debates up on it.

Lightf. Rem. Pref. To give a short Specimen of the debates upon this Ordinance; when the Passage in Timothy, of " Laying on of " the hands of the Prefbytery," was voted a full proof for Prefbyters ordaining without a Bishop, Mr. Selden, Lightfoot, and some others, enter'd their diffent, declaring, That the imposition of hands there spoken of was only for admission to be an Elder; and though Elders might ordain Elders, it did not necessarily follow they might ordain a Bishop.

With the Independants.

Grand Debate, p. 185.

The Independants argued for the right of every particular Congregation to ordain its own Officers; this was debated ten days; the Arguments on both fides were afterwards published by consent of the several Parties, in a book, entitled, "The grand debate between Presbytery and In-"dependancy." At length the Question being put, "That it is requifite no fingle Congregation that can conveniently affociate with others, should assume to itself the " fole right of Ordination," it was carried in the affirmative, but the following Independent Ministers enter'd their Dissent.

Jer. Burroughs, Sidrach Simpson,

Tho. Goodwin, William Bridge, Phil. Nye, William Greenhilt, William Carter.

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It was next debated, whether Ordination might precede Election to a particular Charge; Dr. Temple, Mr. Herle, Charles I. Vines, Palmer, Whitaker, and Calamy, argued for the affirmative, 1. From the Ordination of Timothy, Titus M. S. pence and Apollos, without any particular charge. 2. Because 'tis me. a different thing to ordain to an Office, and to appropriate the exercise of that Office to any particular place. 3. If Election must precede Ordination, then there must be a new Ordination upon every new Election. 4, It would then follow, that a Minister was no Minister out of his own Church or Congregation. And, 5. Then a Minister could not gather or plant Churches, or baptize new Converts, because, according to the Independants, there must

first be a Church before there can be a Minister,

Mr. Goodwin, Nye, Bridge, and the rest of the Independants, replied to the foregoing Reasons, That Timothy and Titus were extraordinary Officers-That it appeared to them absurd, to ordain an Officer without a Province to exercise the Office in-That they saw no great inconvenience in Re-ordinations, though they did not admit the consequence, that a person regularly ordained to one Church, must be re-ordained upon every removal; but they affirmed, that a Pastor of one particular Church might preferve his character in all places; and if there was extraordinary fervice to be cone in planting new Churches, or baptizing new Converts, the Churches might fend out their Officers, or create new for that purpose. The grand difficulty with the Independents lay here, that Ordination without Election to a particular Charge feemed to imply a conveyance of Office-Power, which, in their opinion, was attended with all the difficulties of a lineal Succession. The debates upon this article continued feveral days, and iffued at last in a compromise in these words; " It is agreeable to " the Word of God, and very expedient, that those who " are to be ordained Ministers, be designed to some parti-" cular Church, or other ministerial Charge." And with regard to the Ceremony of Imposition of Hands, the Indedependants admitted it, provided it was attended with an " open declaration, " That it was not intended as a Con--" veyance of Office-Power."

It might feem abfurd to begin the Reformation of the Power of Church, with an Ordinance appointing Classical Presbyters given to the to ordain Ministers within their feveral Bounds, when there Assembly was not as yet one Classical Presbytery in all England; but the pro tempore

urgency No. III.

King

urgency of affairs required it; the scarcity of Ministers would not fuffer a delay till the whole Fabrick of Presbytery was erected; therefore, to supply this defect for the present, the whole business was committed to the Assembly, who voted December 24, that a Committee for examination of Ministers should fit every Tuesday and Thursday in the afternoon at two of the clock, and the Members of the Assembly are to attend in their turns, as they shall be nominated and appointed by the Scribe, according to the order of their names in the Regulter-Book, five at a time, and each to attend a week.

The Divine Right of Presbytery: Vide App. No. III. Chapter of Ch, Gevern-

While the affair of Ordination was depending in the Allembly, Committees were chosen to prepare materials for a new Form of Discipline and Church Government; a point of the greater confequence, because the old form was diffolved, and no other as yet established in its room. Here the Independents agreed with the Presbyterians, that there was a certain Form of Church Government laid down in the New Testament, which was of Divine In-"flitution;" but when they came to the Question, "What that Government was? and, Whether it was " binding in all ages of the Church?" Both the Erastians and Independents divided against them. The Proposition was this, " That the Scripture holds forth, that many a particular Congregations may, and by Divine Institution ought to be under one Presbyterial Government." The Debate lasted thirty days; the Erustians did not except against the Presbyterial Government as a political Institution, proper to be established by the Civil Magistrate, but they were against the Claim of a Divine Right. Upon this occation Bulftrode Whitlock, Elgs one of the Lay-Commilfioners, flood up, and made the following freech.

commonts in these worder Mr. Prolocutor,

WhitLMem. P. 95.

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of the Erafthe question now in debate before you, had I not, by "the honour of being one of your Members, feen your " candor to others, and observed you to be most capable to give latisfaction to any scruple here, and to enable " fuch as I am to fatisfy Objections abroad, whereof I have

" met with some, your question not being under secrecy. "By government all Men understand the prudent and "well ordering of persons and affairs, that men may live " well and happily; and by the Government of the "Church, the ordering and ruling of persons and matters

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King Charles I

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having relation to the Worship of God in spiritual mat-

"The word Presbyter was in great honour among the Jews, being given to the members of their great Sanhedrim, and therefore is not now so properly to be attributed to the Rulers of every small Congregation. I am
none of those, Mr. Prolocutor, who except against the
Presbyterian Government; I think it has a good founda-

"tion, and has done much good in the Church of Christ.

"But, Sir, whether this Form of Government be Jure

"Divino, or not, may admit of some dispute? and, Whe
"ther it be now requisite for you to declare, that it is so?

"If the meaning be, that it is Jure Divino Ecclesiastico, then the question will be raised, of the Magistrates impossing Forms upon Mens Consciences, for then they will be only the Magistrates imposition, But if the meaning be Jure Divino absolute, it must then be the Precept of God, and they are in a sad condition who are not under this Government.

"But it is objected, that no Form of Government is "Jure Divino, but that in general, all things must be done decently, and in order. A Government is certainly Jure Divino, but whether Presbytery, Episcopacy, Independency, or any other Form of Government be Jure Divino, or not; that is, whether there be a præscript, "rule or command of Scripture, for any of those Forms, will not be admitted by many as a clear thing.

"It may therefore not be unworthy your Confideration, "Whether it be not more prudent at this time to forbear to declare your Judgments in this point? the Truth

" will nevertheless continue the same.

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"If this Government be not Jure Divino, no Opi"nion of any Council can make it so; and if it be Jure
"Divino it continues so still, though you do not declare it
"to be so.

"I therefore humbly submit it to your Judgments, "whether it be not better at this time to avoid giving "occasion to disputes of this nature, and only to present your Judgment to the Parliament, "That the Government of the Church by Presbyteries is most agreeable to the Word of God, and most fit to be settled in this "Kingdom?" or, in what other expressions you may think fit to cloath your Question? and I hope you may soon have a desired issue."

Date which agree he despread a law of bonnets are and a Mr.

King Charles I. 1645.

Mr. Selden and St. John were of this mnid; and the Reverend Mr. Colman was so zealous upon this head, that he declaimed against the Divine Right, not only in the Affembly, but in the Pulpit, apprehending Presbytery would prove as arbitrary and tyrannical as Prelacy, if it came in with a Divine Claim. He therefore proposed, that the Civil Magistrate should have the sole power of the Keys by way of Interim, till the Nation was at peace.

And of the Independants.

But the Independents opposed the proposition of the Divine Right of Presbytery, by advancing a counter Divine Right of their own Scheme; fifteen days they took the part of Opponents, and fifteen days they were upon the Defensive. To give a short specimen of their debates.

Grand de-

The chief enquiries were, about the Constitution and ate, p. 13. Form of the first Church of Jerusalem; the Subordination of Synods, and of Lay-Elders. Upon the first question the Independents maintained, "That the first Church at Jerufalem was not larger than could meet in one place." In support of which they produced several passages in the New Testament; as, Acts i. 15. The whole number of Disciples being about one hundred and twenty met together with one accord. And Acts ii. 1. They were all with one accord in one place. When they were multiplied to three thousand 'tis still said, they met with one accord, and in one place, Acts it. 46. When they were further increaded, multitudes being added to them, both men and women, they still met together with one accord, and in one place, Acts v. 12, 14. When the number of Disciples has yet further multiplied, so that it became necessary to choose Deacons to take care of the poor, the whole multitude were called together, and chofe out seven men from among themselves, and set them before the Apostles, Acts vi. 2, 5. And even after the general dispersion of the Difciples, mentioned Acts viii recorded, that those who remained met together in one place as a Church, Acts av. 4, 22. Then pleased it the Apostles and Elders, with the Whole Church, to fend chofen men of their own company to Antioch. They allowed, that there was mention of a Prefbytery in Scripture, but that it was no other than the Presbytery or Elders of one particular Church or Congregation, for it is no where written, that God has fet in the Church, diftind forts of Presbyteries, fuch as Confistories, Classes, Provincial Synods, and General Assemblies, one above another. They objected also to the high powers claimed by the Presbyteries, as the right of admission

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Admission and Exclusion from the Christian Church with pains and penalties, which, as they have no foundation in Scripture, are not very confiftent with the powers of the Civil Magistrate.

To remove these difficulties the Presbyterians maintained, Presbyterians "That the Church of Jerusalem was made up of more Reply " Congregations than one," as appeared from the multi-bate, p. 41. tude of Disciples mentioned in divers places; - from the many Apostles and Teachers in the Church of Jerusalem, who could not exercise their gifts in one Assembly; - and from the diversity of Languages mentioned Acts ii. and Acts vi. Now it being granted, that the Disciples were too numerous to affemble in one place, it must follow, that they were under one Presbyterial Government, because they are still called but one Church, Acts viii. 1. the Elders of which are often mentioned in the same book. The most learned Criticks in the Assembly were divided upon this head, as Dr. Temple, Lightfoot, Selden, Colman, Vines, and others; but it was carried for the Presbyterians.

It was argued in favour of the Subordination of Synods, Subordinathat the Scripture speaks of an appeal from one or two bre-tion of Sythren to the whole Church, Matth. xviii. 15. and of the Grand Deappeal of the Church at Antioch to the Apostles and Elders bate, p. 115, at Jerusalem, Acts xv. 2. But the Independants affirmed, 128, &c. that a Synod of Presbyters is no where called a Church; and that the appeal of the Church of Antioch was only for advice, not for a judicial determination: But supposing the Allembly of the Apostles at Jerusalem to be a Synod, it could neither be Provincial nor National to the Church at Antioch, and confequently no proof of a Subordination. The Lights. Masters of Jewish Antiquities displayed all their learning upon Rem. p. 17. this debate, for the Jewish Sanhedrim being defigned as the model of their Christian Presbytery, it was necessary to enquire, what were the powers of the Ecclefiaffical and Civil Courts under the Law. Moses having appointed, that he that would not hearken to the Priest, or the Judge, should die, Deut. xvii. 12. it was argued in favour of Church Power, that the Priest held one Court, and the Civil Magiftrate another: but Mr. Selden observed, that the vulgar Latin till within thefe forty years read thus, "Qui non obe-" diverit sacerdoti ex decreto judicis morietur. He that " will not obey the Prieft shall die by the sentence of the " Judge;" and Mr. Lightfoot added, that when the Judges of inferior Courts went up to Jerusalem by way of Appeals I was only for Advice and Confultation; but when the

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King Charles I.

Vide App. No. III. Chapter of Ch. Govern-

Complaints of the Independants.

Question was put, Dec. 12. for a "Subordination of Synods with Lay-Elders, as fo many Courts of Judicature, " with power to dispense Church Censures," it was carried in the affirmative, and inferted in their humble Advice, with this addition; "So Christ has furnished some in " his Church (befides Ministers of the Word) with gifts " for government, and with commission to execute the " fame, when called thereunto, who are to join with the " Minister in the government of the Church, which Offi-" cers the reformed Churches generally call Elders."

Thus the main Pillars of the Prefbyterial Government were voted of Divine Appointment by a very great majority; but the Independants enter'd their diffent in writing, and complained to the World of the unkind usage they met with in the Assembly; that the Papers they offered were not read; that they were not allowed to fate their own Questions, but were told they set themselves industriously to puzzle the Cause, and render the clearest Propositions ob-" fcure, rather than argue the truth or falfeness of them .--That it was not worth the Assembly's while to spend so much time in debating with so inconsiderable a number of men; they also declared, that the Assembly refused to debate their main Proposition, (viz) Whether a divine Right of Church Government did not remain with every " particular Congregation---" To all which it was replied, that the Assembly were not conscious they had done them any injustice, and as for the rest, they were the most proper judges of their own method of proceeding.

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p. 106. The Clause (ommons.

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Conduct of The Eraftians feeing how things were managed in the Assembly, reserved themselves for the House of Commons, where they were fure to be joined by all the Patrons of the Independents. The English and Scots Commissioners being no less solicitous about the event, gave their friends notice to be early in their places, hoping to carry the Question before the House should be full; but Mr. Glyn perceiving their intention, spoke an hour to the point of Jus Whitt Mero. Divinum; and after him Mr. Whitlock flood up and enlarged upon the same argument, till the House was full, when the Question being put, it was carried in the Nega-Right loft in tive; and that the proposition of the Assembly should stand thus, "That it is lawful and agreeable to the Word of " God, that the Church be governed by Congregational, " Claffical and Synodical Affemblies.

The disappointment of the Scots Commissioners and their Friends in the Assembly at the loss of this Question is not to be expressed; they alarmed the Citizens with the danger. of the Church, and prevailed with the Common Council to Several Pepetition the Parliament [Nov. 15.] that "the Presbyterian titions to Discipline might be established, as the Discipline of Jesus to admit it. "Christ;" but the Commons answered with a frown, "That the Citizens must have been misinformed of the " proceedings of the House, or else they would not have " precipitated the judgment of Parliament." Not discouraged at this rebuke they prevailed with the City Ministers to petition, but when they came to the House the Speaker. told them, " They need not wait for an answer, but go " home and look to the charges of their several Congrega-" tions;" and immediately appointed a Committee to en-

The Presbyterian Ministers despairing of success with the

quire into the rife of these Petitions.

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Commons, instead of yielding to the times, resolved to apply to the House of Lords, who received them civilly, and promised to take their Request into consideration; but no advances being made in two months they were out of all patience, and determined to renew their application; and to give it the greater weight, prevailed with the Lord Mayor and Conrt of Aldermen to go at their head, Jan. 16, with an Address, " For a speedy settlement of Church-govern- Vol. Pamp. " ment, according to the Covenant, and that no tolera-No. 34. p. 3. "tion might be given to Popery, Prelacy, Superstition, " Herefy, Profaneness, or any thing contrary to found "Doctrine, and that all private Assemblies might be re-The Lords thanked them for their zeal, and recommended it to the City to suppress all such unlawful Assemblies; but the Houses were not to be moved as yet by fuch forcible methods; however, this laid the Foundation of those jealousies and misunderstandings between the City and Parliament, which proved the ruin of the Presbyterian

But the fiercest contention between the Assembly and Of the Parliament arose upon the Power of the Keys, which the Power of the former had voted to be in the Eldership or Presbytery, in Excommuthese Words, " The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven were nication. " committed to the Officers of the Church, by virtue Vide App.

" whereof they have power respectively to retain and remit Chapter of " Sins, to shut the Kingdom of Heaven against the impe- Cong. At-" nitent both by the word and censures, and to open it to sembly.

" the penitent by Absolution, and to prevent the profanation

King 1645.

of the Holy Sacrament by notorious and obstinate offenders, " the faid Officers are to proceed by admonition, suspension from the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper for a feafon, and by excommunication from the Church, according to the of nature of the crime and demerit of the person;" all which power they claimed, not by the Laws of the Land, but Jure Divino, or by divine appointment.

The Independants Opinion.

Rufhw. p.

203.

The Independants claimed a like power for the brotherhood of every particular Congregation, but without any civil fanctions or penalties annexed; the Erastians were for laying the Communion open, and referring all crimes to the Civil Magistrate. When the Question therefore came into debate in the House of Commons, the learned Mr. Selden delivered his opinion against all Suspensions and Excommunications to this effect, "That for four thousand years there " was no Law to suspend persons from religious exercises. "Strangers, indeed, were kept from the Pallover, but they were Pagans, and not of the Jewish Religion. The que-" ftion is not now for keeping away Pagans in times of " Christianity, but Protestants from Protestant Worship. " No Divine can shew, that there is any such command as this to suspend from the Sacrament. No man is kept from the Sacrament Eo Nomine, because he is guilty of any in, by the Constitution of the Reformed Churches, or because he has not made satisfaction. Every man is a sinner; the difference is only, that one is in private, and the " other in publick. Dic Ecclesiæ in St. Matthew were " the Courts of Law which then fat at Jerusalem. No man can shew any Excommunication till the Popes Victor " and Zephorinus (two hundred years after Christ) first " began to use them upon private quarrels, whereby it ape pears that Excommunication is an human invention, " taken from the heathens."

And Whitl. P. 203.

Mr. Whitlock spake on the same side of the question, and faid, " The Aff mbly of Divines have petitioned and " advised this House, That in every Presbytery, or Presbyterian Congregation, the Pastors and ruling Elders may have the power of Excommunication, and of fuler pending such as they shall judge ignorant or scandalous. By Pastors, I suppose, they mean themselves, and others who are or may be Preachers, and would be Bishops or "Overfeers of their Congregations. By ruling Elders " they mean a felect number of fuch in every Congrega-" tion as shall be chosen for the execution of Government

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" and discipline therein. A Pastor is one who is to feed King " his sheep; and if so, how improper must it be for such Charles I. " to defire to excommunicate any, or keep them from " food; to forbid any to eat, or whomfoever they shall. " judge unworthy, when Christ has said, take, eat, and " drink ye all of it, tho' Judas was one of them. But " fome have faid, 'tis the duty of a Shepherd, when he " fees a sheep feeding upon that which will do him hurt, to " chase him away from that pasture, and they apply this " to suspending those from the Sacrament whom they fear, " by eating and drinking unworthily, may eat and drink " their own Damnation. But it ought to be observed, that " it is not receiving the Sacrament, but the unworthinels of " the Receiver that brings destruction, and this cannot be " within the judgment of any but the person himself, who " alone can examine his own heart; nor can any one pro-"duce a Commission for another to be judge thereof. But " it is faid, that ruling Elders are to be joined with the Pas-" tors; now, in fome country Villages and Congregations, " perhaps, they may not be very learned, and yet the au-" thority given them is very great: The word Elders, " amongst the Hebrews, signified Men of the greatest " power and dignity; so it was among the Romans, whose " Senate was so called, from Senes, Elders. The highest " Title among the French, Spaniards, and Italians, Seig-" neur, and Seigniori, is but a corruption of the Latin " word Senior, Elder. The same may be observed in our " English Corporations, where the best and most substan-" tial Persons are called Aldermen or Eldermen. Thus " the Title of Elders may be given to the chief men of " every Presbytery, but if the power of Excommunicati-" on be given them they may challenge the Title of Elders " in the highest fignification.

Power is defired to be given to suspend from the Sa-" crament two forts of Persons, the ignorant and scandal-" ous; now 'tis possible, that they who are judged to be " competent in one place may be deemed ignorant in an-" other; however, to keep them from the Ordinances is " no way to improve their Knowledge. Scandalous Per-" fons are likewise to be suspended, and this is to be left to " the discretion of the Pastors and ruling Elders; but " where have they fuch a Commission? scandalous sinners " should be admonished to forsake their evil ways, and " amend their Lives; and how can this be done better, " than by allowing them to hear good Sermons, and par-VOL. III.

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1645.

" take of the holy Ordinances. A Man may be a good " Physician though he never cut off a Member from his " patient; and a Church may be a good Church, though or no Member of it has ever been cut off. I have heard " many complaints of the jurifdiction of the Prelates, who " were but few; now in this Ordinance there will be a great multiplication of spiritual Men in Government, but " I am of opinion, that where the temporal Sword is fufse ficient for punishment of offences there will be no need " of this new discipline."

Though the Parliament did not think it prudent wholly to reject the Ordinance for Excommunication, because it had been the popular complaint in the late times, " That Paf-" tors of Churches had not power to keep unworthy Com-"municants from the Lord's Table;" yet the speeches of these learned Gentlemen made such an impression, that they resolved to render it ineffectual to all the purposes of Church Power; accordingly, they fent to the Assembly, to specify in writing, " What degrees of Knowledge in the Christian Religion were necessary to qualify persons for the Com-" munion? and what forts of scandal deserved suspension or excommunication?" Which, after much Controverfy, they presented to the Houses, who inserted them in the Body of their "Ordinance for fuspension from the Lord's " Supper," dated Octob. 20. 1645, together with certain Provilos of their own.

The Ordinance fets forth, that the feveral Elderships within their respective Limits, shall have power to suspend communica- from the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, all ignorant and fcandalous persons, within the Rules and Directions hereatter mentioned, and others.

Ordinance for Sulpenfition. Rushw. Part. IV. Vol. I. p. 211.

RULES for suspending from the Sacrament in case of Ignorance.

1. " All that do not know and believe the Being of a "God, and the Holy Trinity.

2. " They that are not acquainted with original Sin, and the Fall of Man.

3. " They that don't believe Christ to be God and Man, " and our only Mediator and Redeemer.

4. - " That Christ and his Benefits are applied only by "Faith; which Faith is the gift of God, and implies a 2.00 1121 se truiting " trufting in him, for the remission of Sins, and Life ever- King Charles L.

The necessity of fincere Repentance, and a holy

Life, in order to Salvation.

6. — The Nature and Importance of the two Sacra-

"ments, especially of the Lord's Supper.
7.—"That the Souls of the Faithful do immediately

" live with Christ after Death; and the Souls of the Wick-"ed immediately go to Hell.

8. - " The Refurrection of the Body, and a final Judg-

" ment."

RULES for Suspension in case of Scandal.

"The Elderships shall have power to suspend from the " Sacrament all scandalous Persons hereafter mentioned, and "no others, being duly convicted by the Oaths of two Witnesses, or their own Confession; that is to say,

1. " All Blasphemers against God, his holy Word or Sa-

er craments.

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an,

by 25 2 ing 2. " Incestuous Persons.

3. " Adulterers.

4. " Fornicators. 5. " Drunkards.

6. " Profane Swearers and Curfers.

7. " Murderers.

8. "Worthippers of Images, Croffes, Crucifixes, or Relicks.

9. " All that make Images of the Trinity, or of any Per-" fon thereof.

10. "All religious Worthippers of Saints, Angele, or any meer Creature.

11. " Such as declare themselves not to be in Charity

" with their Neighbours. 12. "Such as challenge others to a Duel, or that shall ac-

" cept fuch a Challenge. 13. "Such as knowingly shall carry a Challenge either by

"Word, Message, or Writing. 14 "Such as profane the Lord's Day by dancing, play-"ing at Cards or Dice, or any other Game; or that shall " on the Lord's Day use Masking, Wakes, Shooting, Bowl-

"ing, playing at Foot-ball, or Stool-ball, Wretlling; or "that shall refort to Plays, interludes, Fencing, Bull-bait-"ing, or Bear-beating; or, that shall use Hawking,

" Hunting,

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King Charles L. 1645. "Hunting, Coursing, Fishing, or Fowling; or, that shall upblickly expose any Wares to sale, otherwise than is provided by the Ordinance of April 6th, 1644, or, that shall travel on the Lord's Day without reasonable cause.

15. "Such as keep known Stews, or Brothel-houses; or, that shall folicit the chastity of any person for him-

" felf, or another.

16. "Such Parents as give their consent to marry their Children to Papists; and such as do themselves marry a "Papist."

17. "Such as confult for Advice, Witches, Wizards, or

" Fortune-Tellers.

18. "Such as affault their Parents, or any Magi"frate, Minister, or Elder, in the Execution of his Of"fice.

19. " Such as shall be legally attainted of Barretry, For-

"gery, Extortion, or Bribery."

"And the several Elderships shall have power to suspend all Ministers who shall be duly convicted of any of the crimes abovemention from giving or receiving the Lord's

" Supper.

"Persons suspended by one congregation shall not be ad"mitted to the Sacrament by another, without Certificate
from that Congregation of which he was a Member. But
in all cases of Suspension, if the party suspended shall mainsest his Repentance before the Eldership by whom he
was suspended, he shall be re-admitted to the Lord's Supper, and the Suspension taken off."

But then follow the Proviso's, which stripp'd the Presbyters of that Power of the Keys which they were reach-

Parliament's Pro

Proviso's.

Provided always, "That if any Person find himself "aggrieved with the Proceedings of the Presbytery to which he belongs, he may appeal to the Classical El-dership; from them to the Provincial Assembly; from them to the National; and from them to the Parliament.

"Tis further provided, "That the Cognizance and Exmaintaion of all capital Offences shall be reserved entire to the Magistrate appointed by the Laws of the
Kingdom, who, upon his committing the Party so
Prison,

1645.

" prison, shall make a certificate to the Eldership of the King Charles L. " Congregation to which they belonged, who may there-

" upon suspend them from the Sacrament.

"The Presbytery or Eldership shall not have cognizance " of any thing relating to Contracts, Payments, or De-" mands; or of any Matter of Conveyance, Title, Inte-" rest, or Property in Lands or Goods.

" No use shall be made of any Confession, or proof made " before an Eldership, at any Trial at Law of any person

" for any offence.

" And 'tis further ordained, That those Members of " Parliament who are Members of the Assembly of Di-" vines, or any seven of them, shall be a standing Com-" mittee, to confider of fuch other offences or fcandals " not mentioned in this Ordinance, which may be con-" ceived to be a sufficient Cause of Suspension from the " Sacrament, and shall lay them before the Parliament.

By an Ordinance of June 5, 1646, a discretionary power was lodged in a Committee of Lords and Commons, not less than nine to adjudge and determine scandalous offences. notformerly enumerated, and report them to the two Houses, that if they concurred with the Committee they might be

added to the Catalogue.

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By these Proviso's 'tis evident the Parliament were deter- Presbyterimined not to part with the Spiritual Sword, or subject their ans distatishcivil properties to the power of the Church, which gave great offence to the Scots Commissioners, and to most of the English Presbyterians, who declaimed against the Ordinance, as built upon Erastian Principles, and depriving the Church of that which it claimed by a Divine Institution. They allowed of Appeals from one spiritual Court to another, but declared openly from the Pulpit and Press, that Appeals to the Parliament or Civil Magistrate, as the dernier Refort, were infufferable. The Parliament observing their ambition, of making the Church independent on the State, girt the Laws closer about them, and subjected their determinations more immediately to the Civil Magistrate, by an Ordinance dated March 14, 1645-6, which enacts, "That " an appeal shall lie from the decisions of every Classis to " the Commissioners chosen by Parliament out of every Pro-"vince, and from them to the Parliament itself. That if " any Person commit any scandalous offences not mention-" ed in the Ordinance, the Minister may forbear to admini-" fler the Sacrament to him for that time; but then he shall, Q3

Ring Charles I. 1646-

> Ordinance for erecting

Rushw.

Vol. V. p. 226.

Presbyteries.

"within eight days, certify the same to the Commissioners, who hall send up the case, with their opinions, to the Parliament, by whose determination the Eldership shall abide."

This Ordinance of Suspension from the Sacrament was extorted from the two Houses before the time, by the importunate Sollicitations of the City Clergy, for as yet there were no Classes or Presbyteries in any part of England, which ought to have been before they had determined their Powers. The Houses had voted, that there should be a choice of Lay-Elders throughout England and Wales, and had laid down some Rules for this purpose, Aug. 19, 1645, but it was the 14th of March following, before it passed into a law.

It was then ordained, t. "That there be forthwith a choice of [Ruling] Elders throughout the Kingdom of

" England and Dominion of Wales.

2. "That publick notice be given of such Election in every Parish, by the Minister of the Church, a Fortnight before; and that on the Lord's Day on which the choice is to be made a Sermon be preached suitable to

the occasion.

3. " Elections shall be made by the Congregation, or the major part of them then affembled, being heads of Fa-

" milies, and fuch as have taken the Covenant.

"That certain persons be appointed Triers in every Classis, viz. six Ministers and three Lay-men, whereof seven to be a Quorum, to determine the validity of elec-

tions. All Members of Parliament, and Peers of the Realm to be Triers in the Parishes wherein they live.

5. "No man to be a Ruling Elder but for one Congrega-

so tion, and that in the Parish where he lives.

6. "The Qualifications of a Ruling Elder are, that he be of good Understanding in Religion, sound in the Faith, prudent, discreet, grave, of unblameable conversation, willing to undergo the office, and in communion with the

66 Church.

7. "All Parishes, privilege Places, exempt Jurisdictions, and all other Places whatsoever, shall be brought under the exercise of Congregational, Classical, Provincial, and

"National Assemblies, except Chapels within any of the King's Houses, or the Houses of Peers, which shall continue free for the exercises of Religion, according to the

" Directory, but not otherwise,

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.8. " The Province of London shall be divided into twelve "Classical Elderships, each to contain about twelve Pa- Charles " rishes of the City, and Parts adjacent, and these to be

" the boundaries of the Province of London.

9. " The feveral Counties of England and Wales shall " be divided into Classical Presbyteries by persons to be ap-" pointed by Parliament for this purpose, who shall settle " the Boundaries of each Classis, and certify the same to

" the Parliament for their Approbation.

10. " The Presbytery or Eldership of every Parish, shall " meet once a week; the Classical Assemblies of each " Province once a Month, by adjournment, in fuch Places " as may be most convenient; Provincial Assemblies shall " meet twice a year; National Assemblies as often as they " shall be summoned by Parliament, and shall continue " fitting as long as the Parliament shall direct and appoint, " and not otherwife.

11. " Every Congregational or Parochial Eldership, shall " fend two Elders, or more, not exceeding four, and one "Minister, to the Classical Assembly; every Classical As-" fembly within the Province shall send two Ministers, and " four ruling Elders at least, but not to exceed nine, to "the Provincial Assembly. Every Provincial Assembly " shall appoint two Ministers, and four ruling Elders, which " shall constitute a National Assembly, when such an one

" shall be summoned by Parliament.

When this Ordinance had passed the Commons it stuck a considerable Time with the Lords, insomuch that the Presbyterian Clergy thought it necessary to quicken them by a petition May 29, under the hands of three hundred Ministers of Suffolk and Effex, lamenting the decay of Religion, and the want of Church Discipline, and befeeching their Lordships to put the finishing hand to the bill lo long depending; which they did accordingly, June 6.

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Thus the Presbyterian Form of Church Government became the National Establishment, by way of Probation, as far as an Ordinance of Parliament could make it, for the preamble sets forth, " That if upon Trial it was not found " acceptable it should be reversed or amended. It declares " further, That the two Houses found it very difficult to " make their new Settlemeut agree with the Laws and "Government of the Kingdom, that therefore it could not " be expected that a present Rule in every particular should

King Charles L. 1644. Remarks. "be fettled at once, but that there will be need of Supplements and Additions, and perhaps Alterations, as experience shall bring to light the necessity thereof:"

The Parliament apprehended they had now established the Fundamentals of the Presbyterian Discipline, though it proved not to the fatisfaction of any one party of Christians; so hard is it to make a good Settlement when Men dig up old Foundations all at once. The Presbyterian Government was as narrow as the Prelatical; and as it did not allow a Liberty of Conscience, but claimed a Civil, as well as Ecclefiaftical Authority over Men's Persons and Properties, was equally, if not more infufferable. Bishop Kennet observes, that the settling Presbytery was supported by the fear and Love of the Scots Army, and that when they were gone home it was better managed by the English Army, who were for Independancy, and a better principle of Toleration; but as things stood nobody was pleased; the Episcopalians and Independants were excluded; and because the Parliament would not give the several Presbyteries an absolute Power over their Communicants, but referved the last appeal to themselves, neither the Scots nor English Presbyterians would accept it.

When the Scheme was laid before the Scots Parliament, and General Assembly, as a Plan for Uniformity between the two Nations, they insisted upon the following

Amendments.

Exceptions of the Scots to the new Discipline, Rushw.

P. 253.

(1.) "That no godly Minister may be excluded from being a Member of Classical, Provincial, or National Assemblies.

(2.) "That the ordinary Time for the meeting of the "National Assembly may be fixed; with a reserve of Power to the Parliament to convene them when they

of please, and a Liberty to the Church to meet oftner on

" necessary occasions.

(3.) "That the Congregational Eldership may have Power to judge in cases of Scandal not expressed. This they conceive can't be construed lodging an arbitrary power.

" in the Church; whereas on the other hand, the appointing fuch Provincial Commissioners as are settled in the Or-

"dinance will occasion disputes, create a disconformity between this and other Churches, and is a mixture in

Church Government altogether without Precedent. This

Business therefore they conceive my be better manag'd by Assemblies of Ministers and Ruling Elders.

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King Charles I.

1645.

(4.) " That the Ordinance for Ordination of Mini-

" fters may be perpetual.

(5.) " The manner of subjecting Church Assemblies to " the controul and decision of Parliament, being very lia-" ble to mistakes; the Exemption likewise of persons of di-" stinction from ecolefiastical Censures; and the administring " the Sacrament to some persons, against the Conscience of " the Ministry and Elderships; these, and some other par-" ticulars, being more than they can admit, they defire

of may be alter'd to general fatisfaction.

(6.) " As to the Articles, relating to the perpetual Offi-" cers of the Church, with their respective Functions; the " Order and Power of Church Assemblies; the Directions " for publick Repentance or Penance; the Rules for Ex-" communication and Absolution;" all these they defire may be fixed and fettled, pursuant to the Covenant, and with the joint advice of the Divines of both Kingdoms [i.e. the Assembly at Westminster] long since offered to both

After the delivery of these papers by the Scots Commissioners, and before the Houses had returned an Answer, they were published in print with a Preface, by a private hand, which provoked the Houses to such a degree, that April 14. they voted it to be burnt by the hands of the common Hangman, which was done accordingly. April 17. the Commons published their Answer to the Commissioners papers, in which they declare to the world, " That Parliament's " their real intentions are to fettle Religion according to Reply. " the Covenant, and to maintain the antient and funda-" mental Government of this Kingdom. They think " it strange that any sober and modest men should imagine, " they are unwilling to fettle any Government in the " Church, after they have declared fo fully for the Presby-" terian; have taken so much pains for the settling it; have " passed most of the particulars brought to them by the " Assembly of Divines, without any material alteration, " fave in the point of Commissioners; and have published " fo many Ordinances for putting the same in execution, " only because they cannot consent to the granting an arbi-" trary and unlimited Power and Jurisdiction to near ten " thousand Judicatories to be erected within this Kingdom, " and this demanded in such a way as is not consistent with " the fundamental Laws and Government of the same, " and by necessary consequence excluding the Parliament " of England from the exercise of all Ecclesiastical Juris-" diction."

King Charles I. 1644.

" diction." This, fay they, has been the great cause that 66 Church Government has not been long fince fettled; and we have the more reason not to part with this power out of the hands of the Civil Magistrate, since the ex-" perience of all ages will manifest, that the Reformation " and Purity of Religion, and the prefervation and protection of the people of God in this kingdom, has, under "God, been owing to the Parliament's excercise of this or power. If then the minds of any are disturbed for want " of the present settling of Church Government, let them apply to those [Ministers] who having sufficient power and direction from the Houses on that behalf, have not,

es as yet, put the fame in execution."

English Pref-£ 608.

The English Presbyterians having resolved to stand and tition against the Ordinance, relying upon the assistance and support of that nance. Ms. nation. Mr. Marshall stood up in the Assembly, March Church Government was now published, and speedily to be put in execution; and fince there were fome things in that Ordinance which lay very hard upon his Conscience, and upon the Consciences of many of his Brethren (though he bleffed God for the zeal of the two House in settling the Government of the Church thus far) yet being much pressed in spirit with some things contained in the Ordinance, he moved, that a Committee might be appointed to examine what things in the Ordinance were contrary to their Consciences, and to prepare a Petition to present them to the two Houses- A Petition was accordingly drawn up, and presented March 23, by the whole Assembly, with Mr. Marshal at their head. In this Petition they affert the Divine Right of the Presbyterian Government, and complain of a Clause in the late Ordinance, which establishes an Appeal from the Censures of the Church to a Committee of Parliament." It was a bold and daring attempt of these Divines, who were called together only for their Advice, to examine and censure the Ordinances of Parliament, and dispute in this manner with their Superiors; the Commons, alarmed at this Petition, appointed a Committee to take into confideration the matter and manner of it, who after some time reported it as their Opinion, that the Affembly of Divines in their late Petition had broken the Privileges of Parliament, and were guilty of a Præmunire; and whereas they infifted fo peremptorily on the Jus Divinum of the Prefbyterian Government, the Committee had drawn

They are threaten'd with a præ munire.

drawn up certain Queries, which they defired the Affembly might resolve for their satisfaction; the House agreed to the Charles L Report of the Committee, and on the 30th of April fent Sir John Evelin, Mr. Nathaniel Fiennes, and Mr. Browne, to the Affembly, to acquaint them with their Resolutions. These Gentlemen set before them their rash and imprudent Conduct, and in several Speeches shewed wherein they had exceeded their Province, which was, " to advise the Houses in fuch points as they should lay before them, but not to " dictate to those to whom they owed their being an Af-" fembly." Then they read the Votes abovementioned, and delivered in the following Questions, with the Orders of the House thereupon.

King. 1645.

Questions propounded to the Assembly of Divines by the Questions House of Commons, touching the point of Jus Divinum fent to the in the matters of Church Government.

relating to the Jus Di-

1. "Whether the Congregational or Presbyterial Elder-vinum. " ships appointed by Ordinance of Parliament, or any o- 260. " ther Congregational or Presbyterial Elderships are Jure "Divino, and by the Will and Appointment of Jesus "Christ? and, Whether any particular Church Govern-" ment be Jure Divino? and, What that Government is? 2. " Whether all the Members of the faid Elderships, as " Members thereof, or which of them, are Jure Divino, " and by the Will and appointment of Jesus Christ?

3. "Whether the Classical, Provincial, and National Af-" femblies, all, or any of them, and which of them are Jure " Divino, and by the Will and appointment of Jesus Christ? 4 " Whether Appeals from Congregational Elderships " to Classical, Provincial, and National Assemblies, or any " of them, and to which of them, are Jure Divino, and " by the Will and Appointment of Jesus Christ? and, Whe-" ther their Powers upon such Appeals are Jure Divino, and

" by the Will and appointment of Jesus Christ?

5. " Whether Oecumenical Affemblies are Jure Divi-" no? and, Whether there be Appeals from any of the " former Assemblies to the said Occumenical Jure Di-" vino, and by the Will and Appointment of Jesus Christ? 6. "Whether by the Word of God, the Power of " judging and declaring what are fuch notorious and scan-dalous Offences, for which persons guilty thereof are to " be kept from the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and

King Charles I. 1645.

" of convening before them, trying, and actually suspending from the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper such Of-

"fenders, is either in the Congregational Eldership, Profbytery, or in any other Eldership, Congregation, or Persons? and, Whether such Powers are in them on-

's ly, or any of them, and in which of them Jure Divi's no, and by the Will and Appointment of Jesus Christ?

7. "Whether there be any certain and particular Rules

"expressed in the Word of God to direct the Elderships, or Presbyteries, Congregations, or Persons, or any of them, in the exercise and execution of the Powers afore-

" faid, and what are those Rules?

8. Is there any thing contained in the Word of God, that the supreme Magistracy in a Christian State may not judge and determine what are the aforesaid notorious and scandalous Offences, and the manner of Suspension for the same; and in what particulars concerning the premises is the said supreme Migistracy by the word of God excluded?

9. "Whether the Provision of Commissioners to judge of Scandals not enumerated (as they are authorized by the Ordinance of Parliament) be contrary to that way of Government which Christ has appointed in his Church?

and, Wherein are they fo contrary.'

In the Assembly's Answer to these particulars the House of Commons ordered, the Proofs from Sciipiure to be set down, with the several Texts at large, in the express words of the same; and that every Minister of the Assembly that should be present at the Debate of any of these Questions should subscribe his respective name in the Assimmative or Negative, according as he gave his Vote: And that those who dissented from the major part should set down their positive Opinions, with the express Texts of Scripture upon which their Opinions are grounded.

'Tis easy to discover the Hand of Mr. Selden and Whitlock in these Questions; which were sent to the Assembly not with any prospect of a satisfactory answer, but to employ, and, it may be, to divide them, till they saw how they were like to settle with the King. The Houses were assaid of being setter'd with the Scots Discipline, and yet the Scots were not to be disgusted, because they had an Army in the North, to whom the King had committed the

Custody of his Royal Person.

Remarks.

As foon as the Assembly had heard the Resolutions of the House of Commons abovementioned, and the Questions read, first by Sir J. Evelin, and then by their Scribe, they adjourned in a very great fright till next morning, in order They are to confult their Brethren in the City; and then appointed a terrified, and day of Fasting and Humiliation for themselves in reference appoint a to their present circumstances, and sent letters to all the Members to give their attendence. The Fast was observed within their own walls on Wednesday May 6, from nine in the morning till four in the afternoon; and Committees were appointed to confider of an answer to the questions, whose

report we shall hear under the next year.

In the mean time, we must go back a little, to take a Committee view of the attempts that were made to comprehend the of Accom-Independants or diffenting Brethren in the Assembly with-modation. in the new Establishment, or at least to obtain a Tolera- Accommotion for them; the Parliament had ordered, Septem-dation, p. 1. ber 13, 1644, that the "Committee of Lords and Com-" mons appointed to treat with the Scots Commissioners, and " the Committee of Divines, do take into confideration the " differences of the opinions of the Members of the Af-" fembly in point of Church Government, and endeavour " an Union if possible; and if that cannot be accomplished, " to endeavour to find out some way how far tender Con-" sciences, who cannot in all things submit to the same " rule, may be born with, according to the Word of God, " and consistent with the publick Peace." This was called the "Grand Committee of Accommodation," which met the first time, Sept. 20, and chose a Sub-Committee of fix Divines of the Assembly, to consider the points of difference, and to prepare materials for the confideration of the Grand Committee; the names of the Divines were the Reverend Mr. Marshal, Mr. Herle, Mr. Vines, Dr. Temple, Mr. Goodwin, and Mr. Nye, who after feveral confultations among themselves, delivered to the Committee certain propolitions [Octob. 15, 1644.] which were read by Mr. Vines, their Chairman: The Independents would have thated the difterence between the two parties, and endeavoured a compromife while the discipline of the Church was depending; but the Presbyterians infilted, That the new Form of Government should first pass into a Law as a Standard, and then the exceptions of the Independants be considered; upon which they were adjourned by order of the House of Commons, till the affair should be determined in the Assembly, who Remont. agreed, April 4, 1645, "That the Brethren who had entered p. 3. 66 their

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" their diffent against the Presbyterian Government should " be a Committee to bring in the whole frame of their Go-" ment in a Body, with their grounds and reasons." The Independants defired liberty to bring it in by parts, as the Presbyterians had done their advices; but this not being admitted, they defired time to perfect their plan before any other scheme passed into a Law; but the Presbyterians, without any regard to the compromise, by the Assistance of their Scots friends, pushed the affair to a conclusion in Parliament; upon which the Independants laid afide their model, and published a Remonstrance, complaing of the artful conduct of the Assembly, and that the Discipline of the Church being fixed, it was too late to think any more of a comprehenfion. But the House of Commons having seen their mistake took the affair in hand, and revived the Committee of Ac. commodation by an order of Nov. 6, 1645, which, befides the Scots Commissioners, consisted of the following Peers, viz.

Earl of Northumberland. Earl of Manchester, Lord Visc. Say and Seale, Lord Wharton, and Lord Howard.

These were to be met by the following Members of the Affembly, viz

Dr. Burges,	M. Vines,	Mr. Arrowsmith,
Mr. Marshal,	Mr. Hill,	Dr. Smith,
Mr. Herle,	Dr. Temple,	Mr. Seaman,
Mr. Reynolds,	Mr. Palmer,	Mr. Newcomen,
Dr. Hoyle,	Mr. Tuckney,	Mr. Young.
Mr. White.		

with the diffenting Brethren of the Assembly.

Mr. Tho. Goodwin,	Mr.	Nye,	Mr. Bridge,
Mr. Simpson,	Mr.	Burroughs,	Mr. Dury.

The Committee met in the Jerusalem Chamber Nov. 17, mittees re- and would have entered upon a Scheme for comprehension, vived. Pa- but the Independants moved only for an Indulgence or Tole-pers for Ac-commodati- ration, for they faid they had already moved in the Assem-. p.14,24. bly, and elsewhere, that their scheme of Government, might be debated before the Presbyterian had passed into a law, and for this purpose had offered to prepare a compleat model, if they might have been indulged but a few days, but this being over-ruled, and another Form of Government settled, Charles L. they apprehended themselves shut out from the Establishment, and precluded from any further attempts towards an Union or Comprehension; but still, they were willing to enter upon the second Part of the Parliament's order, which was to consider, " How far tender Consciences; who " cannot in all things submit to the establish'd Rule, may " be indulged, confistent with the Word of God and the " publick Peace." Accordingly in their next meeting Dec. 4, they offered the following Propofals

Taking for granted that both Sides shall agree in one Con-

fession of Faith, they humbly crave.

1. That their Congregations may have the Power of Or-Propofals of the Indepen-

dination within themselves.

2. That they may not be brought under the Power of danta. Classes, nor forced to communicate in those Parish Churches wherein they dwell, but that they may have Liberty to join with fuch Congregations as they choose, which

Congregations shall have Power of all Church Censures within themselves, subject only to Parliament; and be as so

many exempt, or privileged places.

To the preamble the Presbyterians replied, That none Reply of the but such as agreed to their Confession of Faith and Direc- Presbyteritory should have the Benefit of the Forbearance to be of Accomagreed on, with whom the Committee agreed; but the modation. Independents would admit only of the Affirmative, " That P. 18, 19, " fuch as agreed with them should be tolerated;" and 26, 27. would not confent to the Negative, fo as to fet Bounds or Limits of Forbearance to tender Consciences, nor make such an agreement a necessary Qualification for receiving the Sacrament.

To the defire of the Independants, of being exempted from the Jurisdiction of their Classes, and having a Liberty of erecting separate Congregations, the Presbyterians replied,

1. That this implied a total separation from the established lb. p. 20,23.

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2. The lawfulness of gathering Churches out of other true Churches.

3. That the Parliament would then destroy what they

had fet up.

4. That Members of Independant Churches would then have greater privilege than those of the Establish. ment.

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5. That

King 1645.

5. That this would countenance a perpetual Schifm. And,

6. Introduce all manner of confusion in Families.

They therefore offered, That such as after conference with their Parish Minister were not satisfied with the Establishment, should not be compelled to communicate in the Lord's Supper, nor be liable to censurs from Classes or Synods provided they join'd with the Parish Congregation where they lived, and were under the Government of it in

other respects.

The Independents replied, That they did not intend a tothe Indepen- tal Separation, but should agree with their Brethren in the dants. Pa- most essential points; as in worshipping according to the pers for Ac-commodati. Directory, in choosing the same Officers, Pastors, Teachon. p.29,30. ers, Ruling Elders, with the same Qualifications as in the Rule. That they should require the same Qualifications in their members as the Assembly had advised, that is, "visible "Saints, professing Faith in Christ, and obedience to him, " according to the Rules of Faith and Life taught by Christ " and his Apostles;" that they should practise the same Church censures, being accountable for their conduct to their civil Superiors. They would also hold occasional Communion with the Presbyterian Churches, in Baptism and the Lord's Supper, communicating occasionally with them, and receiving their Members to Communion as occasion required. Their Ministers should preach for each other, and in cases of difficulty they would call in their affistance and advice; and when an Ordination falls out, they would defire the presence and approbation of their Ministers with their own. Now furely, fay they, this does not imply a total feparation; but if in some things Men cannot comply with the established Rule without Sin, we think such Persons ought not to live without communicating in the Lord's Supper all their days rather than gather into Churches where they may enjoy all Ordinances without offence to their Consci-1b. p. 35,36. ences — Nor ought fuch Separation to be accounted Schism, which is a Name of Reproach we defire not to be

branded with, when we are willing to maintain Christian Love and Communion with our Neighbours, as far as our Consciences will permit — They add further, that if the Ib. p. 40. State is pleased to grant them this Liberty, they will refer

themselves to the Wisdom of the Logislature to consider of limiting their Congregations to a certain Number, to be as to many Receptacles for pious Perfons of tender Con-

fciences.

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The Presbyterians in their next Reply, Dec. 23d, after having blamed the Independents for not going upon a comprehension, argue against the lawfulness of a Separation after this manner: "That if a pretence of conscience be a strength of separation, Men may gather impure strength of separation, Men may gather impure strength of the separation and corrupt Charches out of purer, because upon the dicturate of an erring Conscience they may disallow that accommodation. Papers for which is pure, and set up that which is agreeable to their erring Consciences; and we very much doubt (say they) whether tenderness of conscience in doubtful points will justify a Separation; it may oblige Men to forbear Com-

"munion, but not to fet up a contrary practice. If a Church impose any thing that is sinful we must forbear

"to comply, yet without Separation, as was the practice
"of the Puritans in the late times."—They then argue
from the Concessions of the Independents, that because
they agree with them in so many material points, therefore
they should not separate. "If, say they, you can commuthey should not separate. "If, say they, you can commuthey so."

"and third time without fin, we know no reason why you "may not do it constantly, and then Separation will be "needless.----As for such a Toleration as our Brethren de"fire, we apprehend it will open a door to all Sects; and

"though the Independants now plead for it, their Brethren in New England don't allow it."

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As to the charge of Schism they admit, that difference in Ib. p. 65, judgment in some particular points is not Schism; nor does 73, 74. an inconformity to some things enjoin'd deserve that name; but our Brethren desire further to set up separate Communions, which is a manifest rupture of our Societies into others, and is therefore a Schism in the Body. This is setting up Altar against Altar, allowing our Churches (as the Independants do) to be true Churches; for St. Austin fays, "Schismaticos facit non diversa Fides, sed communionis "difrupta Societas." And we conceive, it is the Cause of the Separation itself; if then the cause of our Brethrens Separation be not fufficient, by what other name can it be called? to all which they add, that this indulgence, if granted, will be the Mother of all Contentions, Strifes, Herefies, and confusions in the Church; and contrary to their Covenant, which obliges them to endeavour to their utmost an Uniformity.

Vol. III. R When

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King Charles I. 1645.

Answer of the Independants. Pypers for Accommodation, p. 86.

When the Committee met the next time, Feb. 2, 1645-6, the Independants replied chiefly to the point of Uniformity, and argued, that it was not necessary to the peace of the Churches; and ought not to extend beyond peoples Light, according to the Apostocical Canon, "As far as we have attained let us walk by the same Rule, Phil. iii. 15." As for a meer exemption from the censures of the Classes, they declared frankly they could not acquiesce in it, because it would deprive them of the enjoyment of the Lord's Supper; and that it was very hard to urge, that because they came so near their Brethren, therefore they should be obliged to a total and constant Conformity.

Conclusion of the Prefbyterians.

Ib. p. 123.

The Committee met the last time, March 9, when the Sub-committee of Presbyterian Divines answered the last Paper of the Independents, maintaining all their former positions in the best manner they could, and concluding in this strange and wonderful Manner: "That whereas their Brethren say, that Uniformity ought to be urged no surse their Edification; it seems to them, as if their Brethren not only desired Liberty of Conscience for themselves, but for all Men, and would have us think, that we are bound by our Covenant to bring the Churches in the three Kingdoms to no nearer a Conjunction and Uniformity than is consistent with the liberty of all Mens Consciences; which whether it be the sense of the Covenant, we leave with the honourable Committee."

Upon which the Reverend Mr. Jer. Burroughs, a Divine of great Candor and Moderation, declared in the name of the Independants, " That if their Congregations might " not be exempted from that coercive power of the Classes; " if they might not have liberty to govern themselves in " their own way, as long as they behaved peaceably to-" wards the civil Magistrate, they were resolved to suffer, " or go to some other place of the World, where they " might enjoy their Liberty. But while Men think there " is no way of peace but by forcing all to be of the fame " mind (fays he) while they think the civil Sword is an Or-" dinance of God to determine all Controversies of Divini-" ty, and that it must needs be attended with fines and im-" prisonment to the disobedient; while they apprehend " there is no medium between a strict Uniformity, and a " general confusion of all things; while these sentiments prevail there must be a base subjection of Mens Consciences " ences to Slavery, a suppression of much truth, and great disturbances in the Christian World.

King Charles I. 1645.

Thus ended the last Committee of Lords and Commons, Remarks

and Assembly of Divines, for Accommodation, which adjourned to a certain day, but being then diverted by other Affairs met no more. Little did the Presbyterian Divines think, that in less than twenty years all their Artillery would be turned against themselves; that they should be excluded the Establishment by an act of prelatical Uniformity; that they should be reduced to the Necessity of pleading for that Indulgence which they now denied their Brethren; and think it their duty to gather Churches for separate Worship out of others, which they allowed to be true ones. If the leading Presbyterians in the Assembly and City had come to a temper with the Independents, on the foot of a limited Toleration, they had, in all likelihood, prevented the disputes between the Army and Parliament, which were the ruin of both; they might have faved the Conflitution, and made their own Terms with the King, who was now their Prifoner; but they were enchanted with the beauties of Covenant Uniformity, and the Divine Right of their Presbytery, which, after all, the Parliament would not admit in its full extent. Mr. Baxter, who was no friend of the Independants, fays, " That the Presbyterian Ministers were so lit- Baxter's " tle sensible of their own Infirmities, that they would not Life, p. 103.

" agree to tolerate those who were not only tolerable, but " worthy instruments and Members in the Churches. Pru-" dent Men were for "Union in things necessary, for Li-

" berty in things unnecessary, and for Charity in all;" but " they could not be heard."

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Great was the refort of the City Divines to Sion College Debates aat this time, where there was a kind of Synod every Mon-tion and Liday, to confult proper methods to propagate Religion, and berty of support the Assembly at Westminster in their opposition to Conscience. the Toleration of Sectaries; for this purpose they writ them a Letter, dated Jan. 15, 1645-6, in which they recite the Arguments of the Committee, and befeech them to oppose with all their Might the great Diana of the Independants, and not to fuffer their new Establishment to be strangled in the Birth by a lawless Toleration.

The whole Scots Nation was also commanded into the Service; the Parliament of that Kingdom writ to the two Houses at Westminster, Feb. 3, telling them, that

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Charles L. 1645. Rushw. P. 234

"it was expected the honourable Houses would add the civil Sanction to what the pious and learned Assembly have advised; and I am commanded by the Parliament

" of this Kingdom (fays the Prefident) to demand it, and "I do in their names demand it." And the Parliament of

"this Kingdom is perswaded, that the piety and wisdom of the honourable Houses will never admit Toleration of

"any Sects or Schisms contrary to our solemn League and Scots Decla- "Covenant." At the same time they appeal'd to the peoration a-

gainst Tole- ple, and published a Declaration " Against Toleration of " Sectaries and Liberty of Conscience;" in which, after having taken notice of their great Services, they observe that there is a Party in England who are endeavouring to supplant the true Religion by pleading for Liberty of Conscience, which (say they) is the Nourisher of all Heresies and Schisms. They then declare against all such notions as are inconfistent with the truth of Religion, and opening a door to Licentiousness, which, to the utmost of their power, they will endeavour to oppose; and as they have all enter'd into one Covenant, so to the last Man in the Kingdom they will go on in the Preservation of it. And however the Parliament of England may determine in point of Toleration and Liberty of Conscience, they are resolved not to make the least Start, but to live and die, for the glory of God, in the entire Preservation of the Truth.

Most of the Sermons before the House of Commons, at their monthly Fasts, spoke the language of Severity, and call'd upon the Magistrate to draw his Sword against the Sectaries. The Press abounded with Pamphlets of the same Nature; Mr. Prynne against J. Goodwin says, that if the Parliament and Synod establish Presbytery, the Independents, and all others, are bound to submit, under pain of Obstinacy. Another writes, that to let Men serve God according to the perswasion of their own Consciences, is to

cast out one Devil that seven worse may enter.

Independants for a limited Toleration. But the cause of Liberty was not destitute of Advocates at this time; the Independents pleaded for a Toleration so far, as to include themselves and the sober Anabaptists, but did not put the Controversy on a general Foot; they were for tolerating all that agreed in the fundamentals of Christianity, but when they came to enumerate Fundamentals they were sadly intangled, as all those must be who do not keep the religious and civil Rights of Mankind on a separate Basis: A Man may be an orthodox Believer, but de-

ferve death as a Traytor to his King and Country; and on the other hand, a Heretick or Non-Conformist to the established Religion may be a most loyal and dutiful Subject, and deserve the highest preferment his Prince can beitow.

King Charles I. 1645.

The Letter of the City Divines to the Assembly received Answer to the Reasons a quick reply from a Writer of more generous principles, of the Lonwho.complains, "That the Presbyterians not content with don Clergy. their own Freedom and Liberty, nor with having their Vol. Pamphi No. 52. " Form of Government made the National Establishment, " were grasping at as much power as the Prelates before

" them had usurped; for this purpose they had obtained " the privilege of licensing the Press, that nothing might " be writ against them but what they should please to ap-" prove; they were continually folliciting the Parliament " to establish their Church Government, which they called " the Government of Christ, with a coercive power; " they were always bufy in framing Petitions, and engaging " the Magistrates of the City to present them to the " Houses; and not content with this, they were now mov-"ing the Assembly of Divines, of whom themselves are " a confiderable part, to become the Patrons of Oppref-" sion." Our Author maintains, that " Liberty of Con-" science is the natural Right of every Man, though of all parties of Men those deserve least the countenance of " the State, who would perfecute others if it were in "their power, because they are enemies of the Society " in which they live. He that will look back on past times, " and examine into the true causes of the Subversion and " Devastation of the States and Countries, will find it ow-"ing to the tyranny of Princes, and the perfecution of " Priests. All Governments therefore which understand " their true Interests, will endeavour to suppres in every " Sect, or Division of Men, whether Papist, Episcopal, " Presbyterian, Independant, or Anabaptist, the Spirit of "Dominion and Persecution, which is the disturber of " Mankind, and the off-spring of the Devil. But the Mi-" nisters say, if we tolerate one Sect we must tolerate " all; which our Author admits, and adds, that they " have as good a right to the Liberty of their Consciences " as to their Clothes or Estates; no opinions or sentiments " of Religion being cognizable by the Magistrate, any " further than they are inconsistent with the peace of the " Civil Government. The way to put an end to diverfity of Opinions is not by fines and imprisonments; can

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King Charles I. 1645.

" Bedlam, or the Fleet, open Mens understandings, and " reduce them from error? No certainly, nothing but " found reason and argument can do it, which, 'tis to be " feared, they are not furnished with, who have recourse " to any other weapons. Schism and Heresy are to be " rooted out, not by oppression, but by Reason and De-" bate; by the Sword of the Spirit, not of the Flesh; by " Argument not by Blows, to which Men have recourse " when they are beat out of the other. Schism and Here-" fy are words of Terror thrown upon the Adversary by all " parties of Men; and perhaps, there may need an infal-" lible Judge to determine where the Schism lies, before " we venture upon extraordinary methods to extirpate it." He adds, "That Perfecution will breed more confusion and " disturbance than Toleration; and that their solemn " League and Covenant ought to bind them no farther " than it is confistent with the Word of God. Now, that "Toleration, or Liberty of Confcience, is the Doctrine of "Scripture, is evident, 1. From the Parable of the Tares " and Wheat growing together till the Harvest. 2. From "the Apostle's direction. Let every Man be perswaded " in his own mind. 3. That whatfoever is not of Faith is "Sin. 4. From our Saviour's Golden Rule, Whatfo-" ever ye would that Men should do to you, that do ye "to them "It the law against short

This pamphlet was answered by another, called Anti-Toleration, in which the Author endeavours to vindicate the most unbounded lengths of persecution; but neither the Affembly, nor the City Divines, nor the whole Scots Nation, could prevail with the Parliament to deliver the Sword into their hands. The high behaviour of the Presbyterians loft them the affections of great numbers of people, who began to discover that the contention between them and the Prelates was not for liberty but power, and that all the spiritual Advantage they were like to get by the war was to shift hands, and instead of Episcopal Government to submit to the voke of Presbyterial Uniformity.

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Lord Clarendon admits, that the King endeavoured to forments their make his Advantage of these Divisions, by courting the Independants, and promifing some of them very valuable Compensations for any Services they should do him; intrmating, that it was impossible for them to expect relief in their scruples from persons who pretended they were erect-" ing the Kingdom of Christ; but though the Indepenlenginin dants

The King Divisions. Vol. II. P. 746.

dants were enemies to the Presbyterian Discipline, they Charles I. durst not trust the King's Promises. Mr. Whitlock agrees with the noble Historian, that the King was watchful to make his Advantage of these Divisions, and commanded p. 176. one Ogle to write to Mr. Tho. Goodwin, and Phil. Nye, two of the Independent Ministers, and make them large overtures, if they would oppose the Presbyterian Government intended to be imposed upon England by the Scots; but these two Gentlemen very honestly acquainted their Friends with it, which put an end to the Correspondence; all which might have convinced the Presbyterians of the necessity of coming to some terms with Dissenters; but the King's affairs were fo low, that they were under no apprehensions of Disturbance from that quarter at present.

The Assembly perfected nothing further this year; but New Version complaint being made of the obsolete version of the Psalms of the Psalms in Metre apby Sternhold and Hopkins, the Parliament defir'd them to re-pointed. commend fome other to be used in Churches; accordingly they read over Mr. Rouse's Version, and after several Amendments fent it up to the House, Nov. 14, 1645, with the following Recommendation: "Whereas the honourable M. S. Seft.

" House of Commons, by an order bearing date Nov. 20, 535-" 1643, have recommended the Pfalms published by Mr. "Rouse to the consideration of the Assembly of Divines,

" the Assembly has caused them to be carefully perused, " and as they are now alter'd and amended do approve " them and humbly conceive they may be useful and pro-

" fitable to the Church, if they be permitted to be pub-" lickly fung;" accordingly they were authorized by the Parl. Chr. two Houses. The like care was taken to prevent the im- P. 319. portation of incorrect Bibles printed in Holland.

and Park

To return to the proceedings of Parliament; the Com- Cepfures of mittee for plunder'd Ministers having reported to the House Paul Best. of Commons, Jan. 28, 1645, certain blasphemies of Paul Whitlock, P. 176. Best, who denied the Holy Trinity; the House order'd an Ordinance to be brought in [March 28,] to punish him with Death; but feveral Divines being appointed to confer with him, in order to convince him of his error, he confessed his Belief of that Doctrine in general terms before he was brought to his trial, and that he hoped to be faved thereby, but denied the Perfonality, as being a Jesuitical Tenet; upon this confession his trial was put off, and he was at length difmiffed.

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King Charles I. 1645.

The Government of the Church being now changed into a Presbyterian Form, and the War almost at an end, Ordinanceto it was ordained, " That whereas the present Dean and

Cathedrals. Husb. Col. P. 758.

the Parliament resolved to apply the Revenues of the Cathedrals to other publick uses, and accordingly Nov. 18, feize the Re- " Prebendaries of Westminster had deserted their Charge, " and were become Delinquents to the Parliament, they " did therefore ordain, that the Earl of Northumberland, with about ten other Lords, and twenty two Commoners, " should be a Committee; and that any person, or more " of them should have authority to order, direct, and disof pose of the Rents, Issues, and Profits, belonging to the " College or Collegiate Church, and to do and execute all " other Acts that did any way concern either of them." The ordained further, " That the Dean, Prebendaries, and " all other Officers belonging either to the College or "Church, who had abfented themselves, and were be-" come Delinquents, or had not taken the Covenant. " should be suspended from their several Offices and Places, of and from all manner of benefit and profit arifing from them, or from the arrears of them, Mr. Osbaldiston only " excepted."

When the Cathedral of Hereford fell into the Parliament's hands the dignitaries of that Church were disposfefs'd, and their Lands and Revenues feized into the hands of the Committee of that County. The dignitaries of the Cathedral Churches of Winchester and Carlisle were served in the same manner the latter end of this year, when the

whole frame of the Hierarchy was diffolved.

Revenues of the University of Cam-bridge preferved.

Ib. p. 636, 637.

The Parliament, at the request of the Assembly of Divines, gave some marks of their favour to the University of Cambridge, which was reduced to fuch necessitons circumstances, by reason of the failure of their College Rents, that they could not support their students; it was therefore ordained, April 11, 1645, " That nothing con-" tained in any Ordinance of Parliament concerning levy-" ing or paying of Taxes should extend to the University " of Cambridge, or any of the Colleges or Halls within " the faid University, nor to any of the Rents or Revenues " belonging to the faid University or Colleges, or any of them, nor to charge any Mafter, Fellow, or Scholar of er any of the faid Colleges, nor any Reader, Officer, " or Minister of the said University or Colleges, for any "Stipend, Wages, or Profit arising, or growing due to

" them, in respect of their places and employments, in the " faid University." They likewise confirmed all their an- Charles I. tient Rights and Privileges, and ordered the Differences between the University and Town to be determin'd according to Law. On the same day the Ordinance for regulating the University, and removing scandalous Ministers in the affociated Counties by the Earl of Manchester, mention'd in the beginning of the last year, was revived and continued.

On the 17th of April this year died Dr. Dan. Featly; he Death of was born at Charlton in Oxfordshire 1581, and educated at Dr. Featly. Corpus Christi College, of which he was Fellow; upon his leaving the University he went Chaplain to Sir Tho. Symmonds, the King's Ambassador to the French Court, where he gained Reputation by his Sermons and Disputations with the Papists. When he returned home he became domeflick Chaplain to Archbishop Abbot, and was presented by him to the Rectory of Lambeth, and in the year 1627 to Acton. In 1643 he was nominated of the Affembly of Divines, and fat among them till his correspondence with the Court was discovered, by an intercepted Letter to Archbishop Usher relating to their proceedings; upon which he was committed to Lord Peter's House for a Spy, both his Livings were sequester'd, and himself expell'd the Assembly. The Doctor was a thorough Calvinist, but very zealous for the Hierarchy of the Church; when in prison he publish'd the following Challenge;

"WHEREAS I am certainly informed, that divers
"Lecturers and Preachers in London do in their Lecturers and Preachers in London do in their " Pulpits, in a most insolent manner, demand where they " are now, that dare stand up in defence of the Church "Hierarchy, or Book of Common Prayer, or any ways "oppose or impugn the new intended Reformation both in "Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England; I " do, and will maintain, by Disputation or Writing, against " any of them, these three Conclusions.

1. "That the Articles of Religion agreed upon in the "Year 1562, by both Houses of Convocation, and ratified " by Queen Elizabeth, need no alteration at all, but only " an orthodox Explication of some ambiguous Phrases, and

" a Vindicatinn against false Aspersions.

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2. " That the Discipline of the Church of England, "established by many Laws, and Acts of Parliament,

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Charles It " vations and Abuses in the execution thereof) is agreeable " to God's Word, and a truly antient and apostolical Institution agreement of a great bas

3. "That there ought to be a fet Form of publick Prayer; and that the Book of Common Prayer (the "Kalendar being reformed in point of Apochryphal Saints " and Chapters, some Rubricks explained, and some Ex-" pressions revised, and the whole correctly printed with " the Psalms, Chapters, and Allegations out of the Old " and New Testament, according to the last Translation) is the most compleat, perfect, and exact Liturgy now

extant in the Christian World."

Amballador to the Pietteh Court where

-ceedingly inflamed against the Parliament for his imprisonment, as appears by his last Prayer a few hours before his Death, which happened at Chelsea, where he was removed for the Benefit of the Air, in the fixty fifth year of his age. His Prayer had these words in it, --- " Lord Life, p. 78.- " strike through the Reins of them that rife against the * Church and King, and let them be as chaff before the wind, and as stubble before the fire; let them be scat-- ter'd as Partridges on the mountains, and let the Breath of the Lord confume them, but upon our gracious Sovereign and his Posterity let the Crown flourish-" A prayer not very agreeable to that of St. Stephen, or our

The Doctor was a little man, of warm passions, and ex-

The Writer of the Life of Archbishop Usher says, the Doctor was both Orthodox and Loyal; but Lord Clarendon and Dr. Heylin can't forgive his fitting in the Affembly, and being a Witness against Archbishop Laud at his Trial. "Whether he fat in the Assembly (fays Heylin)

to shew his parts, or to head a party, or out of his old " love to Calvinism, may best be gathered from some Speeches which he made and printed; but he was there

" in heart before, and therefore might afford them his bo-"dy now, though possibly he might be excused from ta-

" king the Covenant as others did."

bleffed Saviour upon the Crofs.

Soon after died famous old Mr. John Dod, whose pious Death of Mr. Dod. Clark's Martyrol.

and remarkable Sayings are remembered to this day; he was born at Shotlidge in Cheshire in the year 1550, and educated in Jesus College Cambridge, of which he was Fellow. At thirty years of age he removed to Hanwell in Oxfordshire, where he continued preaching twice on the

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Lord's Day, and once on the week days for above twenty years; at the end of which he was suspended for Non-conformity by Dr. Bridges, Bishop of the Diocese. Being driven from Hanwell he removed to Canons Ashby in Northamptonshire, and lived quietly several years, but upon complaint made by Bishop Neal to King James, he commanded Archbishop Abbot to silence him. After the death of King James Mr. Dod was allowed to preach publickly again, and fettle at Faustly in the same County, where he continued till his death. He was a most humble, pious, and devout man, and univerfally beloved; an excellent Hebrician, a plain, practical, fervent Preacher, a noted Casuist, and charitable almost to a fault; his Conversation was heavenly; but being a noted Puritan, though he never meddled with State Affairs, he was feverely used by the King's Cavaliers, who plunder'd his house, and would have Fuller's taken away his very sheets, if the good old man, hardly p. 220. able to rife out of his Chair, had not put them under him for a Cushion; all which he took patiently, calling to mind one of his old Maxims, " Sanctified Afflictions are " spiritual Promotions." He died of the Strangury in the ninety fixth year of his age, and lies buried in his Parish Church at Faustly.

Charles L. 1646.

CHAP. VII.

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The Conclusion of the first Civil War, by the Kings furrendering his Royal Person to the Scots. Petitions of the Assembly and City Divines against Toleration, and for the Divine Right of the Presbyterial Government, which is erected in London. Debates between the King, Mr. Henderson, and the Scots Commissioners. Majesty is removed from Newcastle to Holmby House. Further account of the Sectaries.

THE King being returned to Oxford, Nov. 6, after a King's me-most unfortunate Campaign, in which all his Armies lancholy were beaten out of the Field, and dispersed, had no other condition at remedy left but to make peace upon the best terms he could Oxford. get, which his Friends in London encouraged him to ex- 320. ped with advantage, from the growing divisions among the Members, the majority of whom were enclined to an accommodation, if the King would confent to abolish Episco-Pacy, and propose proper assurances of governing for the fu-

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King Charles I, 1646

ture according to Law; but though his Majesty was willing to yield a little to the times, with regard to the security of his suture Government, nothing could prevail with him to give up the Church. Besides, as the King's circumstances obliged him torecede, the Parliament, as Conquerors, advanced in their Demands. In the month of December his Majesty sent several messages to the Parliament, to obtain a personal Treaty at London, upon the publick Faith for himself, and a certain number of his Friends residing there with safety and honour forty days; but the Parliament would by no means trust their Enemies within their own Bowels, and therefore insisted peremptorily upon his signing the Bills they were preparing to send him as a preliminary to a well grounded settlement.

Rufhw. Vol. I. p. 215, 316.

The King made some proposals on his part, relating to the Militia and Liberty of Conscience, but very far short of the demands of the two Houses, who were so perswaded of his art and ability in the choice of ambiguous expressons, capable of a different fense from what appeared at first fight, that they durst not venture to make use of them as the Basis of a Treaty. Thus the winter was wasted in fruitless messages between London and Oxford, while the unhappy King spent his time over his Papers in a most difconfolate manner, forfaken by some of his best friends, and rudely treated by others. Mr. Lock fays, the usage the King met with from his followers at Oxford made it an hard, but almost an even choice, to be the Parliament's Prisoner or Their Slave. In his Majesty's Letter to the Queen he writes, " If thou knew what a Life I lead in " point of conversation, I dare say thou wouldst pity me." The chief Officers quarrell'd, and became insupportably infolent in the Royal Presence; nor was the King himself without blame; for being deprived of his Oracle the Queen, he was like a ship in a storm without fails or rudder. Lord Clarendon therefore draws a vail over his Majesty's conduct, in these words: " It is not possible to discourse of particu-" lars with the clearness that is necessary to subject them to common understanding, without opening a door for fuch Reflections upon the King himfelf, as feem to call both " his Wisdom and Steadiness in question; as if he wanted " the one to apprehend and discover, and the other to pre-" vent the mischiefs that were evident and impending." And yet nothing could prevail with him to fubmit to the Times, or deal frankly with those who alone were capable of doing him fervice. The

Vol. IV. 1

King

The King having neither Money nor Forces, and the Queen's supplies from abroad failing, his Majesty could not Charles I. take the Field in the Spring, which gave the Parliament Army an eafy Conquest over his remaining Forts and Gar- King surrenrifons. All the West was reduced by the victorious Army ders his Perof Sir Tho. Fairfax before Midfummer; the City of Exe-Scots. ter furrender'd April 9, in which one of the King's daughters, Princess Henrietta, was made prisoner, but her Governess, the Countess of Dalkeith, found means afterwards to convey her privately into France. Dennington Castle furrender'd April 1, Barnstaple the 12th, and Woodstock the 26th; upon which it was resolved to strike the finishing blow, by befieging the King in his Head Quarters at Ox-Rapin, p. ford; upon the news of which, like a Man in a fright, he 337, 338. left the City by night April 27, and travelled as a Servant Vol. IV. p. to Dr. Hudson and Mr. Ashburnham, with his hair cut 268, 273, round to his ears, and a Cloke-bag behind him, to the 274, 303. Scots Army before Newark: His Majesty surrender'd 304 himself to General Leven May 5, who received him with respect, but sent word immediately to the two Houses, who were displeased at his Majesty's conduct, apprehending it a defign to prolong the war, and make a difference between the two Nations; which was certainly intended, as appears by the King's Letter to the Duke of Ormond from Oxford, in which he fays, he had good fecurity, that he and all his Adherents should be safe in their Persons, Honours and Consciences, in the Scots Army, " and that they would " join with him, and employ their Forces to obtain a happy " and well grounded Peace;" whereas the Scots Commiffioners, in their Letter to the House of Peers aver, " They " had given no affurance, nor made any Capitulation for " joining Forces with the King, or combining against the " the two Houses, or any other private or publick agree-" ment whatsoever, between the King on one part, and " the Kingdom of Scotland, their Army, or any in their " names, and having power from them, on the other " part;" and they call the contrary Affertion a damnable Untruth; and add, " That they never expect a Bleffing " from God any longer than they continue faithful to their "Covenant." So that this must be the artifice of Montrevil, the French Ambasiador, who undertook to negociate between the two parties, and drew the credulous and diffrested King into the snare out of which he could never Hie

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King Charles I. 1646.

Conclusion Civil War.

His Majesty's furrendring his person to the Scots, and sending orders to the Governors of Newark, Oxford, and all his other Garrisons and Forces to surrender and disband, concluded the first Civil War; upon which most of the Officers, with Prince Rupert and Maurice, retir'd beyond fea; fo that by the middle of August all the King's Forts and Castles were in the Parliament's hands; Ragland Castle being the last; which was four years wanting three days from the fet-

ting up the Royal Standard at Nottingham.

Some time before the King left Oxford he had commiffion'd the Marquis of Ormond to conclude a Peace with the Irish Papists, in hopes of receiving succours from thence. which gave great offence to the Parliament; but though his Majesty upon furrendering himself to the Scots writ to the Marquis, June 11, not to proceed; he ventur'd to put the finishing hand to the Treaty, July 28, 1646, upon the following scandalous Articles, which surely he durst not have confented to, without some private Commission from the King or Queen.

the Irish Papists. Rushw. Part IV. Vol. I. P. 402.

A 200 10 15

Articles of 1. " That the Roman Catholicks of that Kingdom shall Peace with " be discharged from taking the Oath of Supremacy.

> 2. " That all Acts of Parliament made against them " shall be repealed; That they be allowed the Freedom of " their Religion, and not be debarred from any of his Ma-

" jesty's Graces or Favours.

3. " That all Acts reflecting on the Honour of the Roman Catholick Religion fince Aug. 7, 1641, be

" repealed.

4. " That all Indictments, Attainders, Out-Lawries, " &c. against them, or any of them, be vacated and

" made void.

5. " That all Impediments that may hinder their fitting " in Parliament, or being chosen Burgesses, or Knights of

" the Shire, be removed.

6. " That all Incapacities imposed upon the Nation be taken away, and that they have power to erect one or " more Inns of Court in or near the City of Dublin; and

" and that all Catholicks educated there, be capable of

" taking their degrees without the Oath of Supremacy. 7. " That the Roman Catholicks shall be empowered to " erect one or more Universities, and keep Free-Schools " for the education of their Youth, any Law or Statute to

the contrary notwithstanding.

8. " That

8. " That places of Command, Honour, Profit and Truft, " shall be conferr'd on the Roman Catholicks, without " making any difference between them and Protestants, both

" in the Army and in the Civil Government.

o. "That an Act of Oblivion shall be past in the next " Parliament, to extend to all Roman Catholicks and " their Heirs, absolving them of all Treasons and offences " whatfoever, and particularly of the Massacre of 1641,

" so that no persons shall be impeached, troubled, or mo-" lefted, for any thing done on one fide or the other.

10. " That the Roman Catholicks shall continue in pos-" fession of all those Cities, Forts, Garrisons and Towns, "that they are possessed of, till things are come to a full

" Settlement." madistrib the

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Was this the way to establish a good Understanding be- Parliament's tween the King and his two Houses? Or could they be Commission lieve, that his Majesty meant the security of the Protestant against it. Religion, and the extirpation of Popery in England, when his General confented to such a Peace in Ireland, without being reproached, or difgraced for it? Nay, when after a long Treaty with the Parliament Commissioners he refused to deliver up the Forts and Garrisons into their hands, infomuch that after fix weeks attendance they were obliged to return to their ships, and carry back the supplies they had brought for the Garrisons, having only published a declaration, that the Parliament of England would take all the Protestants of Ireland into their protection, and fend over an Army to carry on the War against the Papists with

The King being now in the hands of the Scots, the Eng. Presbyterilish Presbyterians at London refumed their courage, con- ans petition cluding they could not fail of a full establishment of their against Sec-Discipline, and of bringing the Parliament at Westminster Vol. Pamp. to their terms of Uniformity; for this purpose they framed No. 34. a bold Remonstrance in the name of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, and presented it to the House May 26, complaining, " That the reins of Disci-" pline were let loose; that particular Congregations were " allowed to take up what Form of Divine Service they " pleased, and that Sectaries began to swarm by virtue of " a Toleration granted to tender Consciences. They put

" the Parliament in mind of their Covenant, which obliged "them to endeavour the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy,

"Superstition, Herefy, Schism, Profaneness, and whatso-

King

1646.

ever else was found contrary to found Doctrine; and at " the same time to preserve and defend the person and autho-" rity of the King; they therefore defired, fince the whole "Kingdom was now in a manner reduced to the obedi-" ence of the Parliament, that all feparate Congregations " may be suppressed; that all such separatists who conform " not to the publick Discipline may be declared against, " that no person disaffected to the Presbyterial Government " fet forth by Parliament, may be employed in any place " of publick Trust; that the House will endeavour to re-" move all Jealousies between them and the Scots, and ha-

" ften their propositions to the King, for a safe and well-

" grounded peace,"

And are I conded by the Scots. . 306.

Parliament's

Anfwer.

This Remonstrance was supported by the whole Scots Nation, who acted in concert with their English Brethren, as appears by a Letter of Thanks to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, from the General Affembly, dated June 10, 1646, within a month after the delivery of the Remonstrance: The Letter commends their couragious appearance against Sects and Sectaries; their firm adherence to the Covenant, and their maintaining their Presbyterial Government to be the Government of Jefus Christ. It beseeches them to go on boldly in the work they had begun, till the three Kingdoms were united in one Faith and Worship. At the same time they directed letters to the Parliament, befeeching them also, in the Bowels of Jesus Christ, To give to him the Glory that is due to his Name, by an immediate establishing of all his Ordinances in their full integrity and power according to the Covenant. Nor did they forget to encourage the Assembly at Westminster to proceed in their zeal against Sectaries, and to stand boldly for the Scepter of Jesus Christ against the encroachments of earthly powers. These Letters were printed and dispersed over the whole Kingdom.

The wife Parliament received the Lord Mayor and his Brethren with marks of great respect and Civility; for nerther the Scots nor English Presbyterians were to be disgusted, while the prize for which they had been fighting was in their hands, but the Majority of the Commons were displeased both with the Remonstrance and the high manner of enforcing it, as aiming, by an united force, to establish a fovereign, arbitrary Power in the Church, with an Uniformity, to which themselves, and many of their Friends were unwilling to submit; however they dismise'd the Peti-

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titioners with a promise to take the particulars into conside- King Charles

King

But the Independants and Sectarians in the Army being alarmed at the impending storm, procured a counter peti-Independents tion from the City with great numbers of hands' " ap- oppose it. " plauding the Labours and Successes of the Parliament in " the cause of Liberty, and praying them to go on with " managing the affairs of the Kingdom according to their "Wildoms, and not fuffer the Free-born People of Eng-" land to be enflaved upon any pretence whatfoever; nor " to fuffer any fet of People to prescribe to them in mat-" ters of Government or Conscience, and the Petitioners " will stand by them with their Lives and Fortunes." Mr. Whitlock fays, the hands of the Royalists were in this af- Hist. Stuarts, fair, who being beaten out of the field resolved now to at- P. 308.

tempt the ruin of the Parliament, by fowing divisions among

their friends.

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The Houses were embarrassed between the Contenders Assembly's for Liberty and Uniformity, and endeavoured to avoid a sentiments of the Jus decision, till they saw the effect of their Treaty with the Divinum. King. They kept the Presbyterians in hand, by preffing the Assembly for their Answer to the questions relating to the Jus Divinum of Presbytery already mentioned, infinuating that they themselves were the obstacles to a full Settlement, and affuring them, when this point was agreed, they would concur in fuch an Ordinance as they defired. Upon this the Affembly went to work, and appointed three Committees to take the Questions into consideration; but the Independents took this opportunity to leave them, refuling absolutely to be concerned in the affair.

The first Committee was appointed to determine, "Whether any particular Church Government was Jure "Divino," and to bring their proofs from Scripture. But here they stumbled at the very threshold, for the Erastians divided them, and enter'd their diffent, so that when the Answer was laid before the Assembly, it was not called the Answer of the Committee, but of some Brethren of the Committee; and when the Question was put, they withdrew from they Assembly, and left the high Presbyterians to themselves, who agreed, with but one diffenting Voice, That " Jesus Christ, as King of the Church, hath him-" felf appointed a Church Government distinct from the "Civil Magistrate." The names of those that subscribed this Proposition were,

Vol. III.

The

King Charles I. 1646.

M. 6. Seff. 672. The Rev. Mr. White,

Mr. Palmer, Dr. Wincop, Mr. Ley,

Dr. Gouge, Mr. Walker, Mr. Sedgwick,

Mr. Marshall, Mr. Whitaker, Mr. Newcomen,

Mr. Spurstow, Mr. Delmy, Mr. Calamy,

Mr. Proffét, Mr. Perne.

Mr. Scuddir, Mr. Carter, sen.

Mr. Caryl, Mr. Woodcocke,

Mr. Carter, jun. Mr. Goodwin,

Mr. Nye,

Mr. Greenhill, Mr. Valentine,

Mr. Price, Dr. Smith, The Rev. Dr. Staunton,

Dr. Hoyle, Mr. Bayly,

Mr. Taylor, Mr. Young, Mr. Cawdrey,

Mr. Afh, Mr. Gibson,

Mr. Good,

Mr. Vines, Mr. Seaman,

Mr. Chambers, Mr. Corbet,

Mr. Dury.

Mr. Salway, Mr. Hardwicke,

Mr. Langley, Mr. Simpson,

Mr. Conant, Mr. De la March,

Mr. Byfield,

Mr. Herle, Mr. De la Place,

Mr. Wilson, Mr. Reyner,

Mr. Gower.

Sentiments of the London Ministers,

1

The Divine that entered his Diffent was Mr. Lightfoot, with whom Mr. Colman would have joined if he had not fallen fick at this juncture and died.

The remaining Questions took up the Assembly from May till the latter end of July, and even then they thought it not safe to present their determinations to Parliament for sear of a Præmunire; upon which the City Divines at Sion College took up the Controversy, in a Treatise entitled, "The Di-"vine Right of Church Government, by the London Ministers." Wherein they give a distinct Answer to the several Queries of the House of Commons, and undertake to prove every branch of the Presbyterial Discipline to be Jure Divino, and that the Civil Magistrate had no right to intermeddle with the censures of the Church.

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And to shew the Parliament they were in earnest, they agreed to stand by each other, and not comply with the present Establishment, till it was delivered from the yoke of the Civil Magistrate: for which purpose they drew up a Paper of Reasons, and presented it to the Lord Mayor, who having advised with the Common Council, sent a deputation to Sion College, offering to join with them in a Petition for redress, which they did accordingly, but without effect; for the Parliament taking notice of the Combination of the City Ministers, published an order June 9, requiring those of the Province of London to put the Ordinance relating to Church Government in execution, enjoining the Members for the City to send Copies of the Ordinance to their several Parishes, and to take effectual care that they were immediately put in execution. Upon this the Ministers of London and Their Paper Westminsters met again at Sion College, June 19, and of Confiderabeing a little more submissive, published " certain Conside- Cautions. " rations and Cautions according to which they agree to put " the Presbyterial Government in practice, according to the " present Establishment." Here they declare, "That the power of Church Censures ought to be in Church Officers, " by the Will and Appointment of Jesus Christ, but then

" they are pleafed to admit, that the Magistracy ought to " be satisfied in the Truth of the Government they autho-" rize; and though it be not right in every particular, yet "Church Officers may act under that Rule, provided they " do not acknowledge the Rule to be right in all points. " Therefore though they conceive the Ordinances of Parlia-" ment already published, are not a compleat Rule, nor in all " points satisfactory to their Consciences, yet because in ma-" ny things they are so, and provision being made to enable " the Elderships, by their authority, to keep away from " the Lord's Supper all ignorant and fcandalous persons; and a further declaration being made, that there shall be " an addition to the scandalous offences formerly enumera-" ted, therefore they conceive it their duty to put in practice " the present Settlement, as for as they conceive it corres-" pondent with the Word of God; hoping that the Parlia-" ment will in due time, supply what is lacking, to make " the Government entire, and rectify what shall appear to be " amis." Thus hardly did these Gentlemen stoop to their Superiors!

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King harles I. 1646. Claffical division of the

Province of

London.

The Kingdom of England, instead of so many Dioceses, was now divided into a certain number of Provinces, made up of Representatives from the several Classes within their Boundaries; every Parish had a Congregational, or Parochial Presbytery for the affairs of the Parish; the Parochial Presbyteries were combined into Classes; these chose Representatives for the Provincial Assembly, as the Provincial did for the National; for Example, the Province of London being made up of twelve Classes, according to the following Division, each Classis chose two Ministers, and four Lay-Elders, to represent them in a Provincial Assembly, which received Appeals from the Parochial, and Claffical Presbyteries, as the National Assembly did from the Provincial.

The Division of the Province of London.

The first Classis to contain the following Parishes.

- I Allhallows Bread-street,
- 2 Andrews Wardrobe.
- 3 Bennet Paul's Wharf,
- 4 Faith's,
- St. Gregory,
- 6 St. John Evangelist,
- 7 Margaret Moses,
- 8 St. Martin Ludgate,
- 9 St. Anne Black Friars,

- 10 St. Austin's Parish,
 - 11 St. Mary Aldermary,
 - 12 St. Mary le Bow,
 - 13 St. Mathew Fridaystreet,
 - 14 Mildred Breadstreet.
- St. Paul's. 15 St. Peter's Paul's Wharf.
- The fecond Claffis.
- 1 St. Antholine,
- 2 Bennet Sheerhog,
- 3 St. James Garlickhithe,
- 4 St. John Baptist,
- Martin the Vintry,
- 6 St. Mary Magdalene, Old Fishstreet.
- St. Mary Somerfet,
- 8 St. Mary Mounthaw,

- 9 St. Michael Queenhithe,
- 10 St. Michael Royal,
- 11 St. Nicholas Old Abby,
- 12 St. Nicholas Olives,
- 13 Pancras Sopers Lane.
- 14 St. Thomas Apostles,
- 15 Trinity Parish.

The

King Charles L.

1646.

The Third Classis.

1 Allhallows the Greater,

2 Allhallows the Less,

3 Allhallows Lombardftreet,

4 St. Edmund Lombardftreet,

5 Lawrence Pountney,

6 St. Mary Abchurch,

7 St. Mary Bothaw,

8 St. Mary Woolchurch,

9 St. Mary Woolnoth,

10 St. Nicholas Aaron,

11 St. Stephen's Wallbrooke,

12 St. Swithin's.

The fourth Classis.

1 St. Andrews Hubbert.

2 St. Bennet Gracechurch,

3 St. Buttolph Billingfgate,

4 St Clement East -

5 St. Dionis Back -

6 St. George Buttolph-

7 St. Leonard Eastcheap,

8 St. Magnus,

9 St. Margaret New Fishstreet,

10 St. Martin Orgars,

11 St. Mary Hill,

12 St. Michael Crookedlane,

13 St. Michael Cornhill,

14 St. Peter Cornhill.

The fifth Classis.

1 St. Anne Aldersgate,

2 St. Buttolph Alders-

3 St. Brides,

4 Bridewill,

5 Christ Church,

6 St. John Zachary,

7 St. Leonard Fosterlane, 8 St. Mary Staynings,

9 St. Michael in the Corn, vulgo in the Querne,

10 St. Olave Silverstreet,

11 St. Peter Cheap,

12 St. Foster alias Ve.

The fixth Classis.

1 St. Alban Woodstreet,

2 Allhallows Honey-lane,

3 St. Alphage,

4 St. Giles's Cripple-gate,

5 St. James's Chapel,

6 St. Lawrence Jewry,

7 St. Martin Ironmonlager-lane

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King Charles I. 1646.

- 8 St. Mary Aldermanbury,
- o St. Mary Magdelen Milkstreet, 10 St. Mary Colechurch,
- 11 St. Michael Woodftreet.
- 12 St. Mildred Poultry, 13. St. Olave Jewry.

The feventh Classis.

- Allhallows in the Wall.
- 2 St. Bartholomew Exchange,
- 3 St. Bennet Finck,

Mary Mary Street (1947)

- 4 St. Buttolph Bishopfgate,
- St. Christopher's,
- 6 St. Margaret Lothbury,
- 7 St. Michael Baffishaw,
- 8 St. Peter Poor,
- 9 St. Stephen Colmanftreet.

The eighth Classis.

- 1 St. Andrew Undershaft,
- 2. St. Buttolph Aldergate,
- 3 St. Ethelburga,

west torested

- 4 St. John Hackney,
- 5 St. Hellens, 6 St. James Duke Place,
- 7 St. Katherine Creechurch,
- 8 St. Leonard Shoreditch,
- o St. Martin Outwich,
- 10 St. Mary Stoke Newangton.

The ninth Classis.

- 1 Allhallows Barkin.
- 2 Allhallows Steyning,
- 3 St. Dunstan in the East,
 - 4 St. Gabriel Fenchurch,
- 5 St. Katherine Coleman,
- 6 St. Katherine Tower,
- 7 St. Margaret Pattoons,
- 8 St. Olave Hartstreet,
- 9 St. Peter in the Tower.
- 10 Stepney,
- II Trinity Minories,
- 12 Wapping,
- 13 Whitechapel.

The tenth Classis.

- 1 St. George Southwark,
- 2 Lambeth,
- 3 St. Mary Magdalen Bermondsey,
- 4 St. Mary Overies,
- 5 Newington Buts,
- 6 St. Olave Southwark,
- 7 Rotherhithe,
- 8 St. Thomas's Hospital,
- 9 St. Thomas's Southwark.

The

King Charles T.

1646.

The eleventh Classis.

1 St. Clement Danes,

2 St. Giles's in the Fields,

3 Knightsbridge,

4 St. Margaret Westminfter,

5 St. Martin in the Fields.

6 New Church,

7 St. Peter Westminster, 8 St. Paul Covent Gar-

The twelfth Classis.

1 St. Andrew Holborn,

2 St. Bartholomew the Greater.

3 St. Bartholomew Lefs.

4 Charter-house.

5 St. Dunstan in the West.

6 St. James's Clerkenwell,

7 St. Mary Islington,

8 St. Sepulchres.

Thus the Presbyterian Church Government began to Remarks, rise and appear in its proper Form; but new obstructions being raised by the Ministers to the choice of Representatives, the Provinical Assembly did not meet till next year, nor did it ever obtain but in London and Lancashire. The Parliament never came heartily into it, and the Interest that supported it being quickly disabled, Mr. Eachard, says, p. 634. the Presbyterians never faw their dear Presbytery settled in any one part of England. But Mr. Baxter, who, is a much better Authority, fays the Ordinance was executed in London and Lancashire, but remained unexecuted in almost all other Parts. However, the Presbyterian Ministers had their voluntary Affociations for Church Affairs in most Counties, though with any authoritative Jurisdiction.

To return to the King, who marched with the Scots Ar- Scots Behamy from Newark to Newcastle, where he continued about viour to the eight Months, being treated with some respect, but not King at Newcastle. with all the duty of Subjects to a Sovereign. The first Sermon that was preached before him gave hopes, that they would be Mediators between him and the Parliament; it was from 2 Sam. xix. 41, 42, 43. "And behold, all the Men "of Ifrael came to the King, and faid to the King, Why " have the Men of Judah stolen thee away? - And all the

" Men of Judah answered the Men of Israel, because the " King is near of kin to us; wherefore then be ye angry for

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King T646.

" this matter, Have we eaten at all of the King's Cost? or, " Hath he given us any Gift? --- And the Men of Israel " answered the Men of Judah, and said, we have ten Parts " in the King; and we have also more right in David than of ye; why then did ye despise us; that our advice should not be first had, in bringing back our King? And the Words of the Men of Judah were fiercer then the Words of the Men of Israel." But it quickly appeared that nothing would be done but upon condition of the King's taking the Covenant, and establishing the Presbyterial Government in both Kingdoms. When the King was preffed upon these heads he pleaded his Conscence, and declared, that though he was content the Scots should have their own discipline, he apprehended his Honour and Conscience were concerned to support Episcopacy in England, because it had been established from the Reformation, and that he was bound to uphold it by his Coronation Oath; however, he was willing to enter into a conference with any person whom they would appoint, protesting, he was not ashamed to change his Judgment, or alter his Resolution, provided they could fatisfy him in two points.

First, That the Episcopacy he contended for was not of

Divine Institution.

Secondly, That his Coronation Oath did not bind him to support and defend the Church of England, as it was then

established.

To fatisfy the King in these points the Scots sent for Mr. between the Alexander Henderson from Edinburgh, Pastor of a Church in that City, Rector of the University, and one of the King's Chaplains, a Divine of great Learning and Abilities, as well as Discretion and Prudence. Mr. Rushworth fays, That he had more moderation than most of his way. And Collier adds, That he was a Person of Learning, Elocution and Judgment, and seems to have been the Top of his Party. The Debate was carried on in writing: The King drew up his own Papers, and gave them to Sir Robert Murray to transcribe, and deliver to Mr. Henderson; and Mr. Henderson's hand not being so legible as his, Sir Robert, by the King's appointment, transcribed Mr. Henderson's Papers for his Majesty's use.

The King, in his first Paper of May 29, declares his esteem for the English Reformation, because it was effected without tumult; and was directed by those who ought to have the Conduct of fuch an Affair. He apprehends they kept close to apostolical Appointment, and the univer-

Conference King and Mr. Henderion.

Collier, . 848. Hamil. M. P. 227.

King's firft Paper. Bibl. Reg. P. 296.

1646.

fal cultom of the primitive Church; that therefore the adhering to Episcopacy must be of the last importance, as without it the priesthood must fink, and the Sacraments be administer'd without effect; for these reasons he conceives Episcopacy necessary to the Being of a Church, and also, that he is bound to support it by his Coronation Oath. Lastly, his Majesty desires to know of Mr. Henderson, what Warrant there is in the Word of God for Subjects to endeavour to force their King's Conscience, or to make him alter Laws against his Will?

Mr. Henderson, in his first Paper of June 3d, after an Mr. Henintroduction of modesty and respect, wishes, when occasion Reply. requires, that Religion might always be reformed by the Bib. Reg. p. civil Magistrate, and not left either to the Prelates or the 312, &c. People; but when Princes or Magistrates are negligent of their Duty, God may stir up the Subject to perform this Work. He observes, that the Reformation of King Henry VIII. was very defective in the Essentials of Doctrine, Worship, and Government, that it proceeded with a Laodicean Lukewarmness; that the Supremacy was transferred from one wrong Head to another, and the Limbs of the Antichristian Hierarchy were visible in the Body. He adds, that the imperfection of the English Reformation had been the complaint of many religious and godly Persons; that it had occasioned more Schism and Separation than had been heard of elsewhere, and been matter of unspeakable Grief to other Churches. As to the King's argument, that the validity of the Priesthood, and the Efficacy of the Sacraments depended upon Episcopacy, he replies, that Episcopacy cannot make out its claim to apostolical Appointment; that when the Apostles were living there was no difference between a Bishop and a Presbyter; no inequality in power or degree, but an exact Parity in every Branch of their Character; that there is no mention in Scripture of a There is a Pastor or Bishop superior to other Pastors. beautiful Subordination in the Ministry of the New Testament; one kind of Ministers being placed in degree and dignity above another, as first Apostles, then Evangelists, then Pastors and Teachers, but in Offices of the same rank and kind we don't find any preference; no Apostle is constituted superior to other Apostles; no Evangelist is raised above other Evangelists; nor has any Pastor or Deacon a superiority above others of their Order.

Farther, Mr. Henderson humbly defires his Majesty to take notice, that arguing from the practice of the primitive

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King Charles I. 1646. Church, and the consent of the Fathers, is fallacious and uncertain, and that the Law and Testimony of the Word of God is the only Rule. The practice of the primitive Church, in many things, cannot certainly be known, as Eusebius confesses; that even in the Apostles time Diotrephes moved for the Pre-eminence, and the Mystery of Iniquity began to work; and that afterwards ambition and weakness quickly made way for a change in Church Go-

gernment.

Mr. Henderson hopes his Majesty will not deny the lawfulness of the Ministry, and due administration of the Sacraments, in those reformed Churches where there are no Diocefan Bishops; that it is evident from Scripture, and confessed by many Champions for Episcopacy, that Presbyters may ordain Presbyters; and to disengage his Majesty from his Coronation Oath, as far as relates to the Church, he conceives, when the formal Rea Oath ceases the Obligation is discharged: When an oath has a special regard to the benefit of those to whom the engagement is made, if the Parties interested relax upon the point, dilpenfe with the promise, and give up their advantage, the obligation is at an end. Thus when the Parliaments of both Kingdoms have agreed to the repealing of a Law, the King's Conscience is not tied against signing the Bill, for then the altering any Law would be impracticable. --- He concludes with observing, that King James never admitted Episcopacy upon Divine Right; and that, could his Ghost now speak, he would not advise your Majesty to run fuch hazards, for Men [Prelates] who would pull down your Throne with their own, rather than that they perish alone.

King's fecond papers. Bib. Reg. p. 320, 322, &c.

The King, in his second Paper of June 6, avers, no Reformation is lawful, unless under the conduct of the Royal Authority; that King Henry the Eighth's Reformation being imperfect is no proof of defects in that of King Edward Sixth, and Queen Elizabeth; that Mr. Henderson can never prove, "God has given the Multitude leave to reform the "negligence of Princes;" that his comparing our Reformation to the Laodicean lukewarmness was an unhandsome way of begging the question, for he should first have made out, that those Men [the Puritans] had reason to complain, and that the Schism was chargeable upon the Conformists. His Majesty is so far from allowing the Presbyterian Government to be practised in the primitive times, that he affirms, it was never set up before Calvin; and admits, that it was

his Province to shew the lawfulness, and uninterrupted Suc-King cession, and by consequence, the necessity of Episcopacy, but that he had not then the convenience of Books, nor the affiftance of fuch learned Men as he could truft, and therefore proposes a Conference with his Divines. And whereas Mr. Henderson excepts to his reasoning from the primitive Church, and consent of the Fathers; his Majesty conceives his exception indefenfible, for if the fenfe of a doubtful place of Scripture is not to be governed by fuch an authority, the interpretation of the inspired Writings must be left to the direction of every private Spirit, which is contrary to St. Peter's Doctrine, 2 Pet. i. 20. " No Pro-" phecy of Scripture is of private Interpretation;" it is likewife the fource of all Sects, and without prevention will bring these Kingdoms into confusion. His Majesty adds, that it is Mr. Henderson's part to prove, that Presbyters without Bishop may ordain other Presbyters. As to the Administration of the Sacraments Mr. Henderson himself will not deny, a lawfully ordained Presbbyter's being necessary to that Office; fo that the determination of this latter Question will depend in some measure on the former. With regard to oaths, his Majesty allows Mr. Henderson's general Rule, but thinks he is mistaken in the application; for the Clause touching Religion in the Coronation Oath was made only for the benefit of the Church of England; that therefore it is not in the power of the two Houses of Parliament to discharge the Obligation of this oath without their confent. That " this Church never made any sub-" mission to the two Houses, nor owned herself subordinate " to them;" that the Reformation was managed by the King and Clergy, and the Parliament affifted only in giving a civil fanction to the ecclefiaftical Establishment. Thele points being clear to his Majesty, it follows by necessary consequence, that 'tis only the Church of England, in whose favour he took this oath, that can release him from it, and that therefore when the Church of England, lawfully afsembled, shall declare his Majesty discharged, he shall then, and not till then, reckon himself at liberty.

Mr. Henderson, in his reply to this second paper, of Mr. Hen-June 17, agrees with the King, that the prime reforming derion's fepower is in Kings and Princes, but adds, that in case they Bib. Reg. p. fail of their duty this authority devolves upon the inferior 325. Magistrate, and upon their failure to the body of the People, upon supposition that a Reformation is necessary, and that peoples superiors will by no means give way to it; he

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King Charles I. 1646.

allows, that fuch a Reformation is more imperfect with refpect to the manner, but commonly more perfect and refined in the product and iffue. He adds, that the Government of the Church of England is not supposed to be built on the Foundation of Christ and his Apostles, by those who confess that Church Government is mutable and ambulatory, as was formerly the opinion of most of the English Bishops; that the Divine Right was not pleaded till of late by some few; that the English Reformation has not perfectly purged out the Roman Leaven, but rather depraved the Discipline of the Church, by conforming to the civil Polity, and adding many supplemental Officers to those instituted by the Son of God. To his Majesty's objection. that the Presbyterian Government was never practifed before Calvin's Time, he answers, that it is to be found in Scripture; and the Assembly of Divines at Westminster had made it evident, that the primitive Church at Jerusalem was governed by a Presbytery; that the Church at Jerusalem confifted of more Congregations than one; that all these Congregations were combined under one Presbyterial Government, and made but one Church; that this Church was governed by Elders of the same Body, and met together for Functions of Authority, and that the Apostles acted not in quality of Apostles, but only as Elders, Acts xv. that the same Government was settled in the Churches of Ephefus, Corinth, Thessalonica, and continued many years after; and at last, when one of the Presbytery presided over the rest with the stile of Bishop, even then, as St. Jerom fays, Churches were governed with the joint confent of the Presbytery, and it was custom rather than divine Appointment which raised a Bishop above a Presbyter. To his Majesty's Argument, that where the meaning of Scripture is doubtful, we must have recourse to the Fathers, Mr. Henderfon replies, that notwithstanding the decrees of Councils, and the Resolutions of the Fathers, a liberty must be left for a Judgment of Discretion, as had been sufficiently shown by Bishop Davenant and others. To prove Presbyters may ordain other Presbyters without a Bishop, he cites St. Paul's Advice to Timothy, I Tim. iv. 14. not to negled the gift that was given him by the "Laying on of " the Hands of the Presbytery;" but granting Bishops and Presbyters to be distinct Functions, it will not follow, that the authority and force of the Presbyters character was derived from the Bishop; for though the Evangelists and seventy Disciples were inferior to the Apostles, they received not

not their Commission from the Apostles, but from Christ

King Charles I.

Concerning the King's Coronation Oath, Mr. Henderfon apprehends nothing need be added. As to the Supremacy, he thinks fuch an headship as the Kings of England claim, or such an one as the two Houses of Parliament now infift on, that is, an authority to receive appeals from the supream ecclesiastical Judicatures, in things purely spiritual, is not to be justified; nor does he apprehend the confent of the Clergy to be absolutely necessary to Church Reformation, for if fo, what Reformation can be expected in France, in Spain, or in Rome itself; 'tis not to be imagined that the Pope or Prelates will confent to their own ruin. His Majesty had said, that if his Father King James had been consulted upon the question of Resistance, he would have answered, that prayers and tears are the Church's weapons. To which Mr. Henderson replies, " That he " could never hear a good Reason to prove a necessary de-" fensive War, a War against unjust Violence, unlawful;" and that Bishop Jewel and Bilson were of this Mind. To the question, what Warrant there was in Scripture for Subjects to endeavour to force their King's Conscience? he replies, that when a Man's Conscience is mistaken it lies under a necessity of doing amis; the way therefore to disentangle himself is to get his conscience better informed, and not to move till he has struck a Light and made further Discoveries.

The King, in his answer of June 22, to Mr. Hender- King's son's second paper, still insists, that "inferior Magistrates third Pa-" and People have no authority to reform Religion. If Bib. Reg. this point can be proved by Scripture his Majesty is ready to P. 337, dec. submit; but the sacred History, in the Book of Numbers, chap. 16, is an evidence of God's disapproving such Methods. Private Mens Opinions disjoined from the general confent of the Church fignify little, for Rebels, fays his Majesty, " Never want Writers to maintain their Revolt." Though his Majesty has a regard for Bishop Jewel's and Bilson's Memories, he never thought them intallible; as for Episcopal Government, he is ready to prove it an "Apostolical Institution, and that it had been handed " down through all Ages and Countries till Calvin's "Time," as foon as he is furnished with Books, or such Divines as he shall make choice of; he does not think that Mr. Henderson's Arguments to prove the Church of Engand not built on the Foundation of Christ and his Apostles.

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King Charles I. 1646. are valid, nor will he admit that most of the Prelates about the time of the Reformation did not infift upon the Divine Right. The King adds, Mr. Henderson would do well to flrow, where our Saviour has prohibited the addition of more Church Officers than those named by him, and yet the Church of England has not fo much as offer'd at this, for an Archbishop is not a new Officer, but only a distinction in the Order of Government, like the Moderator of Assemblies in Scotland. His Majesty denies that Bishops and Presbyters always import the same thing in Scripture, and when they do, it only respects the Apostles Times, for it may be proved, that the Order of Bishops succeeded that of the Apostles, and that the Title was alter'd in regard to those who were immediately chosen by our Saviour. As for the feveral Congregations in Jerusalem united in one Church his Majesty replies, are there not many Parishes in one Diocese? And do not the Deans and Chapters, and fometimes the inferior Clergy affift the Bishop? so that unless some positive and direct proof can be brought of an equality between the Apostles and other Presbyters, all Arguments are with him inconclusive. The King confesses, that in case he cannot prove from Antiquity that " Ordination and Jurifdiction are peculiar "Branches of Authority belonging to Bishops," he shall begin to suspect the Truth of his Principles. As for Bishop Davenant's Testimony, he refuses to be govern'd by that; nor will he admit of Mr. Henderson's exception against the Fathers, till he can find out a better Rule of interpreting Scripture. And whereas Mr. Henderson urged the Precedent of foreign reformed Churches in favour of Presbytery, his Majesty does not undertake to censure them, but supposes Necessity may excuse many things which would otherwise be unlawful; the Church of England, in his Majesty's Judgment, has this Advantage, that it comes nearest the primitive Doctrine and Discipline; and, that Mr. Henderson had fail'd in proving Presbyters may ordain without a Bishop, for 'tis evident St. Paul had a share in Timothy's Ordination, 2 Tim. i. 6. As to the Obligation of the Coronation Oath, the King is still of Opinion, none but the representative Body of the Clergy can absolve him; and as for the impracticableness of Reformation upon the King's Principles, he can't answer for that, but thinks it sufficient to let him know, that " Incommodum non sol-" vit Argumentum." His Majesty then declares, that as it is a great fin for a Prince to oppress the Church; so on the other hand, " He holds it absolutely unlawful for Sub-" iects to make War (though defensively) against their law-

" ful Sovereign, upon any pretext whatfoever.

Mr. Henderson, in his third paper of July 2d, confiders Mr. Henderchiefly the Rules his Majesty had laid down for determining fon's third the controversy of Church Government, which are the Reply. the controversy of Church Government, which are the practice of the primitive Church, and the universal consent of the Fathers, and affirms, there is no fuch primitive Teltimony, no fuch universal consent in favour of modern Episcopacy; the Fathers very often contradicting one another, or at least not agreeing in their Testimony. But to shew the uncertainty of his Majesty's Rule for determining con-

troversies of Faith Mr. Henderson observes,

1. That fome Criticks join " the Word of God and An-" tiquity together; others make Scripture the only Rule, " and Antiquity the authentick Interpreter." thinks the latter a greater mistake than the former, for the Papifts bring Tradition no farther than to an equality of regard with the inspired Writings, but the others make Antiquity the very ground of their Belief of the sense of Scripture, and by that means exalt it above the Scripture; for the Interpretation of the Fathers is made the very formal Reason why I believe the Scripture interpretable in such a sense; and thus, contrary to the Apostle's Doctrine, "Our " Faith must stand in the Wisdom of Man, and not in the " power of God."

2. He observes, that Scripture can only be authentickly interpreted by Scripture itself. Thus the Levites had recourse only to one part of Scripture for the interpreting another, Neh. viii. 8. So likewise our Saviour interprets the old Testament, by comparing Scripture with Scripture, and not having recourse to the Rabbies. This was likewise the Apostles method. Besides, when persons infift so much upon the Necessity of the Fathers, they are in danger of charging the Scriptures with obfcurity or imperfection.

3. The Fathers themselves say, that Scripture is not to be .

interpreted but by Scripture.

4. Many Errors have past under the shelter of Antiquity and Tradition: Mr. Henderson cites a great many Exam-

ples under this Head.

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And, Lastly, He insists, that the universal confent and practice of the primitive Church is impossible to be known; that many of the Fathers were no Authors; that many of their Tracts are lost; that many performances which go under their Names are spurious, especially upon the subject

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King Charles I. 1646.

King's last Papers. Bibl. Reg. P. 351, 353. of Episcopacy, and that therefore they are an uncertain Rule.

The King, in his papers of July 3d and 16th fays, no Man can reverence Scripture more than himself; but when Mr. Henderson and he differ about the Interpretation of a Text, there must be some Judge or Umpire, otherwise the Dispute can never be ended; and when there are no parallel Texts the surest Guide must be the Fathers. In answer to Mr. Henderson's particulars his Majesty answers, that if fome people over-value Tradition, that can be no argument against the serviceableness of it; but to charge the primitive Church with Error, and to call the customs and practices of it unlawful, unless the charge can be supported from Scripture, is an unpardonable presumption. Those who object to the ancient Rites and Usages of the Church must prove them unlawful, otherwise the practice of the Church is fufficient to warrant them. His Majesty denies 'tis impossible to discover the universal consent, and understand the practice of the primitive Church; and concludes with this maxim, that though he never esteemed any authority equal to the Scriptures, yet he believes the unanimous consent of the Fathers, and the universal practice of the primitive Church, the best and most authentick Interpreters, and by confequence the best qualified Judges between himfelf and Mr. Henderson.

Remarks,

One may learn from this controversy, some of the Principles in which King Charles I. was instructed; as,

(1.) The Divine Right of Diocesan Episcopacy.

(2.) The uninterrupted fuccession of Bishops, rightly ordained, from the Time of the Apostles; upon which the whole Validity of the Administration of the Christian Sacraments depends.

(3.) The Necessity of a Judge of Controversies, which his Majesty lodges with the Fathers of the Christian Church, and by that means leaves little or no room for private Judg-

nent.

(4.) The independency of the Church upon the State.

(5.) That no Reformation of Religion is lawful but what arises from the Prince or Legislature; and this only in cases of Necessity, when a general Council cannot be obtained.

(6.) That the multitude or common people may not in any case take upon them to reform the negligence of Princes. Neither,

(7.)

Charles I.

1646.

(7.) May they take up arms against him, even for felf-

defence, in cases of extream necessity.

How far these Principles are defensible in themselves, or consistent with the English constitution, I leave with the reader; but 'tis very furprizing that his Majesty should be fo much intangled with that part of his Cororation Oath which relates to the Church, when for fifteen years together he broke through all the bounds of it with relation to the Civil Liberties of his Subjects, without the least Remorfe.

Upon the close of this Debate, and the death of Mr. Henderson, which followed within fix weeks; the King's Friends gave out, that his Majesty had broke his adversary's heart. Bishop Kennet and Mr. Eachard have published the following formal Recantation, which they would have the world believe this Divine dictated, or figned upon his death-bed.

"I Do declare before God and the World, that fince I Mr. Hender"had the honour and happiness to converse and confer sounded Re-"with his Majesty with all forts of freedom, especially in cantation." " matters of Religion, whether in relation to the Kirk or Compl. Hift. " State, that I found him the most intelligent Man that p. 190. Bennet's " ever I spoke with, as far beyond my Expression as Ex- Def. of " pectation. I profess, that I was oftentimes astonished Mem. p. " with the Solidity and Quickness of his Reasons, and Re- 130. " plies; and wonder'd, how he, spending his time so much " in sports and recreations, could have attained to so great "Knowledge; and must confess ingenuously, that I was " convinced in Conscience, and knew not how to give him " any reasonable satisfaction; yet the sweetness of his "Disposition is such, that whatsoever I said was well ta-"ken. I must say, I never met with any Disputant of " that mild and calm Temper, which convinc'd me the " more, and made me think, that fuch Wisdom and Mo-" deration could not be, without an extraordinary measure " of Divine Grace. I had heard much of his carriage to-" wards the Priests in Spain, and that King James told the " Duke of Buckingham upon his going thither, that he " durst venture his Son Charles with all the Jesuits in the "World, he knew him to be so well grounded in the Pro-

" testant Religion, but could never believe it before. I " observed all his Actions, more particularly those of De-" votion, which I must truly say are more than ordinary-" If I should speak of his Justice, Magnanimity, Charity,

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King Charles I. 1646.

Sobriety, Chastity, Patience, Humility, and of all his other Christian and Moral Virtues, I should run myself into a Panegyrick; no man can fay there is conspicuously any predominant Vice in him; never man faw him passionately angry; never man heard him curse, nor given to swearing; or heard him complain in the greatest durance of War, or Confinement-But I should feem to flatter him, to fuch as do not know him, if the present condition that I lie in, did not exempt me from " any fuspicion of worldly Ends, when I expect every hour to be called from all transitory vanities to eternal " Felicity, and the discharging of my Conscience before " God and Man, did not oblige me to declare the Truth " fimply and nakedly in fatisfaction of that which I have "done ignorantly, though not altogether innocently." The Declaration adds, that he was heartily forry for the share he had had in the War; that the Parliament and Synod of England had been abused with false aspersions of his Majesty, and that they ought to restore him to his just Rights, and his Royal Throne and Dignity, left an indelible Character of Ingratitude lie upon them.

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Mr. Eachard confesses he had been informed, that this Declaration was spurious, but could find no authority sufficient to support such an Affertion. It will be proper therefore to trace the History of this imposture, and set it in a clear and convincing light, from a memorial fent me from one of the principal Divines of Edinburgh. The story was first invented by one of the Scots Episcopal Writers, who had fled to London, and was first published in the beginning of the year 1648, in a small pamphlet in Quarto about two years after Mr. Henderson's Death. From this Pamphlet Dr. Heylin published it as a Credible Report. Between thirty and forty years after (viz.) 1693, Dr. Hollingworth, in his Character of King Charles I. published the paper abovementioned, entitled the " Declaration of Mr. Alexander Henderson, principal Minister of the "Word of God at Edinburgh, and chief Commissioner " of the Kirk of Scotland to the Parliament and Synod of " England;" which paper the Doctor fays he had from Mr. Lamplugh, fon to the late Archbishop of York of that name, from whom the Historians above-mentioned, and fome others, have copied it; but (fays my Memorial) upon publishing the aforesaid story to the world the Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland appointed a Committee to examine into the affair, who after a full enquiry, by their Act of Au-

King 1646.

gust 7, 1648, declared the whole to be a Forgery, as may be feen in the printed Acts of the General Assembly for Charles L. that Year, Quarto, page 420, &c. in which they fignify their fatisfaction and assurance, that Mr. Henderson persisted in his former fentiments to his death; that when he left the King at Newcastle he was greatly decayed in his natural strength; that he came from thence by sea in a languishing condition, and died within eight days after his arrival as Edinburgh; that he was not able to frame fuch a declaration as is palmed upon him; and, that all he fpoke upon his death-bed shewed his Judgment was the same as before about Church Reformation. This was attested before the Affembly by feveral Ministers who visited him upon his Death-bed, and particularly by two that constantly attended him from the time he came home till the time he expired. After this, and a great deal more to the same purpose, they declare the above-mentioned paper, entitled, " A De- Vide Ben-" claration of Mr. Alexander Henderson's, &c. to be for- net's Def. of his Mem. " ged, scandalous, and false, and the author and contriver p. 134. " of the same to be void of Charity and a good Consci-" ence; a gross Lyar and Calumniator, and led by the

" spirit of the accuser of the Brethren."

While the King was debating the Cause of Episcopacy Parliament's the Parliament were preparing their Propositions for a Peace, Propositions to the King which were ready for the Royal Assent by the 11th of July. at Newcastle. The Scots Commissioners demurred to them for some time, Rushw. Vol. as not coming up fully to their Standard, but being at length VI. p. 309, content, they were engrossed, and carried to the King by Rapin, p. the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, and the Earl of 343, &c. Suffolk, of the House of Peers; and by Sir Walter Erle, Sir John Hipifly, Robert Goodwin, and Luke Robinson, Esq; of the House of Commons; the Earls of Argyle and Loudon were Commissioners for Scotland, and the Reverend Mr. Marshal was order'd to attend as their Chaplain. The Commissioners arrived at Newcastle July 23. next day they waited upon his Majesty, and having kissed his hand, Mr. Goodwin read the Propositions.

Those relating to the Civil Government were,

(1) That the King should call in all his Declarations a-

gainst the Parliament.

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(2.) That he should put the Militia into their hands for twenty years, with a power to raife money for their mainte-

(3.) That all Peerages fince May 21, 1642, should be made void.

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King Charles I. 1646.

(4.) That the Delinquents therein mentioned should un. dergo the Penalties assigned in the Bill, And,

(5.) That the Cessation with the Irish be disannulled, and

the management of the War left to the Parliament.

The Propositions relating to religion were,

1. " That his Majesty, according to the laudable example of his Father, would be pleafed to swear and fign " the late Solemn League and Covenant, and give his confent to an Act of Parliament, enjoining the taking it " throughout the three Kingdoms, under certain penalties,

" to be agreed upon in Parliament.

2. " That a Bill be passed for the utter abolishing, and " taking away all Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors, " Commissaries, Deans, Sub-deans, Deans and Chapters, " Archdeacons, Canons and Prebendaries, and all Chaun-" ters, Chancellors, Treasurers, Sub-treasurers, Succen-" tors, Sacrifts; and all Vicars and Chorifters, old Vicars " and new Vicars of any Cathedral or Collegiate Church, and all under Officers, our of the Church of England, " and out of the Church of Ireland, with such alterations as shall agree with the Articles of the late Treaty of " Edinburgh, Nov. 29. 1643, and the joint Declaration of " both Kingdoms.

3. " That the Ordinance for the calling and fitting of

" the Affembly of Divines be confirmed.

4. " That Reformation of Religion according to the " Covenant, be settled by Act of Parliament in such man-" ner as both Houses have agreed, or shall agree, after

" Consultation with the Assembly of Divines.

5. " For as much as both Kingdoms are obliged by Co-" venant to endeavour fuch an Uniformity of Religion as " shall be agreed upon by both Houses of Parliament in England, and by the Church and Kingdom of Scotland,

" after Confultation had with the Divines of both King-" doms affembled, that this be confirmed by Acts of Par-

" liament of both Kingdoms respectively.

6. " That for the more effectual disabling Jesuits, " Priests, Papists, and popish Reculants, from disturbing

" the State, and eluding the Laws, an Oath be established " by Act of Parliament, wherein they shall abjure and re-

" nounce the Pope's Supremacy, the Doctrine of Tran-" substantiation, Purgatory, worshipping of the confecta-

" ted Hoft, Crucifixes and Images, and all other popifh Suer perstitions

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" perstitions and errors; and the refusal of the said Oath. " legally tendered, shall be a sufficient conviction of Re-" cufancy.

King Charles L. 1646.

7. "That an Act of Parliament be passed, for educa-" ting of the Children of Papists by Protestants, in the Pro-

" testant Religion.

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8. " That an Act be passed for the better levving " the Penalties against Papists; and another for the better " preventing their plotting against the State; and that a " stricter course may be taken to prevent Saying, or Hear-" ing of Mass in the Court, or any other part of the King-" dom: The like for Scotland, if the Parliament of that

" Kingdom shall think fit.

o. " That his Majesty give his Royal Assent to an " Act for due observation of the Lord's Day; to the Bill " for the Suppression of Innovations in Churches and Cha-" pels in and about the Worship of God; to an Act for the " better advancement of the preaching of God's holy Word " in all Parts of the Kingdom; to the Bill against Plurali-" ties of Benefices and Non-residency; and, to an Act to " be framed for the reforming and regulating both Univer-" fities, and the Colleges of Westminster, Winchester, and

" Eaton." About fixty Persons were by Name excepted from the ge- Rushw. neral Pardon; besides, P. 315.

(1.) All Papists that had been in the Army.

(2.) All Persons that had been concerned in the Irish Rebellion.

(3.) Such as had deferted the two Houses at Westminster and went to Oxford.

(4.) Such Members of Parliament as had deferted their places, and bore Arms against the two Houses. And,

(5.) Such Bishops or Clergymen, Masters or Fellows of Colleges, or Masters of Schools or Hospitals, or any Ecclefiaftical Living, who had deferted the Parliament, and adhered to the Enemies thereof, were declared incapable of any Preferment or Employment in Church or Commonwealth, all their Places, Perferments and Promotions, were to be utterly void, as if they were naturally dead; nor might they be permitted to use their Function of the Ministry, without Advice and Consent of both Houses of Parliament; provided that no Lapse shall incur by this Vacancy till fix Months after notice thereof.

When

King Charles I. 1646. When Mr. Goodwin had done, the King asked the Commissioners if they had Power to treat, to which they replied, that they were only to receive his Majesty's Answer; then said the King, "Saving the Honour of the Business, a "Trumpeter might have done as well;" the very same Language as at the Treaty of Oxford; but the Earl of Pembroke told his Majesty, they must receive his peremptory answer in ten days, or return without it.

Great Interceffion is made with the King to comply.

Great Intercessions were made with the King to comply with these Proposals, particularly in the Point of Religion, for without full Satisfaction in that, nothing would please the Scots Nation, nor the City of London, by whom alone his Majesty could hope to be preserved; but if this was yielded they would interpose for the moderating other demands; the Scots General, at the head of one hundred Officers, presented a Petition upon their Knees, befeeching his Majesty to give them Satisfaction in the Point of Religion, and to take the Covenant. Duke Hamilton, and the reft of the Scots Commissioners pressed his Majesty in the most earnest manner to make use of the present Opportunity for Peace. The Lord Chancellor of that Kingdom spoke to this Effect: " The differences between your Majesty and " your Parliament are grown to fuch an height, that after " many bloody Battles they have your Majesty, with all 56 your Garrisons and strong Holds in their hands, and "the whole Kingdom at their disposal, they are now in " a capacity to do what they will in Church and State; " and some are so afraid, and others so unwilling to sub-" mit to your Majesty's Government, that they defire not " you, nor any of your Race longer to reign over them; " but they are unwilling to proceed to Extremities, till "they know your Majesty's last Resolutions-Now, "Sir, if your Majesty shall refuse to affent to the Proposi-" tions you will lose all your Friends in the Houses, and in " the City, and all England will join against you as one Man; they will depose you and fet up another Govern-" ment; they will charge us to deliver your Majesty to them, " and remove our Armies out of England, and upon your " refusal we shall be constrained to settle Religion and Peace " without you, which will ruin your Majesty and your Po-" sterity. We own the propositions are higher in some things than we approve of, but the only way to establish " your Majesty's Throne is to consent to them at present, " and your Majesty may recover in a time of peace all that " you have loft in this time of tempest and trouble,"

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This was Plain-dealing: The King's best Friends prayed

his Majesty to consider his present Circumstances, and not hazard his Crown for a Form of Church Government; or, if he had no regard to himself, to consider his But he re-Royal Posterity; but the King replied, "His Conscience fuses. Ham. Mem. " was dearer to him than his Crown;" that till he had re- p. 218. ceived better fatisfaction about the "Divine Right of Epif-"copacy," and the "Obligation of his Coronation Oath," no confiderations should prevail with him; he told the Officers of the Army, he neither could nor would take the Covenant till he had heard from the Queen. Which was only an Clarend. excuse to gain time to divide his enemies, for the King had Vol. III. p. heard from his Queen by Monsieur Bellievre, the French 29, 31, 32. Ambassador, who waited upon him with positive Instructions, p. 344. to press his Majesty, as the advice of the King of France, of the Queen, and of his own party, to give the Presbyterians fatisfaction about the Church. Bellievre not being able to prevail, fent over an express to France, with a desire, that some body of more credit with the King might be sent. Upon which Sir William Davenant came over with a letter of credit from the Queen, befeeching him to part with the Church for his peace and fecurity. When Sir William had delivered the Letter he ventured to support it with some arguments of his own, and told his Majesty, in a most humble manner, that it was the advice of Lord Culpeper, Jermyn, and of all his friends; upon which the King was fo transported with Indignation, that he forbid him his Prefence. When therefore the ten days for confidering the Propositions were expired, instead of confenting, his Majesty gave the Commissioners his Answer in a Paper, directed to the Speaker of the House of Peers, to this Effect. "That the " Propositions contained so great alterations both in Church " and State, that his Majesty could not give a particular " and positive answer to them," but after some few con-

Charles I.

" on may be peaceably fettled." When this Answer was reported to the House, Aug. the Scots 12, it was refolved, to fettle accounts with the Scots, and Commissito receive the King into their own custody; but in the mean oners. Ham. Mem.

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cessions hereafter to be mentioned, "he proposes to come " to London, or any of his Houses thereabouts, and enter " upon a personal Treaty with both Houses; and he con-" jures them, as Christians and Subjects, and as Men that " defire to leave a good name behind them, to accept of

" this proposal, that the unhappy distractions of the Nati-His Conference with time p. 286.

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King Charles I. 1646. time his Majesty attempted to bring that Nation over to his Interest, by playing the Independants against them, and telling them, the only way to destroy the Sectarians was to join with the Episcopalians, and admit of the Establishment of both Religions. "I do by no means persuade you (fays the King) to do any thing contrary to your Covenant, but I desire you to consider whether it be not a great step towards your Reformation (which I take to be the chief End of your Covenant) that the Presbyterial "Government be legally fettled. 'Tis true, I defire that the Liberty of my own Conscience, and of those who are of the same opinion with myself may be preserved which, I confess, does not as yet totally take away Episcopal Government. But then confider withal, this will take away all the superstitious Sects and Heresies of the Papists and Independants, to which you are no less obliged by your Covenant, than to the taking away of Episcopacy. And this that I demand is likely to be but temporary; for if it be so clear as you believe, that Episcopacy is unlawful, I doubt not but God will enlighten " my eyes that I shall soon perceive it, and then I promise to concur with you fully in matters of Religion; but I am fure you cannot imagine, that there is any hopes " of converting or filencing the Independant party, which " undoubtedly will get a Toleration in Religion from the " Parliament of England, unless you join with me in that " way that I have proposed for the establishing of my " Crown; or at least, that you do not press me to do this " (which is yet against my Conscience) till I may do it with-" out finning, which, as I am confident, none of you will " perswade me to do, so I hope you have so much charity, " as not to put things to fuch a desperate iffne as to hazard " the loss of all, because for the present you cannot have full " satisfaction from me in points of Religion, not considering, " that besides the other mischiefs that may happen, It will " infallibly fet up the innumerable Sects of the Independants, " nothing being more against your Covenant than the suffer-" ing those Schisms to encrease. His Majesty then added, That he should be content to restrain Episcopal Govern-" ment to the dioceses of Oxford, Winchester, Bath and "Wells, and Exeter, leaving all the rest of England fully to " the Presbyterial discipline, with the strictest clauses that " could be thought of in an Act of Parliament against the Pa-" pifts and Independants." But the Scots would abate nothing

Rushw. p. 328.

Ham. Mem, p. 348. in the article of Religion; even for the overthrow of the Secta-Duke Hamilton left no methods unattempted to perfuade his Majesty to comply, but without effect.

When the King could not gain the Commissioners, he ap- Scots Kirk plied by his friends to the Kirk, who laid his Propofals before will not true the the General Assembly, with his offer to make any Declara-King. tion they should defire against the Independants, And that Ham. Mena. really, without any Reserve or Equivocation; but the Kirk P. 298. were as peremptory as the Commissioners; they said the p. 380. King's heart was not with them, nor could they depend upon his promifes any longer than it was not in his power to fet them aside.

In the mean time the English Parliament were debating with the Scots Commissioners at London the right of dispofing of the King's Person, the latter claiming an equal right to him with the former; but the Parliament voted that " the "Kingdom of Scotland had no joint right to dispose of the " person of the King in the Kingdom of England." To which the Scots would hardly have submitted but for fear of engaging in a new War, and of losing all their arrears. His Majesty would willingly have retired into Scotland, but the Clergy of that Nation would not receive him, as appears by their folemn Warning to all estates and degrees of Persons throughout the Land, dated Dec. 17, 1646, in which they fay, "So long Theirsoleman " as his Majesty does not approve in his heart, and Seal with Warning and " his hand, the League and Covenant, we cannot but ap- Declaration.

" walk contrary to it, and study to draw us into the Viola-"tion of it. Belides, our receiving his Majesty into "Scotland at this time will confirm the suspicion of the " English Nation, of our underhand dealing with him be-" fore he came into our Army. Nor do we see how it is " confistent with our Covenant and Treaties, but on the " contrary, it would involve us in the guilt of perjury, and " expose us to the hazard of a bloody war. We are bound " by our Covenant to defend the King's Person and Autho-" rity in the defence and preservation of the true Religion, " and the Liberties of the Kingdom, and so far as his Ma-

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" prehend, that according to his former Principles he will

" will not fatisfy the just defires of his people, both Nations " are engaged to pursue the ends thereof against all Lets and

" jesty is for these we will be for him; but if his Majesty

" Impediments; we therefore defire, that those who are in-" trufted

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-King 1646.

edings to the King. Rushw, P. 392.

"trusted with the publick affairs of this Kingdom would Charles i. . fill infift upon his Majesty's settling Religion according to " the Covenant, as the only means of preserving himself, "his Crown, and Posterity." Upon reading this admonition of the Scots of the Kirk the Scots Parliament resolved, that his Majesty Parl relating be defired to grant the whole Propositions; that in case of refusal, the Kingdom should be secured without him, declared further, that the Kingdom of Scotland could not lawfully engage for the King as long as he refused to take the Covenant, and give them fatisfaction in point of Religion. Nor would they admit him to come into Scotland unless he gave a fatsfactory Answer to the Propositions lately presented to him in the name of both Kingdoms.

They deli-ver him up and publish their Reaions.

Rufhw. p. 396.

The Resolutions abovemention were not communicated in form to the King till the beginning of January, when the Scots Commissioners press'd him again in the most humble and importunate manner to give them satisfaction, at least, in point of Religion, but his Majesty was immoveable; which being reported back to Ediaburgh, the Question was put in that Parliament, " Whether they should leave the King in " England, to his two Houses of Parliament?" And it was carried in the Affirmative. Jan. 16, a declaration was published in the name of the whole Kingdom of Scotland, wherein they fay, "That when his Majesty came to their Army be-" fore Newark he professed that he was absolutely resolved " to comply with his Parliaments in every thing for fettling of Truth and Peace; in confidence whereof the Com-" mittees of the Kingdom of Scotland, declared to him-" felf, and to the Kingdom of England, that they received " him into their protection only upon these terms, since which " time propositions of peace have been presented to his "Majesty for the Royal Assent, with earnest supplications " to the same purpose, but without effect. The Parlia-" ment of Scotland therefore being now to recal their Army " out of England, considering that his Majesty in several " messages has defired to be near his two Houses of Par-" liament, and that the Parliament has appointed his . Majesty to reside at Holmby House with safety to his "Royal Person; and in regard of his Majesty's not giving " a latisfactory Answer to the Propositions for Peace; and " from a defire to preserve a right Understanding between the "two Kingdoms, and for preventing new Troubles, the "States of Parliament of the Kingdom of Scotland do declare es their

" their concurrence for the King's Majesty's going to Holmby " House, to remain there till he give satisfaction about the

" propositions for peace, and that in the mean time there be " no Harm, Prejudice, Injury or Violence done to his Royal

" Person; that there be no change of Government; and, that

" his posterity be no way prejudiced in their lawful Successi-" on to the Crown and Government of these Kingdoms."

While the Parliament and Kirk of Scotland were deba- English ting the King's Propofals, his Majesty writ to the Parliament Commissionof England in the most pressing terms, for a personal treaty ers receive at London, "Tis your King (fays he in his Letter of the King, and convey him "Dec. 10.) that defires to be heard, the which, if refu- to Holmby.

" fed to a Subject by a King he would be thought a Ty-" rant, wherefore I conjure you, as you would fhew your " felves really what you profess, good Christians and good " Subjects, that you accept this offer." But the Houses were afraid to trust his Majesty in London, and therefore appointed Commissioners to receive him from the Scots and convoy him to Holmby House in Northamptonshire, where he arrived Feb. 6, 1646-7. But the Sum of two hundred thouland pounds, being half the arrears due to the Scots Army, having been paid them by agreement before they march'd out of Newcastle, it has been commonly said, " They fold their King." An unjust and malicious asper- vide

fion! It ought to be consider'd that the money was their Rapin, due before the King delivered himself into their hands; for P. 347that in fettling the accounts between the two Nations his Majesty's name was not mentioned; that it was impossible to detain him without a War with England, and that the Officers of the Army durst not carry the King to Edinburgh, because both Parliament and Kirk had declared

against receiving him.

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But how furprizing was his Majesty's Conduct! How Remarks. many crofs and inconfistent proposals did he make at this time! While he was treating with the Scots, and offering to concur in the feverest Measures against the Independants, he was listening to the offers of those very Independants to fet him upon the Throne without taking the Covenant, or renouncing the Liturgy of the Church, provided they might have a toleration for themselves. This agreeing with the King's Inclinations had too great a hearing from him (says Bishop Burnet) till Lauderdale writ from London, "That he was infallibly fure, they defigned the Ham. Mem. " destruction of Monarchy, and the ruin of the King and p. 288.

King 1646.

King Charles I. 1646.

"his Posterity; but that if he would consent to the propositions all would be well in spight of the Devil and the
Independants too." But if his Majesty had in good earnest fallen in with the proposals of the Army at this time,
I am of opinion they would have set him upon the Throne
without the Shackles of the Scots Covenant.

King at Holmby House. While the King was at Holmby House he was attended with great respect, and suffered to divert himself at Bowls with Gentlemen in the neighbouring Villages, under a proper guard. The Parliament appointed two of their Clergy (viz.) Mr. Caryl and Mr. Marshall, to preach in the Chapel Mornings and Afternoons on the Lord's Day, and perform the Devotions of the Chapel on week-days, but his Majesty never gave his Attendance. He spent his Sundays in private; and though they waited at Table he would not so much as admit them to ask a blessing.

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Ordinance for abolishing Abps and Bps, &c.

Hufb. Coll. p. 922.

Before the King removed from Newcastle the Parliament put the finishing hand to the destruction of the Hierarchy, by abolishing the very names and titles of Archbishops, Bishops, &c. and alienating their Revenues for payment of the publick Debts. This was done by two Ordinances, bearing date Octob. 9, and Nov. 16, 1646, entitled, "Ordinances for abolishing Archbishops and Bi-" shops, and providing for the payment of the just and " necessary debts of the Kingdom, into which the same "has been drawn by a War, mainly promoted by, and in " favour of the faid Archbishops, Bishops, and other their " Adherents and Dependants. The Ordinance appoints, " That the Name, Title, Stile and Dignity of Archbishop " of Canterbury, Archishop of York, Bishop of Win-" chefter, Bishop of Durham, and all other Bishops of " any Bishopricks within the Kingdom of England and " Dominion Wales, be, from and after Sept. 5, 1646, " wholly abolished and taken away; and all and every " person and persons are to be thenceforth disabled to hold " the Place, Function, Stile of Archbishop, or Bishop of " any Church, See, or Diocese now established or erected, or hereafter to be established or erected within the "Kingdom of England, Dominion of Wales, or Town of Berwick on Tweed; or to use, or put in use, any "Archiepiscopal, or Episcopal Jurisdiction or Authority by " force of any Letters Patents from the Crown, made, or " to be made, or by any other Authority whatfoever, any "Law, Statute, Usage or Custom to the contrary notwith-" ftanding." By

By the Ordinauce of Nov. 16. it is further ordained, "That all Counties Palatine, Honours, Manors, Lord-" thips, Stiles, Circuits, Precincts, Castles, Granges, " Meffuages, Mills, Lands, Tenements, Meadows, Paf- And for Sale " tures, Parsonages, appropriate Tithes, Oblations, Ob- of their " ventions, Pensions, Portions of Tithes, Vicarages, Rushw. " Churches, Chapels, Advowfons, Donations, Nominati- P. 377. "ons, Rights of Patronage and Prefentations, Parks, "Woods, Rents, Reversions, Services, Annuities, Fran-" chifes, Liberties, Privileges, Immunities, Rights of Ac-" tion, and of Entry, Interests, Titles of Entry, Condi-" tions, Commons, Court-Leets, and Court-Barons, and " all other Possessions and Hereditaments whatsoever, " which now are, or within ten years before the beginning " of the prefent Parliament, were belonging to the faid " Archbishops and Bishops, Archbishopricks or Bishopricks, " or any of them, together with all Chattels, Deeds, " Books, Accompts, Rolls, and other Writings and Evi-" dences whatfoever, concerning the premifes, which did " belong to any the faid Archbishops, Bishops, &c. are " vested and settled, adjudged and deemed to be in the " real and actual possession and seizing of the twenty four "Truffees, mentioned in the Ordinance, their Heirs and " Affigns upon Trust, that they shall dispose of the same, " and the rents and profits thereof, as both Houses of Par-" liamen shall order and appoint, i. e. for payment of the " publick Debts, and other necessary charges occasioned by " the War, promoted chiefly by, and in favour of the faid " Hierarchy, faving and excepting all Tithes appropriate, " Oblations, Obventions, and proportions of Tithes, &c. be-" longing to the faid Archbishops, Bishops, and others of the " faid Hierarchy; all which, together with thirty thousand " pounds yearly rent belonging to the Crown, they referve " for the maintenance of preaching Ministers. The Truf-" tees are not to avoid any Leafe made for three Lives, or " twenty one years, provided the faid Leafe or Leafes were " not obtained fince the month of December, 1641. They Scobel, p. " are empowered to appoint proper Officers to survey, and 40. " take a particular Estimate of all Bishops Lands, to re-" ceive the rents and profits of them, and to make a fuffi-" cient Title to fuch as shall purchase them, by order of " Parliament." By virtue of this Ordinance the Truftees were empowered to pay, or cause to be paid to the Assembly of Divines their constant salary allowed them by former

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King Charles L. 1646.

order of Parliament, with all their arrears, out of the rents, revenues, and profits belonging to the late Archbishop of Canterbury, till such time as the said lands and revenues shall happen to be fold. These Church Lands were at first mortgaged as a security for several large sums of Money which the Parliament borrowed at eight per cent. Interest. Several Members of Parliament, and Officers of the Army, afterwards purchased them at low rates, but the bargain proved dear enough in the End. And surely it was wrong to set them to sale, for the Lands being given for the service of Religion, ought to have been continued for that use, tho' in a different channel; but herein they followed the ill Examples of the Kings and Queens of England at the Reformation.

Presbyterians petition against Sectaries. The Presbyterians were now in the height of their power, the Hierarchy being destroyed, the King their prisoner, and the best, if not all the Livings in the Kingdom distributed among them; but still they were distaissined for want of the Top-Stone to their new building, which was Church power; the pulpits, and conversation of the City, were filled with invectives against the Men in Power, because they would not leave the Church independant on the State; the Presbyterian Ministers were very troublesome, the Parliament being teazed every Week with Church Grievances of one kind or another; Dec. 19, the Lord Mayor and his Brethren went up to Westminster with a representation of some of them, and a petition for redress. The Grievances were,

1. "The contempt that began to be put upon the Cove-"nant, fome refusing to take it, and others declaiming "loudly against it; they therefore pray, that it may be

" imposed upon the whole Nation, under such penalties as the Houses shall think fit; and that such as refuse it to

" be disqualified from all places of profit and trust.

2. " The growth of heresy and schissin; the Pulpits being often usurped by preaching Soldiers, who insected
all places where they came with dangerous Errors; they

"therefore pray, that all fuch persons may be forbid to preach as have not taken the Covenant, and been regularly ordained, and that all separate Congregations, the

" very Nurseries of damnable Hereticks, may be suppresfed; that an Ordinance be made for the exemplary punishment of Hereticks and Schismaticks, and that all

godly and orthodox Ministers may have a competent maintenance, many Pulpits being vacant of a settled Mi-

« nister

" nifter for want of it; and here (fay they) we would lay King " the stress of our desires, and the urgency of our affect " tions." They complain further, of the " undue prac-" tices of country Committees, of the threatening power of the Army, and of some breaches in the Constitution; " all which they defire may be redressed, and that his Ma-" jefty's Royal Person and Authority may be preserved and " defended, together with the liberties of the Kingdom,

" according to the Covenant."

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To fatisfy the petitioners the House of Commons pub- Proceedings lished a Declaration Dec. 31. "Wherein they express of Parliament upon " their diflike of Lay-preachers, and their Resolutions to it. " proceed against all such as shall take upon them to " preach, or expound the Scriptures in any Church or " Chapel, or any other publick place, except they be or-" dained either here, or in some other reformed Churches; "likewise against all such Ministers, and others, as shall " publish, or maintain by preaching, writing, printing, or " any other way, any thing against, or in derogation of " the Church Government which is now established by au-" thority of Parliament; and also, against all and every " person or persons who shall willingly or purposely inter-" rupt or difturb a Preacher in the publick Exercises of his " Function; and they command all Officers of the Peace, " and Officers of the Army, to take notice of this De-" claration, and by all lawful means to prevent offences of " this kind, and to apprehend offenders, that a course may " be speedily taken for a due punishment to be inflicted up-" on them." The House of Lords published an order, bearing date Dec. 22, requiring the Headboroughs and Constables, in the several Parishes of England and Wales, to arrest the bodies of such persons as shall disturb any Minister in holy Orders, in the exercise of his publick calling, by speech or action, and to carry them before some Justice of Peace, who is required to put the Laws in Execution against them. Feb. 4, they published an Ordinance to prevent the growth, and spreading of Errors, Herefies, and Blasphemies; but these orders not coming up to their Covenant Uniformity, the Lord Mayor and Common Council presented another petition to the Houses, March 17th, and appointed a Committee to attend the Parliament from Day to Day, till their Grievances were redreffed, of which we shall hear more under the next year.

We have already accounted for the unhappy Rife of these Further Ac-Sectarians in the Army when it was new modell'd, who sectaries.

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King Charles I. 1646.

were now grown fo extravagant as to call for some proper restraint, the mischief being spread not only over the whole Country, but into the very City of London itself; it was first pleaded in excuse for this practice, that a gifted Brother had better preach and pray to the people than no body; but now learning, good fense, and the rational interpretation of Scripture, began to be cried down, and every bold pretender to inspiration was preferr'd to the most grave and fober Divines of the Age; some advanced themselves into the rank of Prophets, and others uttered all fuch crude and undigested absurdities as came first into their minds, calling them the dictates of the Spirit within them; by which the publick peace was frequently disturbed, and great numbers of ignorant people led into the belief of the most dan-The Assembly of divines did what they gerous Errors. could to stand in the gap, by writing against them, and publishing " a Detestation of the Errors of the Times." The Parliamentalso appointed a Fast on that account, Feb. 4, 1645-6, and many Books were published against the Antinomians, Anabaptists, Seekers, &c. not forgetting the Independants, whose insisting upon a Toleration was reckon'd the inlet to all the reft.

Edwards's Gangræna.

The most furious Writer against the Sectaries was Mr. Thomas Edwards, Minister of Christ Church, London, a zealous Presbyterian, who became remarkable by a Book entitled, Gangræna, or, a Catalogue of many of the Errors, Herefies, Blasphemies, and pernicious practices of this time: in the Epistle Dedicatory he calls upon the higher powers to rain down all their vengeance upon these deluded people, in the following language; "You have done wor-" thily against Papists, Prelates, and scandalous Ministers, in " casting down Images, Altars, Crucifixes, throwing out " ceremonies, &c. but what have you done (fays he) against " Herefy, Schism, Disorder, against Seekers, Anabaptists, " Antinomians, Brownists, Libertines, and other Sects; you " have made a Reformation, but with the Reformation have we not worse things come upon us than we had before, as denying the Scriptures, pleading for toleration of all religions and worships; yea, for blasphemy, and denying there is a God. You have put down the Common Prayer, and " there are many among us that are for putting down the " Scriptures. You have broke down the images of the Trinity, and we have those who oppose the Trinity. You have " cast out Bishops and their Officers, and we have many that " cast down to the ground all Ministers. You have cast out " Ceremonies 2 12 14

" ceremonies in the Sacraments, as the Crofs, Kneeling at the " Lord's Supper, and many cast out the Sacraments them-" felves. You have put down Saints Days, and many " make nothing of the Lord's Day. You have taken away the superfluous maintenance of Bishops and Deans, and we have many that cry down the necessary mainte-" nance of Ministers. In the Bishop's days we had singing " of Pfalms taken away in some places, conceived Prayer, " Preaching, and in their room Anthems, stinted Forms, and reading brought in, and now finging of Psalms is spoken against, publick Prayer question'd, and all ministerial preaching denied. In the Bishop's time popish "Innovations were introduced, as bowing at Altars, &c. and now we have anointing the Sick with Oil; then we " had bishoping of Children, now we have bishoping of " Men and Women, by laying on of Hands. In the " Bishops days we had the fourth Commandment taken a-" way, and now All Ten are taken away by the Antinomi-The worst of the Prelates held many sound Doctrines, and had many commendable Practices, but many " of our Sectaries deny all Principles of Religion, are enemies to all holy Duties, Order, Learning, overthrowingall, being whirligig Spirits, and the great Opinion of an universal Toleration tends to the laying all waste, and diffolution of all Religion, and good Manners. Now (fays our Author) à connivance, and sussering without punishment, fuch false Doctrines and Disorders, provokes God to fend Judgments. A Toleration doth eclipse the "Glory of the most excellent Reformation, and makes these Sins to be the Sins of the Legislature that countenances them. A Magistrate should use coercive power to punish and suppress evils, as appears from the example of Ely. Now, right honourable, though you don't own these Heresies, but have put out several Orders against them, yet there is a strange unheard of suffering of them, such an one as there hardly ever was the like, under any orthodox Christian Magistrate and State. Ma ny Sectaries are countenanced, and employed in places of trust; there has not been any exemplary restraint of the Sectaries, by virtue of any of your Ordinances, but they are flighted and fcorned; preaching of Lay-men was never more in request than fince your Ordinance against it; Presbyterial Government never more preached and printed against than fince it was established. Our dear Brethren of Scotland stand amazed, and are asto-VOL III. " nithed

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King Charles I. 1646. "inished at these Things; the orthodox Ministers and people both in city and country are grieved and discouraged,
and the common enemy scorns and blasphemes; it is
high time therefore for your Honours to suffer no longer
these Sects and Schisms, but to do something worthy
of a Parliament against them, and God will be with

« you."

After this Dedication there are one hundred and seventy fix erroneous Passages collected from sundry Pamphlets printed about this time, and from the reports of friends in all parts of the kingdom, to whom he sent for materials to fill up his Book; however, the Heresies are at length reduced under sixteen general Heads.

Independants,
 Brownists,
 Millenaries,
 Antinomians,
 Anabaptists,
 Arminians,

7. Libertines, 8. Familists. 9. Enthusiasts,

11. Perfectists,

13. Arians, 14. Antitrinitarians, 15. Antifcripturists,

16. Scepticks.

The industrious Writer might have enlarged his Catalogue with Papists and Prelates, Deifts, Ranters, Behemenists, &c. &c. or, if he had pleased, a less number might have served his turn, for very few of these Sectaries were collected into Societies; but his bufiness was to blacken the Adversaries of Presbyterian Uniformity, that the Parliament might crush them by sanguinary Methods. Among his Herefies there are some that do not deserve that name; and among his Errors, some that never grew into a Sect, but fell occasionally from the pen or lips of some wild Enthusiaft, and died with the Author. The Independants are put at the head of the Sectaries, because they were for "Toleration of all Christians who agreed in the Fundamentals " of Religion;" to prove this, which they never denied, he has collected several Passages out of their publick Prayers; one independant Minister (fays he) prayed that Presbytery might be removed, and the Kingdom of Christ fet up; another prayed two or three times, " That the " Parliament might give Liberty to tender Consciences;" another thanked God for the Liberty of Conscience granted in America; and said, "Why, Lord, not " in England?" Another prayed, " fince God had deliveres ed

P. 40.

King.

" ed both Presbyterians and Independants, from Prelatical " Bondage, that the former might not be guilty of bringing Charles I. " their Brethren into Bondage." The Reader will judge of the spirit of this Writer, by the foregoing specimen of his performance, which I should not have thought worth remembring, if our Church-Writers had not reported the flate of Religion from his Writings. "I knew Mr. Ed-Appeal, p. " wards very well (fays Fuller) my Cotemporary in Queen's 58. " College, who was often transported beyond due bounds " with the keenness and eagerness of his Spirit, and there-" fore I have just cause in some things to suspect him." He adds farther, " I am most credibly informed by such, who "I am confident will not abuse me and Posterity therein; " that Mr. Herbert Palmer (an Anti-Independent to the height) being convinced that Mr. Edwards had printed " some Falshoods on one sheet of his Gangræna, profer'd to have the Sheet reprinted at his own charge, but some "Accident obstructed it." However, our Author went on publishing a second and third Gangræna, full of most bitter Invectives and Reproaches, 'till his own Friends were nauseated with his performances.

The Reverend Mr. Baxter, who attended the conquer- Mr. Baxter's ng army, mentions the Independants, Anabaptists and An-Account of inomians, as the chief Separatists, to whom he adds some ther Names, as Seekers, Ranters, Behemenists, Vanists, which died in their Infancy, or cemented in the people sterwards known by the name of Quakers; but when he vent into the Army he found "almost one half of the re-Baxter's ligious party among them orthodox, or but very lightly Life, p. 53. touch'd with the above-mentioned mistakes, and almost another half honest men, that had stepp'd further into the contending Way than they ought, but with a little help might be recovered; a few fiery, felf-conceited men among them, kindled the rest, and made all the noise and bustle; for the greatest part of the common Soldiers were ignorant men; and of little Religion; these would do any thing to please their Officers, and were Infiruments for the Seducers in their great Work, which was to cry down the Covenant, to villify Parish Ministers, and especially the Scots and the Presbyterians." Mr. Baxter observes, that " these fiery hot men were hatch'd among the old Separatifts; that they were herce with pride and conceit, and uncharitableness, but many of the honest Soldiers who were only tainted with some doubts about Liberty of Conscience, and indepen-" dency,

King

dency, would discourse of the points of fanctification and christian experience very favourily; the Seducers above-"mention'd were great Preachers, and fierce Disputants, but of no fettled principles of Religion,; fome were of levelling principles as to the State, but all were agreed. that the Civil Magistrate had nothing to do in matters of Religion, any further than to keep the peace, and pro-To speak impartially, some of the Presbyterian Ministers " frighten'd the Sectaries into this fury, by the unpeaceableness and impatience of their minds; they ran from " Libertinism into the other extream, and were so little fensible of their own infirmity, that they would not have them tolerated, who were not only tolerable, but worthy instruments and Members in the Churches."
Lord Clarendon says, that Cromwell and his Officers preached and prayed publickly to their Troops, and admitted few or no Chaplains in the Army but fuch as bitterly

inveighed against the Presbyterian Government as more. tyrannical than Episcopacy; and that the common Soldiers' as well as the Officers, did not only pray and preach among

and preached to the People, who quickly became inspired with the same spirit; Women as well as Men taking upon them to pray and preach; which made as great a noise and confusion in all opinions concerning Religion, as

themselves, but went up into the pulpits in all Churches,

Lord Cla-

611.

there was in the Civil Government of the State. Bishop Bramhal, in one of his letters to Archbishop Usher writes, that " the Papists took advantage of these, Par s Life of " Confusions, and sent over above one hundred of their "Clergy, that had been educated in France, Italy and "Spain, by order from Rome. In these nurseries the "Scholars were taught feveral Handicraft Trades and " Callings, according to their Ingenuities, befides their "Functions in the Church; they have many yet at Paris, " (fays the Bishop) fitting up to be fent over, who twice in the week oppose one the other; one pretending Prefbytery, the other Independency, some Anabaptism, and others contrary Tenets. The hundred that went, over this year (according to the Bishop) were most of, " them Soldiers in the Parliament Army." But Mr. Life, p. 78. Baxter, after a diligent enquiry declares, that he could not find them out; which renders the Bishop's Account,

suspected. "The most that I could suspect for Pa-, pifts among Cromwell's Soldiers (fays he) were but a

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it a few few that began as Strangers among the common Sol- King Charles I. diers, and by degrees role up to some inferior Officers, 1646. " but none of the superior Officers seemed such." The Body of the Army had a vast aversion to the Papists, and the Parliament took all occasion of treating them with rigour; for June 30, Morgan a Priest was drawn, hanged and quarfered, for going out of the Kingdom to receive Orders from Rome, and then returning again. But without all question, both Church and State were in the utmost disorder and confusion at the close of this year.

Among the great Men of the Parliament's Side that died Death of E. about this time was Robert D'Evereux, Earl of Effex, Son of Effex. of the famous Favourite of Queen Elizabeth; he was educated to Arms in the Netherlands, and afterwards ferved the King and Queen of Bohemia for the recovery of the Palatinate. King Charles I. made him Lieutenant of his Army in his Expedition against the Scots, and Lord Chamberlain of the Houshold; but the Earl being unwilling to go into the arbitrary measures of the Court in favour of Popery and Slavery took part with the Parliament, and accepted of the Commission of Captain General of their Forces, for which the King proclaimed him a Traytor. was a Person of great Honour, and served the Parliament with fidelity; but being of opinion, that the war should be ended rather by treaty than conquest, did not always push his Successes as far as he might. Upon the new modelling the Ludlow, Army the cautious General was difmiffed with an honoura- 186. able pension for his past Services; after which he retired to his House at Eltham in Kent, where he died of a Lethargy, occasioned by over-heating himself in the Chace of a Stag in Windsor Forest, Sept. 14, 1646, in the fifty fifth year of his age: He was buried with great Funeral Solomnity in Westminster Abby, Octob. 22, at the publick expence, both Houses of Parliament attending the procession. His Effigies was afterwards erected in Westminster Hall, lome of the King's Party found means in the Night to cut off the Head, and break the Sword, Arms and Escutcheons. Mr. Vines preached his Funeral Sermon, and gave him a very high encomium, but Lord Clarendon has stained his Character for taking part with the Parliament, which, he fays, was owing to his pride and vanity. The Earl's Countenance appeared stern and solemn, but to his familiar Acquaintance his Behaviour was mild and affable. Upon the whole, he was a truly great and excellent Person; his

King Charles I. 1646.

Death was an unspeakable loss to the King, for he was the only Nobleman, perhaps, in the Kingdom, who had Interest enough with both parties to have put an end to the Civil War at the very time when Providence called him out of the world.

Death of Mr. Colman.

Among the remarkable Divines may be reckoned the Reverend and learned Mr. Thomas Colman, Rector of St. Peter's Church in Cornhill; he was born at Oxford, and entered in Magdalen College in the seventeenth year of his age; he afterwards became so perfect a Master of the Hebrew Language, that he was commonly called Rabby Col-In the beginning of the Civil War he left his Rectory of Blyton in Lincolnshire, being persecuted from thence by the Cavaliers. Upon his coming to London he was preferred to the Rectory of St. Peter's Cornhill, and made one of the Assembly of Divines. Mr. Wood says, he behaved modestly and learnedly in the Assembly; and Mr. Fuller gives him the Character of a modest and learned Divine; he was equally an enemy to Presbytery and Prelacy, being of Erastian Principles; he fell sick when the Asfembly was debating the Jus Divinum of Presbytery; and when they fent some of their Members to visit him, he defired they would not come to an absolute determination till they heard what he had to offer upon the Question; but his diftemper encreasing he died in a few days, and the whole Assembly did him the honour to attend his Funeral in a Body, March 30, 1646.

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Death of Oxon.

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About the middle of July died the learned Doctor Wil-Dr. Twiffe. liam Twiffe, vicar of Newbury, and Prolocutor of the Affémbly of Divines; he was born at Speenham Land, near Newbury in Berkshire; his Father was a substantial Clothier in that Town, and educated his Son at Winchester School, from whence he was translated to New College in Oxford, of which he was Fellow: Here he applied himself to the Study of Divinity with the closest application, for fixteen years together. In the year 1604, he proceeded Master cf Arts, about the same time he entered into Holy Orders, and became a diligent and frequent Preacher; he was admired by the University for his subtle wit, exact Judgment, exemplary Life and Conversation, and all other valuable qualities that became a Man of his Function. In the year 1614, he proceeded Doctor of Divinity, after which he travelled into Germany, and became Chaplain to the Princels Palatine, Daughter of King James I. After his return

King Charles I.

1646.

he gained a vast Reputation by his useful Preaching and examplary Life. His most learned Adversaries have confessed, that there was nothing then extant, more exact, accurate and full, touching the Arminian Controversy, than what he published; nor have any written upon this Argument fince the publishing Dr. Twiffe's Works, but have made an honourable mention of him. The Doctor was offered the Prebend of Winchester, and several Preferments in the Church of England; the States of Friefland invited him to the Professorship of Divinity in their University of Francker, but he refused all. In the beginning of the Civil War he was forced from his Living at Newbury by the Cavaliers, and upon calling together the Affembly of Divines, was appointed by Parliament their Prolocutor, in which place he continued to his Death, which happened after a lingering indisposition, about the 20th of July, 1646, in the feventy first year of his age. He died in very necessitous Circumstances, having lost all that he had by the King's Soldiers, infomuch, that when fome of the Assembly were deputed to visit him in his Sickness, they reported, " that he was very fick, and in great

" straits." He was allowed to be a Person of prodigious knowledge in School Divinity; a fubtle Disputant, and withal, a modest, humble, and religious person. He was buried, at the request of the Assembly, in the Collegiate Church of St. Peter's Westminster, near the upper end of the poor Folks Table, next the Vestry, July 24, and was attended by the whole Assembly in a Body: There his body rested till the Restoration of King Charles II. when his bones were dug up by order of Council, Sept. 14, 1661, and thrown, with feveral others, into a hole in the Churchyard of St. Margaret's, before the Back-door of the Lodg-

turn to England he was made Vicar of Newbury, where

ings of one of the Prebendaries. Towards the end of the year died the Reverend and pi- Death of ous Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs; he was educated in Cam- Mr. Jer. bridge, but obliged to quit the University and Kingdom Burroughs, for Non-conformity in the late times. Upon his leaving England he became Minister of an English Congregation at Rotterdam, with which he continued till the year 1642, when he returned to England, and became Preacher to two of the largest and most numerous Congregations about London (viz.) Stepney and Cripplegate. He was one of the Diffenting Brethren in the Affembly, but was a Divine of great candor, modesty and charity. He never gathered a

feparate

King Charles I. 1647.

separate Congregation, nor accepted of a Parochial Living, but wore out his Strength in a continual Preaching, and other Services of the Church. He was an excellent Scholar and a good Expositor, and most popular Preacher; he writ feveral Treatifes while he lived, and his Friends have published a great many others since his Death, which have met with a general acceptance. It was faid, the divisions of the times broke his Heart, because one of the last subjects he preached upon, and printed, was his Irenicum, or attempt to heal divisions among Christians. Mr. Baxter used to say, If all the Presbyterians had been like Mr. Marshall, and the Independents like Mr. Burroughs, their differences might eafily have been compromised. He died of a confumptive Illness Nov. 14, 1646, about the forty feventh year of his Age. enter to which place he continued to his Death, which

total and an in or C. H. A P. to VIII de autimot . . . viet tin very necessite as Circumfrances, having less who that

sterner andipolition, abenition amore

Proceedings of the Assembly upon their Confession of Faith and Catechisms. Provincial Assemblies of London. The King taken out of the Parliament's Custody and conveyed to the Army. Controverfy between the Parliament and Army. His Majesty's Conduct. He efcapes from Hampton-Court and is confined in the Isle of lateral Albert of the Alberta Wight. h of St. Poter's West minimers appearable uppe

Proceedings of the Affembly upon their Conteffion of Faith.

THE Reverend Mr. Charles Herle took Possession of 1 the Prolocutor's Chair by Order of Parliament July 22, 1646, in the Room of the late Dr. Twiffe, when the Discipline of the Church being pretty well settled, it was moved to finish their Confession of Faith. The English Divines would have been content with revising and explaining the thirty nine Articles of the Church of England, but the Scots infifted on a system of their own; a Committee was therefore appointed to prepare materials for this Purpose May 9, 1645; their Names were Dr. Gouge, Dr. Hoyle, Mr. Herle, Gataker, Tuckney, Reynolds, and Vines, with the Scots Divines, who having first fettled the Titles of the feveral Chapters, as they now stand, in their Confession of Faith, in Number Thirty two, distributed them for greater Expedition, among feveral Sub-Committees, which fat two days every week, and then reported what they had finished to the Committee, and so to the Assembly, where i at cauclos, inquality, and chapter. He hever garbotan a it was debated paragraph by paragraph. The disputes about King Charles I. Discipline occasioned so many Interruptions that it was a year and half before this work was finished, for Nov. 26, 1646, the Prolocutor returned thanks to the several Committees, in the name of the Assembly, for their great pains in perfecting the Work committed to them. At the fame time Dr. Burges was appointed to get it transcribed, in order to its being presented to Parliament, which was done Dec. 11, by the whole Assembly in a body, under the Title of, "The humble Advice of the Assembly of Divines, They pre- "and others, now, by authority of Parliament, sitting at Parliament." "Westminster, concerning a Confession of Faith." The M. S. pener House of Commons having voted the Assembly Thanks, me defired them to infert the proofs of the feveral Articles in their proper places, and then to print fix hundred copies, and no more for the perulal of the Houses. The Reverend Mr. Wilson, Mr. Byfield, and Mr. Gower, were appointed, Jan. 6, to be a Committee to collect the Scriptures for confirmation of the feveral articles; all which being examined by the Affembly were inferted in the margin. After this the whole Confession was committed once more to a Review of the three Committees, who made report to the Affembly of fuch further amendments as they thought necessary; which being agreed to by the House it was sent to the Press. May 11, 1647, Mr. Byfield, by appointment Rushw. of the House of Commons, delivered to the Members the Vol. I. printed Copies of their Confession of Faith with Scripture p. 482. Notes, figned

the the Civil Ma-Charles Herle, Prolocutor, Corn. Burges, Affeffors, Herbert Palmer, Scribes. Henry Roborough,

rail but I and went to so And because no more were to be given out at present, every Member subscribed his name to the receipt thereof.

Adoniram Byfield,

Midsterlitts ons

The House of Commons began their examination of this Debates of Confession May 19, when they passed through the whole first the Com-Chapter Article by Article, but the diffurbances that arose mons upon. between the Parliament and Army interrupted their progress for the whole-Summer; but when these were quieted they returned to their work, and October 2, ordered a Chapter of the Confession of Faith at least to be debated

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King Charles I. 1647. Rushw: P. 1035.

Articles of Discipline

every Wednesday till the whole was finished, by which means they got through the whole before the end of March following; for at the conference with the House of Lords March 22, 1647-8, the Commons prefented them with the Confession of Faith as passed by their House, with some alterations: They agreed with the Assembly in the Doctrinal Part of the Confession, and ordered it to be published, June 20, 1648, for the fatisfaction of the foreign Churches, under the Title of, " Articles of Religion approved and " passed by both Houses of Parliament, after advice had " with an Assembly of Divines called together by them for "that purpose." The Parliament not thinking it proper to call it a Confession of Faith, because the Sections did rejected. to call it a Confession of Faith, because the Sections did Savoy Conf. not begin with the Words I confess; nor to annex matters P. 18, 19. of Church Government, about which they were not agreed. of Church Government, about which they were not agreed, to Doctrinal Articles; those Chapters therefore, which relate to Discipline, as they now stand in the Assembly's Confession, were not printed by order of the House, but recommitted, and at last laid aside, as the whole thirtieth Chapter, Of Church Censures, and of the power of the The thirty first Chapter of Synods and Councils, Keys. by whom to be called, and of what Force in their Decrees and Determinations. A great part of the twenty fourth Chapter, Of Marriage and Divorce, which they referred to the Laws of the Land. And the fourth paragraph of the twentieth Chapter, which determines " what Opinions and Parties disturb the peace of the Church, and how " fuch disturbers aught to be proceeded against by the

But the whole received by the and foul of Presbytery consists, never past the English Parthe Scots Affembly and Parlia-Pref. p. 20.

Savoy Conf. General Assembly and Parliament of that Kingdom, as the established Doctrine and Discipline of their Kirk; and thus it has been published to the World ever fince, though the Chapters abovementioned, relating to Discipline (as has been observed) never had the fanction of either House of the English Parliament; nevertheless, as they were agreed to by an Assembly of English Divines, I have given them a place in the Appendix.

" censures of the Church, and punish'd by the Civil Ma-

" gistrate." These Propositions, in which the very life

liament, nor had the fanction of a Law in this Country:

But the whole Confession, as it came from the Assembly,

being fent into Scotland, was immediately approved by the

Appendix, No. II.

Nor is it to be supposed, that the Confession of Faith itfelf, which determines so many abstruse Points of Divinity, should have the unanimous affent of the whole Affembly

or Parliament; for though all the Divines were in the King Anti-Arminian Scheme, yet some had a greater Latitude Charles I. than others. I find in my M.S. the diffent of feveral Members against some expressions relating to "Reprobation, " to the imputation of the active as well as passive Obedi-" ence of Christ, and to several passages in the Chapters of "Liberty of Conscience and Church Discipline," but the Confession, as far as it related to Articles of Faith, past the Affembly and Parliament by a very great majority.

Various Censures have been passed by learned men upon Censures of this labour'd Performance; some have loaded it with unde-"tferved reproaches; and others, perhaps, have advanced its reputation a little too high. Mr. Collier condemns it, for determining in favour of the Morality of the Sabbath; for pronouncing the Pope to be Antichrift; and, for maintaining the Calvinian Rigors of " absolute Predestination, ir- B. Hist. " refistible Grace, and the impotency of Man's Will;" p. 842. Doctrines, in his opinion, inconsistent with Christianity. But then he observes, very justly, that it falls very short of the Scots Claim in points of Discipline; it yields the Magistrate a power of convening Church Assemblies, and of superintending their proceedings; it is silent as to the Independency of the Church, and the Divine Right of Presbytery, &c. But upon the whole, the Assembly's Confession, with all its Faults, has been ranked by very good Judges among the most perfect Systems of Divinity, that have been published upon the Calvinistick or Anti-Arminian Principles

While the Confession was carrying through the Assem- Assembly's bly, Committees were appointed to reduce it into the form Shorter Caof Catechisms; one larger, for the service of a publick techisms. exposition in the Pulpit, according to the custom of foreign Rushw. Churches; the other smaller, for the instruction of Chil- p. 888, 1060. dren; in both which the Articles relating to Church Difcipline are omitted. The larger Catechism is a comprehenfive System of Divinity, and the smaller, a very accurate Summary, though it has been thought by some a little too long, and in some things too abstruse for the Capacities of Children. The Shorter Catechism was presented to the House of Commons, Nov. 5, but the Larger, by reason of the marginal proofs from Scripture, which the Houses defired might be inferted, was not ready till the 14th of April, 1648, when the House ordered six hundred copies to be printed for the service of the Members; and having examined and approved it, they allowed it to be printed by Authority,

in the last age.

King tries I 1647. ofhw. P. 1326.

Scots Commiffioners take leave of the Affem-

Authority for publick use, September 15, 1648. The King after many Solicitations, at the treaty of the Isle of Wight, offer'd to license the shorter Catechism, with a proper Preface; but that Treaty proving unfuccessful it

was not accomplished.

The chief Affairs committed to the Affembly being thus finished, Mr. Rutherford, one of the Scots Divines, moved, October 24, 1647, that it might be recorded in the Scribes books, that the Assembly had enjoyed the Assistance of the Honourable, Reverend and Learned Commissioners of the Church of Scotland, during all the Time they had been debating and perfecting these four things mentioned in the Covenant (viz.) " Their composing a Directory for publick Worship. An uniform Confession of Faith. A form of "Church Government and Discipline. And a publick Ca-" techifm;" Some of their number having been prefent during the whole of these transactions; which being done, about a week after, he and the rest of the Commissioners took their leave and returned home; upon which occasion Mr. Herle the Prolocutor rose up, and in the name of the Assembly, "thanked the Honourable and Reverend Commil-" fioners, for their affistance , he excused in the best manner " he could, the Directory's not being fo well observed as it "ought; and lamented that the Affembly had not power to call offenders to an account; he confesses, that their " affairs were very much embarrass'd, and that they were " still in a chaos of confusion; [the King being now taken out of the hands of the Parliament, and in custody of the Army] he takes notice of what diffresses the Parliament were in, while the common enemy was high and " ftrong; and adds, that their extraordinary successes his "therto were owing to the prayers of their brethren of Scotland, and other Protestants abroad, as well as to their " own. He then mentions with concern some other Re-" fraints the Assembly lay under, but that this was not a of proper time for redrefs."

The Commissioners went home under a very great concern for the florm that was gathering in England, and for the hardships the Presbyterians lay under with respect to their Discipline; and having obtained the Establishment of the Directory, the Confession of Faith and Catechisms, the Presbyterian Discipline, and Rouse's Psalms in Metre, for the service of their Kirk, they appointed a general Fast, to lament their own defection from the Solemn League and Covenant, and the distressed condition of their Brethren

or the Di-Aractions of England.

Authority.

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in England, who were zealous for carrying on the work of King Charles L. God, but were now oppressed, under pretence of Liberty, 1647. when no less was aimed at than Tyranny and arbitrary Poweroundide marines

If the Parliament, had diffolved the Assembly at this Time, as they ought to have done, they had gone home with honour and reputation, for after this they did little : but examine Candidates for the Ministry, and dispute upon the questions of the Jus Divinum of Presbytery; the grand Consultations about publick affairs, and practifing upon the new Establishment, being translated to the Provincial Affemblies, and weekly meetings of the London Clergy at Sion College *.

Though

* That the Reader may form a judgment of what was intended Rapin, p. to be established in England, it may not be improper to set before 311. him in one view, the discipline that was then settled in the Kirk of Scotland, and subsists at this time " In Scotland there are eight " hundred and ninety Parishes, each of which is divided, in pro-" portion to its extent, into particular diffricts, and every diffrict " has its own ruling Elders and Deacons; the ruling Elders are "Men of the principal quality and interest in the Parish, and the "Deacons are persons of a good character for manners and un-"derstanding. A Confistory of Ministers, Elders, and Deacons, is called a Kirk Session, the lowest ecclesiastical Judicatory; " which meets once a week, to consider the affairs of the Parish. "The Minister is always Moderator, but without a Negative; appeals lie from hence to their own Presbyteries, which are the next "higher Judicatories. Scotland is divided into fixty nine " Presbyteries, each confishing of from twelve to twenty four con-"tiguous Parishes. The Ministers of these Parishes, with one " Ruling Elder, chosen half yearly out of every Kirk Session, " compose a Presbytery. They meet in the head Town and chuse " their Moderator, who must be a Minister, half yearly; from " hence appeals lie to provincial Synods, which are composed of " several adjacent Presbyters, Two, Three, Four to Eight; there " are Fifteen in all. The Members are a Minister and a Ruling " Elder out of every Parish. These Synods meet twice a year, at " the principal Town of its Bounds. They chuse a Moderator, " who is their Prolocutor. The Acts of the Synods are subject to " the Review of the General Assembly, the dernier Resort of the "Kirk of Scotland. It confifts of Commissioners from Presby-" teries, Royal Burghs, and Universities. A Presbytery of Twelve " Ministers sends two Ministers and One Ruling Elder; a Presby-" tery of between Twelve and Eighteen fends Three, and One "Ruling Elder; of between Eighteen and Twenty four lends " Four, and Two Ruling Elders; of Twenty four lends Five,

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King Charles I. 1647.

Vol. Pamp. No. 4.

Though the City and Suburbs of London had been formed into a Province, and divided into twelve classical Prefbyteries (as has been remember'd) the last year, new complaints were still made to the Parliament of certain obstructions in their way; upon which the Houses published their Resolutions of April 22d, 1647, entitled, " Remedies for " removing fome Obstructions in Church Government;" in which they order letters to be fent from the Speakers of both Houses to the several Counties of England, immediately to divide themselves into distinct Presbyteries, and Classes; " They then appoint the Elders and Ministers of the several Classes of the Province of London, to hold their Provincial Affembly in the Convocation House of "St. Paul's in London, upon the first Monday in May " next enfuing, and to adjourn their Meetings De Die in "Diem, and conclude them with adjournment to the next " opportunity, according to the Ordinance of Parliament; " but that no Act shall pass or be valid in the said Province " of London, except it be done by the number of thirty " fix present, or the major part of them, whereof twelve " to be Ministers, and twenty four Ruling Elders. " in the Classical Meetings that which shall be done by the " major part present shall be esteemed the Act of the " whole; but no Act done by any Classes shall be valid un-" less it be done by the number of fifteen present, or the " major part of them, whereof five to be Ministers, and ten Ruling Elders." So that the Number of Lay-Elders in these Assemblies was double to the Number of Ministers.

First Provincial Assembly. According to this appointment the first Provincial Assembly met at the Convocation House of St. Paul's May 3, consisting of three Ministers and six Ruling Elders from the several Classes, in all about one hundred and eight persons; at their first Session they chose the Reverend Dr. Gouge Prolocutor, who opened the Assembly with a Sermon at his own Church in Black-friars, the Reverend Mr. Thomas Manton, Mr. Ralph Robinson, and Mr. Cardel, being appointed Scribes. After their return to the Convocation-House a Committee of seven Ministers and sourceen Ruling Elders,

[&]quot; and Two Elders; every Royal Burgh fends One Elder, and "Edinburgh Two; every University fends One Commissioner,

[&]quot; usually a Minister. The General Assembly meets once a year, in the month of May, and is opened and adjourned by the King's Royal Commissioner appointed for that purpose."

Chap. VIII. of the PURITANS.

Elders, were chosen to consider of the Business of the Pro-

King Charles I. 1647.

The Ministers were,

The Rev. Mr. Whitaker, Dr. Seaman, Mr. Ed. Calamy, Mr. Spurstow, The Rev. Mr. Tuckney, Mr. Proffet, Mr. Jackson.

The Ruling Elders were,

Sir Edw. Popham, Dr. Clarke, Dr. Baftwicke, Dr. Brinley, Mr. Bence, Mr. Ruffel, Mr. Bains,

Mr. Houghton,
Mr. Eyres,
Mr. Vaughan,
Mr. Webbe,
Mr. English,
Col. Sowtonstall,
Mr.

Any fix of the Quorum, provided there be two Miniflers, and Four Ruling Elders. Their next Meeting to be at Sion College, May 6, at Two in the Afternoon.

At the second Sessions it was moved, that Application be made to Parliament, for liberty to remove the Assembly from the Convocation-House to some other place; and accordingly they were allowed to adjourn to any place within the City of London, or the liberties; upon which they agreed upon Sion College, where they continued to meet twice a Week to the end of the year 1659, as appears by a Manuscript of the late Mr. Grange, now in Sion College Library.

But before their Adjournment from the Convocation-House at St. Saul's, they came to the following Resolutions; resolved,

1. That the Provincial Assembly shall meet twice every Gen. Rules for rhe Provincial Assembly shall meet twice every Gen. Rules for rhe Provincial Assembly shall meet twice every Gen. Rules for rhe Provincial Assembly shall meet twice every Gen. Rules for rhe Provincial Assembly shall meet twice every Gen. Rules for rhe Provincial Assembly shall meet twice every Gen. Rules for rhe Provincial Assembly shall meet twice every Gen. Rules for rhe Provincial Assembly shall meet twice every Gen. Rules for rhe Provincial Assembly shall meet twice every Gen. Rules for rhe Provincial Assembly shall meet twice every Gen. Rules for rhe Provincial Assembly shall meet twice every Gen. Rules for rhe Provincial Assembly shall meet twice every Gen. Rules for rhe Provincial Assembly shall meet twice every Gen. Rules for rhe Provincial Assembly shall meet twice every Gen. Rules for rhe Provincial Assembly shall meet twice every Gen. Rules for rhe Provincial Assembly shall meet twice every Gen. Rules for rhe Provincial Assembly shall meet twice every Gen. Rules for rhe Provincial Assembly shall meet twice every gen.

2. That the Moderator for the time being shall begin sembly, and end every Session with Prayer.

3. When a new Moderator is to be chosen the senior Minister shall preside.

4. The Moderator shall be subject to the censure of the majority of the Assembly, in case of complaint, and shall

King leave the Chair while the complaint is debating, and the

5. Every one that speaks shall direct his Speech to the

Moderator, and be uncovered.

6. No Man shall speak above three times to the same

question at one Sessions.

7. When any business is before the Assembly relating to any particular Member, he shall withdraw, if defired by the Majority.

8. After the Assembly is set no Member shall withdraw

without leave.

9. The names of the Members present shall be recorded by the Scribes.

Every Provincial Assembly was dissolved in course at the End of six months, when notice was given to the several Classes to choose new Representatives; but it was an ill Omen upon them, that their Meetings were interrupted almost all this Summer, by reason of the distraction of the times.

ad Provincial Assembly.

Their Petiaion to Parliament, MS. Sion Coll.

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The second Provincial Assembly met Nov. 8, Dr. Seaman Moderator, and presented a petition to the Parliament in a body, Jan. 11, in which they humbly pray,
1. "That the Number of Delegates to the Provincial

1. "That the Number of Delegates to the Provincial Assembly may be enlarged, because they found it difficult sometimes to make up the Number of thirty

ce fix.

2. "That the Houses would quicken the Settlement of those Classes [in London] that were not yet formed, which they say were four.

3. " That some more effectual Encouragement may be

" provided for a learned Ministry.

4. "That effectual provision may be made against clandestine Marriages, for the punishment of Fornication,
Adultery, and such Uncleanness as is not fit to be named.

5. "That Church Censures may be so established, that from feandalous persons may be effectually excluded from

" Church Communion."

The Parliament received them with Respect, and promifed to take the particulars into confideration, which was all that was done in the affair. al

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But besides the Provincial Assembly, it has been remember'd, that the London Clergy had their weekly meetings at Sion College, to confult about Church affairs, in one of which they agreed, fince they could do no more, to bear their publick Testimony against the Errors of the times; and accordingly they published a Treatise, entitled, " A " Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ, and to our So- London Mi-" lemn League and Covenant; as also, against the errors, nisters Testi-"Herefies, and Blasphemies of these times, and the To- mony to " leration of them; to which is added a Catalogue of the against " faid errors, &c.? dated from Sion College, Dec. 14, Error. 1647, and fubscribed by fifty eight of the most eminent Pattors in London, of whom seventeen were of the Assembly of Divines. Some time after the Ministers of Gloucestershire published their Concurrence with the London Ministers, subscribed by fixty four names. The Ministers of the Province of Lancaster by eighty four. The Devonshire Ministers by eighty three; and the Somerset Ministers by feventy one.

The London Ministers, in their first article, touching " matters of Doctrine, declare their affent to the West-

" minster Assembly's confession of Faith, and heartily de-" fire it may receive the fanction of Authority, as the joint

" Confession of Faith of the three Kingdoms, in pursuance

" of the Covenant."

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Touching Herefies and Errors, they declare their deteftation and abhorrence of these following, among others,

1. " That the holy Scriptures are not of Divine Authority, L. Clarkson.

" and the only Rule of Faith.

2. " That God hath a bodily shape; that God is the Crisp, " name of a person; and, that God is the Author of sin, Eaton,

having a greater hand in it than Men themselves.

3. " That there is not a Trinity of Persons in the God-Paul Best. "head; that the Son is not co-equal with the Father; and, Biddle, p. 8.

" that the Holy Ghost is only a ministring Spirit.

4. " That God has not elected some to Salvation from Fulness of " eternity, and rejected or reprobated others; and, that no God's Love to Mankind

" Man shall perish in Hell for Adam's sin.

5. "That Christ died for the fins of all Mankind; that Hammond's " the Benefits of his death were intended for all; and, Pract. Cat.

that natural men may do fuch things as whereunto p. 149.

"God has by way of promise annexed Grace and accep-

" tation.

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They then bear their Testimony to the Covenant, and to the Divine Right of Presbytery. They lament the imperfect Settlement of their Discipline by the Parliament, and lay the Foundation of all their Calamities in the countenancing of a publick and general Toleration, and conclude thus; "Upon all these Considerations, we the Ministers of Jesus

P. 33-

"Christ do hereby testify to our Flocks, to all the Kingdom, Charles I. " and to the Reformed World, our great dislike of Prelacy, " Erastianism, Brownism, and Independency; and our utter " Abhorrency of Anti-Scripturism, Popery, Arianism, Soci-" nianism, Arminianism, Antinomianism, Anabaptism, "Libertinism, and Familism; and that we detest the fore-" mentioned Toleration, so much pursued and endeavoured in " this Kingdom, accounting it unlawful and pernicious." What fad work would these Divines have made if they had

had the Sword of the Magistrate at their disposal!

The principal Authors from whom these Errors were Dr. Hamcollected, are mentioned in the Margin; Two of whom mond's Vindetermined to vindicate the Citations out of their books: dication. Dr. Hammond published a Vindication of three passages in his practical Catechism from the Censures of the London Ministers: in which he very justly complains of the hard names with which the Ministers load the opinions they reject, as " abominable Errors, damnable Herefies, horrid Blasphemies, " many of which are destructive of the Fundamentals of Chri- p. 4

" stianity, and all of them repugnant to the Holy Scriptures, " the scandal and offence of the reformed Churches abroad, " and the unparallell'd reproach of this Church and Na-"tion; and, in a Word, the dregs and fpawn of thole " old curfed Herefies which have been already condemned." The Doctor then recites his three passages; the first concerning Universal Redemption; the second concerning Faith's being the condition of our Justification; and the third concerning the Interpretation of the third Commandment; and avers them all to be true, and agreeable to the Doctrine of the Church of England. In conclusion the Doctor desires this favour, that either the first Subscriber, Mr. J. Downham, who licensed his Catechism for the Press, or elfe Dr. Gouge or Mr. Gataker, who are foremost in the lecond rank, or some other persons of Learning, Christiaanity, and Temper, would afford him their patience, perfonally, and by fair discourse, or any other Christian way, to debate the truth of these affertions, for which he will wait their Leifure. Dated from Oxford Jan. 24, 1647-8, but no body thought fit to accept the challenge.

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Mr. John Goodwin was a learned Divine, and a quick And Mr. Disputant, but of a peculiar mould, being a Republican, John Goodan Independent, and a thorough Arminian; he had been Vicar of Coleman-street, but was ejected in the year 1645, by the Committee for plunder'd Ministers, because he re-

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fuled to baptife the Children of his Parishioners promiscuoully, and to administer the Sacrament to his whole Parish. He had published several large and learned books; as, " The Divine Authority of the Scriptures. Redemption redeemed. A Treatise of Justification. And, an Expoof lition on the ninth Chapter to the Romans;" out of which the above-mentioned exceptions were taken. This Divine taking it amiss to be marked for a Heretick challenged any of the London Clergy to a disputation, as thinking it a very unrighteous method to condemn Opinions before they had been confuted. Mr. William Jenkins, at that time a warm and zealous Presbyterian, but afterwards foften'd into more Catholick Principles, enter'd the Lists with our Author, in a pamphlet entitl'd, The Busy Bithop. To which the other replied, in a book entitled, The Novice Presbyter instructed. By some passages in which one may discover the angry Spirit of the Times.

Mr. J.Good win's Reply to the Rev. Mr. Jenkins.

Mr. Jenkins had complained, that the orthodox Clergy had but fhort Commons, and were under the Cross, whereas the Sectaries met with the greatest Encouragement. To which Mr. Goodwin replies, " If by orthodox Ministers he " means those of the adored Order of Presbytery, with what face can he say they are under the Cross? Is not " the whole English Element of Church Livings offered up by the State to their service? Are not all the Benefices of " the Kingdom appropriated to their order? And all others thrust out of doors to make room for them? Must they feed with Hecatombs every day, or else complain of short commons? Or, is Mr. Jenkins of M. Crassus's Mind, who would have no one accounted rich unless he could maintain an Army with his Revenue? In what fenfe can he affirm the Presbyterian Clergy to be under the Cross? "Are they under the Cross who are scarce under the Crown? Who are carried by Authority upon Eagles Wings: Over whom the Parliament itself rejoices to 60 se good; heaping Ordinance upon Ordinance to advance " both them and their Livings together. But certainly there is fomething that Mr. Jenkins calls a Cross which " few Men know by that Name, but those who are bap-" tized into the spirit of high Presbytery, for the Cross he " fpeaks of is no other than this, that his orthodox brethren have not the power to do all the evil that is in their hearts against a quiet, peaceable, harmless generation of Men, of whom they are jealous, lest they should take their Kingdom from them. How can this Writer

" fay, that the Independent Preachers meet with encou-" ragement, and are under worldly glory? Does he ac-" count it matter of worldly glory, to be discountenanced " by the State, to be declared uncapable of those Favours " and Privileges which other Ministers in the Land en-"joy; to be sequester'd from their Livings, and to be " thrust into holes and corners; to be represented both to " the Magistrate and People, as Sectaries, Schismaticks, Erroneous, Heretical Factious, Troublesome, Dangerous " to the State, and what not? If this be worldly Glory, " then may the Preachers, against whom Mr. Jenkins " writes, be truly faid to be under worldly glory. Mr. Vicars, and fome others, carried on the Controverly, but their Writings are not worth remembring; especially since the English Presbyterians of the present age have openly renounced and disavowed their principles.

To return to more publick affairs; hitherto the Army Views of the had acted in perfect Subordination to the Parliament, but different Parthe War, being over, and the King a Prisoner, the great ties concerndifficulty was to fettle the Nation upon fuch a foot as might War. content the several parties, or bring them at least to acquiesce; this was the rock upon which they split; and which, in the end, proved the ruin of their cause. To give light to this affair it will be proper to consider the separate views of the King, the Parliament, and the Army.

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The Royal Party being broken, and the King a Prisoner, of the King. his Majesty had no prospect of recovering his throne but by dividing his enemies, or making the best terms with them he could; the Presbyterians being in League with the Scots Nation were most numerous and powerful; but that which 'tender'd their agreement with the King impracticable, was his Majetty's belief, that "Episcopal Government was essen-" tial to Christianity," and that he was bound by his Coronation Oath to maintain it; whereas the others held themselves equally bound by their Solemn League and Covenant to abolish Episcopacy, and establish Presbytery in its room. Both Parties were immoveable, and upon this rock they split. His Majesty's agreement with the Army was more open and practicable, because they would have set and the Covenant, and obliged the Parliament to tolerate Epilcopal Government as well as the Sectaries; but the Aing could never forgive those Officers who had destroyed his Armies, and beat him out of the Field; though he X 3

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King Charles f. dreaded their military Valour he had a very mean opinion of their Politicks, and therefore affected to play them against the Parliament, hoping to take Advantage of their Divisions, and establish himself upon the ruins of both; for it was his Majesty's Maxim, which he did not scruple to avow, that "neither party could subsist without him, "and that those must be ruined whom he abandoned." By which unhappy conduct he lost his Interest, both in the Parliament and Army, and (as Bishop Kennet observes) laid the Foundation of his Ruin.

Of the Parliament and Prefbyterians.

The Presbyterians were no less unhappy, for the Majority of the House of Commons, with the City of London, and the whole Scots Nation, being firmly in their Interest, they imagined nothing could fland before them, and therefore would abate nothing of their demands, nor hearken to any other terms of Accommodation with the King, than those of the Covenant, which were " the entire abolishing of Prelacy, and the establishing Presbyterian Uniformity " throughout both Kingdoms, with an absolute Extirpation " of all Sectaries whatsoever." This embarrassed them not only with the King (as has been observed) but awakened the jealoufy of the Army, who were thoroughly convinced, that when the Presbyterians were in the legal Possession of their demands, they would exercise equal Tyranny over the Consciences of Men with the Bishops; and indeed, nothing less was to be expected, confidering their steady adherence to the Covenant in all their Treaties with the King; their efforts in Parliament to get the power of the Keys into their hands, their frequent addresses for the suppressing all Sectaries by the Civil Authority, and their declamations both from the Pulpit and Press, against Toleration and Liberty of Conscience. In all their Treaties with the King, even to that in the Isle of Wight (except when the Army was in possession of the Cities of London and Westminster) this was one Article of peace, " That an " effectual Course be taken by Act of Parliament, and all " other Ways needful or expedient for suppressing the " opinions of the Independants, and all other Sectaries." To which his Majesty had agreed in his private Treaty with the Scots in the Isle of Wight, sign'd December 27, so that the Army was left to shift for itself.

Of the Army, my and Inmy and Independants. Though there were some sew Presbyterians in the Army, the greatest part consisted of Independants, Anabaptists, and Men of unsettled Principles in Religion, who for want of

regular

regular Chaplains to their Regiments, had used their own Charles I, Talents among themselves in religious exercises. The Scots Treaty of the Isle of Wight says the Army was made up of Anti-Trinitarians, Arians, Socinians, Anti-Scripturists, Anabaptists, Antinomians, Arminians, Familists, Brownists, Separatists, Independants, Libertines, Seekers, &c." But Mr. Rapin, contrary to the Testimony of all other Writers, calls them all Independants, and represents the Controversy between the Parliament and them as a dispute, "Whether Presbytery or Independency should be upper-" most;" whereas the grand Controversy was, " Pref-" bytery with a Toleration or without one." The Army confented, that Presbytery should be the National Religion, but infifted upon a Toleration of all Christians in the enjoyment of all their Civil and Religious Rights. This (fays Lord Clarendon) was their great Charter, and till they had obtained it by a legal Settlement they agreed not to lay down their Arms: They had fought the Parliament's Battles, and therefore thought it unreasonable to be told openly, if they would not comply with the Presbyterian Settlement they must expect to be punished as Sectaries, and driven out of the Land. To avoid this they treated separately with the King, both before and after they had him in their hands; and when they apprehended he did not deal fincerely with them, they made proposals to the Parliament to establish the Presbyterian Discipline with a Toleration to all Protestants without him; but when they found the Presbyterians, even in their last treaty with the King, in the year 1648, infisting upon Presbyterian Uniformity, without making the least provision for that Liberty of Conscience they had been contending for, they grew outragious; they feized his Majesty's Person a second time, and having purged the House of Commons, in an arbitrary manner, of all that were not in their own desperate measures, they blew up the whole Constitution, and buried both King and Parliament, and Presbytery in its ruins. This was not in their original View, nor the result of any peculiar Set of Religious Principles (as Rapin infinuates) but was driven on by a feries of Disappointments, on the part of the Army; and a train of unhappy and unforeseen events, arising from the mistaken conduct of the Loyalists and Presby-

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We left the King the beginning of the Spring at his house Controversy at Holmby, where he continued under an easy restraint between the Parl. and from Army.

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His

from the 16th of February to the 4th of June following.

Kirly Charles I. 1647

The War being over the Houses attempted to get rid of the Army, by offering fix months pay, and fix weeks advance, to as many as would go over to Ireland; and by voting, that the remainder should be disbanded, with an Act of Indemnity for all hostilities committed by them, in pursuance of the Powers given them by Parliament; but the Army being apprehensive that the Presbyterians would make peace with the King, upon the foot of Covenant Uniformity, and without a Toleration, resolved to secure this point in the first place, for which purpose they chose a Council of Officers; and a Committee of Agitators, confilling of two inferior Officers out of each Regiment, to manage their Affairs; these met in distinct Bodies, like the two Houses of Parliament, and came to the following Resolutions, which they sent to Westminster by three of their Number, who delivered them in at the bar of the House, " That they would not disband without their arrears, nor without full provision for Liberty of Conscience. That they did not look upon themselves as a band of Janizaries, but as Voluntiers, that had been fighting for the Liberties of the Nation, of which they were a part, and that they were resolved to see those ends secured." It was moved in the House, that the Messengers might be committed to the Tower, but after a long debate they were difmissed only with a reprimand for meddling Affairs of Government, and for prefuming to offer a Petition to Parliament without their General. Upon this the Officers fent their Petition by the General himself, but the Parliament, instead of taking it into consideration, order'd May 21, that all who would not lift for the Irish Service should be immediately paid off and disbanded; upon which the Officers feeing the mare that was laid for them, bound themselves and the Army, by an engagement May. 29, not to disband till the grievances abovementioned were redressed. Whereupon the Houses ordered Lieutenant General Cromwell, who was then in town, and suspected to be at the head of these Counsels, to be seized; but being advertised of the design, he made his escape to the Army. They then voted the Petition feditious, and all those Traytors who had promoted it; and having fent a meffage to the General, to remove the Army further from London, they raised the City Trained Bands, and determined to put an end to the power of the Army by the speedy conclusion

of a peace with the King.

Council of Officers and Agitators, Rushw. Vol. VI. p. 485, 498. Rapin, p. 366.

His Majesty's answer to their propositions at Newcastle were read in the House, May 18, in which " he agrees Charles L " to fettle the Prefbyterian Government for three years-" to ratify the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, pro-King's an-" posing a few of his own Clergy to consider what Govern- wer to the Propositions ment to settle afterwards—He yields the Militia for at Newca-" ten years Defires Ministers of his own to fatisfy ale. " him about the Covenant-Confents to the Act against " Papifts --- And to an Act of Oblivion --- And defires " to come to London, in order to give the Parliament sa-" tisfaction upon the other Articles." Two days after the Lords voted, that the King be removed to his House at Oatlands, and that it be immediately fitted for his Reception.

Things being come to this crifis, the Agitators confidered, The King that the King being the Prize contended for, whoever had feized and him in their power must be masters of the Peace, and the Army. make their own Terms; they therefore resolved, by the Rushw. advice and direction of Lieutenant-General Cromwell, to Rapin, p. get possession of his Majesty's Person, which they accom- 371. plished by a bold Stratugem, in the night of June 4, with very little opposition from his attendance or guards; Cornet Joyce, at the head of fifty resolute horse, having secured the Avenues to Holmby House, enter'd with two or three of his Company, and going to the King's Chamber, acquainted him with his defign, of carrying him to the Army at New-market; his Majesty being surprized at so unexpected a visit, and so late at night, asked for his Commisfion, who pointed to his Troops drawn up before the Gates; his Majesty answer'd, " it was very legible;" and finding it in vain to refift, confented to go with the Cornet next morning, on promife of fafety to his Person, and that he should not be forced to any thing against his Conscience: the chief Officers of the Army met his Majesty at Childerly, four miles from Cambridge, and were admitted to kis his Hand; from thence he was removed to New-market, where he took the diversion of the Heath, had the liberty of four of his own Chaplains to wait upon him, and was attended with all due ceremony and respect; Cromwell being heard to fay among his Friends, " that now he " had got the King into his Hands he had the Parliament

The two Houses received the news of the King's being Which carried off to the Army with the utmost surprize and asto-strikes the hithment; the whole City was in confusion, and all persons with sur-

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"inhis Pocket."

Within prize.

King Charles I.

589, &c.

Rapin, p. 375, 379.

Rushw. P. 554.

within the lines of communication ordered to Arms; the Lobby at Westminster was throng'd with the disbanded Officers of the Earl of Effex's Army offering their fervice to the Parliament; for every one imagined the Army would be at the Gates of the City in a few hours; when their fright was a little abated, Commissioners were fent to the p. 546, 561, General, not to advance within forty miles of London, but being already at St. Alban's, the General promifed not to march his Army nearer without due notice; and affured the two Houses, " that they would not oppose the Presbyterial Government, nor fet up the Independant;" but only infifted, that some effectual course might be taken, that such who, upon conscientious grounds, differ'd from the Establifment, might not be debarr'd from the common Rights. Liberties, or Benefits belonging equally to all, while they lived foberly and inoffensively towards others, and peaceably and faithfully towards the State. June 10, another Letter was fent to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, of London, figned by Fairfax, Cromwell, and twelve other Officers, affuring them, " they intended no " alteration of the civil Government; nor to interrupt the " Settlement of Presbytery; nor to introduce a licentious 65 liberty, under colour of obtaining ease for tender con-" sciences, but that when the State had made a Settlement "they would submit or suffer. They wished that every " peaceable Subject might have liberty and encouragement, " for the obtaining which (fay they) we are drawing near the " City-We feek the good of all, and shall wait for a " time to fee if thefe things may be fettled without us, and " then we will embark for Ireland."-

Declaration Rushw. P. 589, 590.

The Commons took no notice of these Remonstrances, of the Army. but declared in print, " That his Majesty was a Prisoner, " and barbarously used," because their Commissioners could have no access to him, but in presence of some Officers; but the Army replied, " That all fuggessions of that nature "were absolutely false, and contrary to their principles, which are most clearly for a general Right, and just freedom to all Men, and therefore upon this occasion they declare to the World, that they defire the same for the King, and others of his party, fo far as can confift with common right and freedom, and with the fecurity of the fame for the future. And we do clearly profess (fay they) that we do not fee how there can be any peace to this Kingdom firm or lasting, without a due provision for the

" Rights, Quiet, and Immunity of his Majesty, his Royal " Family, and his late Partakers; and herein we think,

" that tender and equitable dealing (as supposing their cases " had been ours) and a Spirit of common Love and Justice

" diffusing itself to the good and preservation of all, will " make the most glorious conquest over their hearts, to

" make them, and the whole people of the Land, lasting

" Friends."

The leading Members of the Presbyterian Party in the The Pres-House of Commons could not contain themselves within any byterians in Parliament reasonable bounds, at these proceedings; they said it was resolve to insufferable for the Parliament, instead of treating with the oppose the King, to be obliged to treat with their own Servants, and Army. therefore advised the raising a new Army, and opposing force with force, till those who had the King in their custody should submit to their superiors, and deliver him back. On the other hand, the Officers and Agitators refolved to Eleven of get rid of these resolute Gentlemen, and therefore impeach- their Memed eleven of the Members of High Treason, June 16, for bers imobstructing the business of Ireland; for acting against the Rushw. Army, and against the Laws and Liberties of the Subject, P. 570, 572. &c. and defired they might be suspended from the House 380. till they were legally acquitted: Their Names were Denzil Hollis, Efq; Sir Phil. Stapleton, Sir William Lewis, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, Sir John Maynard, Major General Maffey, Mr. Glyn Recorder, Colonel Walter Long, Colonel Edward Harley, Antony Nichols, Efq; but the Commons not only rejected their impeachment, but ordered the King to be brought to Richmond, and that four full Companies of the Militia should guard the two Houses. This quicken'd the refentments of the Army, Rushw. who fent them the following Proposals, among others, p. 585. June 23.66 - That the King's coming to Richmond " be suspended; that no place be appointed for his "Refidence nearer London than the Parliament will allow " the quarters of the Army; - that the impeached Mem-" bers be fequester'd the House; -that the multitude of " Soldiers that flock together about the City be dispersed, " and that no new forces be raifed, nor any preparations " made for a new War." If these particulars are not complied with in a week's time, they declare they will march to London and do themselves justice. The Houses being terrified with the approach of the Army agreed to content them for the prefent, in order to gain time; and the impeached Members having defired leave to withdraw, retired

King Charles I. 1647.

King Charles I. \$647. Whitl. p. 264. Rapin, p. 385, 388. Commotis in the

first into the City and after some time left the Kingdom. The other requests of the Army were also complied with; upon which, after returning thanks to the Houses, they retreated to Wickham, and appointed Commissioners to settle all remaining differences with the Parliament.

But the City of London, by the influence of the impeached Members, kindled into a flame, for the Parliament, by an Ordinance of May 4, having put the Nomination of the Officers of the Militia into the hands of the Common Council, these had discharged the old ones, and put in such as they could confide in for opposing the Army, and establishing Uniformity according to the Covenant; the Offi-Ih. p. 386. cers in order to defeat their design insisted, that the Ordinance of May 4, be repealed, and the Militia put into the hands of those who had conducted it during the course of the late War. The Houses, with much reluctancy, consented to the Repeal July 23, which alarm'd the Citizens, and occafioned those Tumults which brought upon them the very mischiefs they were afraid of. Denzil Hollis, with the other impeach'd Members who were retir'd into the City, prevailed with the Common Council to oppose the Repeal, and petition the House, that the Ordinance of May 4, might remain in full force. At the same time some Citizens met at Skinners Hall, and fubscribed a folemn Engagement, to endeavour with the Hazard of their lives to procure " a " personal Treaty with the King; -that he might return " to his two Houses with honour and safety; -that his Ma-" jesty's Concessions of May 11, might be confirmed, " and the Militia continue in the hands of the prefent "Committee." But how vain was all this buftle, when they knew the King was in the custody of those who would pay no regard to their demands. The Houses, indeed, forbid the figning of the Engagement by found of Trumpet, but such was the misguided zeal of the Citizens, that they held Assemblies, listed Soldiers, and gave them orders to be ready on the first Notice.

Rufhw. p. 637. 392.

e Parl. House. Rushw. p. 642. Rapin, p. 404

Tumults in The Parliament was now in great perplexity, confidering the impossibility of contenting the Presbyterians and the Army at the same time; but the Citizens were resolved to carry their point by one method or another, and accordingly went up to Westminster, July 26, with such a number of Apprentices and young Men, as terrified the Houses by their tumnituous and insolent behaviour, for they would scarce fuffer the Door to be shut; some thrust themselves into the House with their Hats on,

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crying out Vote, Vote; and when the Speaker would have left the Chair to put an end to the Confusion, they obliged him to return, till the Militia was settled to their Mind, and the King voted to come to London. This (fays Mr. Baxter) looked like a Force upon the Parliament; and, indeed, both Houses were so terrified and pressed between the City Presbyterians on one side, and the Army on the other, that they adjourned immediately from Monday to Friday, in which interval the Earl of Manchester, Speaker of the House which ocof Lords, with eight Peers; and the Speaker of the House casions seveof Commons, with about an hundred Members, withdrew rat of the Members to privately from the City, and joined the Army; a furpriz- retire to the ing event in their favour! the Officers received them with Army. the utmost Satisfaction and Transport, paying them all imaginable Honours, and affuring them, that they would reestablish them in their full power, or die in the attempt. There must furely have been some very pressing Reasons for this conduct, otherwise so many zealous Presbyterians, as were most of the Members that quitted the Parliament House, would not have had Recourse to the Protection of the Army. Lord Clarendon believes, that they apprehended the Army defigned to restore the King to all his Rights at this time, and that they were willing to avoid his Maje-Ay's Vengeance, by concurring with them in his Restoration, which is not unlikely, if they could have brought him to their terms.

King Charles L 1647.

However, the Presbyterian Members that remained in Proceedings London affembled on Friday according to Adjournment, and of the Rohaving choice a new Speaker, voted,—the King should come mainder.

Rapin, Description of the Rapin of the Rapin of the Rapin, Description of the Rapin of the Rapin of the Rapin of the Ra to London;—that the eleven impeached Members thould 300 be reftored; -that a Committee of Safety should join the Rubw. p City Militia; - and the Forces should be immediately raised 737under the command of Waller, Massey, and Poyntz; in all which they appeared fo resolute, that no Man could imagine but that they had the King at their disposal, or at least intended a brave and valiant defence of the City. The Common Council gave orders for the Trained Bands to repair to the Works, and for all capable of bearing Arms to appear at the places of Rendezvous. Massey, Waller, and Poyntz, were also busy in forming Regiments and Companies; and the Committee of the Militia were empowered to punish such as did not repair to their Colours. At the fame time they writ to their Brethren in Scotland, to return with their Army immediately to their Affiftance;

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King 1647.

fistance; but, alas! they were at too great a distance; however, they published a Declaration in the Name of the Kirk and whole Kingdom, Aug. 13, wherein they engage, by a folemn Oath, to establish the Presbyterian Government in England ;—to redeem his Majesty out of the hands of Schismaticks, and place him at the head of his Parliament with Honour; to vindicate the Honour of the eleven impeached Members, and to fettle the Privileges of Parliament against the over awing Power of the Army. A little after they declared against Toleration and Liberty of Conficience, resolving to the last Man to stand by the Covenant whatever the English Parliament might submit to.

Army refolve to march to Lendon. Ruthw. p. 745, 750.

mile patronies

According to the order of the two Houses the General had removed his head quarters about forty miles from the City, but upon the Representation of the Members who fled to them for protection from the outragious Violence of the City mob, they resolved to push their advantage, and bring the Mutineers to Justice; accordingly they resolved to march to London, and rendezvous'd the whole Army on Hounflow Heath, August 3, to the number of twenty thousand Men, with a fuitable Train of Artiliery, accompanied with fourteen Peers, and about one hundred Members of the House of Commons. The Citizens were no fooner informed of this but their Courage funk all at once, and instead of defending the City, they ordered the Militia to retire from the Lines, and fent their Submission to the General, promising to open their passes, and give all Assistance to the replacing of those Members that had withdrawn to the Army. Aug. 6. being appointed for this Service the Mayor and Alderman met the General at Hide Park with a present of a Gold Cup, befeeching him to excufe what had been amifs; but his Excellency refused the Present, and having dismissed them with very little ceremony, conducted the Members to their Seats in Parliament, who immediately voted all Proceedings in their absence void, and gave thanks to the Army for their Safe-conduct. Next day the Army marched through the City without any diforder, and conflituted Colonel Titchburn Lieutenant of the Tower, contrary to the request of the Lord Mayor and Citizens; the Militia was changed, and put into the Hands of the old Officers who had conducted it before; the Fortifications and Lines of Circumvallation about the City were levelled, and fundry Peers who had been at the head of the late Tumults, were impeached of High-Treason, as the Earl

Rushw. D. 751, 756.

of Suffolk, Middlefex, Lincoln, Lord Willoughby of Parham, Hundson, &c. the Lord Mayor, and some of the Charles I. principal Citizens were fent to the Tower; and it was refolved to purge the House of all that had been active in the late unhappy Riot; which put a full period to the Prefbyterian Power for the prefent; the Army being quartered near the City all the next winter, there was a Council of Officers at their head Quarters at Putney, whose Debates and Resolutions had, no doubt, a very powerful Influence

upon the Resolutions of the two Houses.

The Odium of this grand Resolution, by which the Presbyterian Army became Masters of the City of London, and of the Ministers Parliament itself, fell chiefly on the Presbyterians them- of themselves, whose intemperate Zeal for Covenant Uniformity selves. carried them to very impolitick Excesses: The Sermons of their Ministers were filled with invectives against the Army while at a distance. In their publick Prayers they entreated the Almighty to incline the Hearts of the Scots to reteturn to their Relief; and the Conversation of their People was riotous and disorderly; but least the weight of this Revolution should fall too heavily on the London Ministers, as the chief Incendiaries of the People, they wifely prepared a Vindication of themselves, and published it four days before the Army entered the City; it was dated from Sion College, August 2, 1647, and is to this purpose;

"WE the Ministers of London, whose Names are subscribed, do profess in the presence of the Searcher " of all Hearts,

1. "That we have never done any thing purpolely and " wittingly to engage the City against the Army, or the " Army against the City, but have fincerely and faithfully

" endeavoured to prevent it.

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2. " That feeing both the Parliament and City have " declared the necessity of putting the City into a present " Posture of defence, yet protesting against any desires " of a new War, and thereupon have called upon us to stir " up the people to prepare for their defence; we accord-" ingly have done, and shall do our duty therein, that the " people may be encouraged to their own just and neces-" fary prefervation.

3. "Bu withal, we profess our abhorrence of the shed-4 ding any blood on either fide; and we humbly pray all whom it may concern, that they will be very careful in

" preventing it by a feafonable treaty."

Signed

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King Charles L 1647.

Signed by about twenty of the London Ministers, and presented to a Committee of both Houses, sitting at Guild-

Remarks

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Me Baxter's P. 97.

Let the Reader now pause a little, and judge of the Authors of this grand Refolution, which brought the Parliament under the Power of the Army, and how far the Presbyterian Ministers were concerned in it. Mr. Baxter in a very angry Stile lays all the blame at the Door of the Independants. " A few differting Members of the Westminster Synod (says he) began all this, and carried it far on. Afterwards they encreased, and others joined them, who partly by stiffness, and partly by policy, es encreased our Flames, and kept open our Wounds, as if there had been none but they confiderable in " the World, and having an Army and City Agents of fit to fecond them, effectually hindered all Remedy, et till they had dashed all into pieces as a broken Glass. "One would have thought, that if all their Opinions had been certainly true, and their Church-Order good, yet " the Interest of Christ and the Souls of Men, and of er greater Truths, should have been so regarded by the of Dividers in England, as that the Safety of all these fhould have been preferred, and not all ruined, rather than their way should want its carnal Army and Liber-" ty; and that they should not tear the Government of "Christ all to pieces rather than it should want their Lace." I am far from clearing the Independants from all manner of blame in their Conduct; their Principles might be too narrow and mistaken in some points, and their Zeal for Christian Liberty betray them into some Imprudencies. But on which Side was the Stiffness? On theirs who only defired a peaceable Toleration; Or on theirs who were determined to make the whole Nation Roop to Presbyterian Uniformity? Were not these the Men that kept open the Churches Wounds? Had their discipline been never fo good, yet certainly they might have had some regard to Men of equal Piety and Virtue, that could not fee with their Eyes; could they not be content with being the established Religion, and having most of the livings of the Kingdom divided among them, but they must subvert the religious Rights of Mankind, by enforcing an absolute Uniformity, which can never be maintained but upon the Ruins of a good Conscience, nor promote the true Interest of Christ and Salvation of Souls?

Mr. Baxter had milder fentiments in his latter days; and King Charles I. 'tis for the honour of the present Generation of those commonly called Presbyterians, that they have not only abandoned, and renounced these servile Doctrines, but have appeared in defence of the Civil and religious Liberties of Mankind upon the most folid and generous principles.

His Majesty was obliged all this time to attend the re- The King's moves of the Army; from New-market he came to Roy- Motions flon, June 24, from thence to Hatfield; from thence to Army. Windfor, and two days after to Cavesham, where he had the pleasure of conversing with his Children. But when the City of London threaten'd a new war his Majesty was removed to a greater diffance; about the middle of July he was at Maidenhead; and towards the end of the Month at Latimer's in Buckinghamshire; when the Army had got Pollession of the City they brought his Majesty back to Oatland's, Aug. 14, and two days after to Hampton-Court, where he continued in state and lustre for about three months, being attended by the proper Officers of the Court, and a valt refort of people both from City and Country.

While the King was with the Army, Lieutenant Gene- L. G. Cromtal Cromwell and Ireton took fundry opportunities to con- Ireton's fer with his Majesty privately about his Restoration. They Conf. with offer'd to fet him upon the throne with the freedom of his the King. Conscience in point of Episcopacy, or lose their lives in Troubles of the attempt, if he would consent to their proposals to the England. Parliament, and bestow some particular preferments on them- P. 264. felves, and a few of their friends, wishing that God would deal with them and their families according to their fincerity. Nay they engaged to indemnify his whole party if HisMajesty's they would be quiet. Sir J. Berkley, the King's Agent, miftaken Conduct. entreated his Majesty in the most earnest and submissive manner, to accept the faid Proposal, considering the state of his affairs, but the King treated them with a distant referve, and faid, if they intended an accommodation they would not impose such Conditions upon him. Sir J. Berkley faid, he should suspect they designed to abuse him if they had demanded less; and that a Crown so near lost was never recovered upon more easy terms. But Mr. Ashburnham, who came with instructions from France, fell in with the King's humour, and encouraged him to stand his ground, relying upon an ill-judged maxim which his Maelly had received, and which his best friends could not make him depart from (viz.) that " it was in his power to Rushw. "turn the scale, and that the Party must sink which he P. 807, 810.

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Which proves his ruin,

P. 271.

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Detect. P. 323.

Compl. Mift. 270.

" abandoned." This was his ruin, and made him play between both, till neither would trust him. When the Parliament brought their propositions he put them in mind of the offers of the Army; and when these came with their proposals in the most respectful manner he put on a frown and faid, "I shall fee you glad, e'er long, to accept arts, p. 330. 66 more equal terms ; you cannot be without me; you will

" fall to ruin if I do not fustain you; no Man shall suffer " for my fake; the Church must be established according to law The Officers were confounded at this Language. Sir (fays Sir J. Berkley) you speak as if you had fome fecret frength, which fince you have concealed from me, I wish you had concealed from these men. After divers conferences of this kind to no purpose, Cromwell told him plainly, Sir, " We perceive you have a design to be " Arbitrator between the Parliament and us; but we now " delign to be the same between your Majesty and the " Parliament." This fluctuating temper (fays Bishop Kennet) was the King's ruin, which he repented of when it was too late. Mr. Whitlock fays, the King's Bishops perswaded him against what he was inclined to in his own judgment, and thereby ruined him and themselves.

When the Officers found they could make no impressions on the King, and had discovered his secret correspondence with the Queen, they withdrew from Court, which raised suspicions in his Majesty's mind of some secret design upon his life, and put him on attempting to escape out of their hands. 'Tis very certain that Cromwell withdrew his Parole of Honour for the King's fafety, and fent him word a few days before he left Hampton Court, that he would not be answerable any longer for any thing that might befal him, which was owing to a discovery he had made of the King's infincerity in treating with him. Mr. Coke fays, that there was a report at that time, and he is confident, that in time it will appear, that in the Army's Treaty with the King, Cromwell had made a private Article of Advantage for himself, but the King not allowing himself to conclude any thing without the Queen, writher word, "That if he confented to these proposals it would " be easier to take off Cromwell afterwards than now he " was at the head of the Army." Which Letter Cromwell intercepted. Bishop Kennet says, " That it was reof ported, that Cromwell was to have ten thousand pounds and a Garter; and that the bargain had certainly taken " effect, if the King had not made an apology to the Queen, er and

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King Charles I. 1647.

" and fufficiently implied, that he did it by constraint, and " that when he was at liberty, and in power, he should " think himself discharged from the obligation. This Letter " was fewed up in the skirt of a saddle to be sent to France; "but Cromwell and Ireton having information of it went " to an Inn in Holborn and seized the Letter .-Lane, of the Commons, frequently declared, " That he " had feen this original Letter; that he knew it to be the "King's own hand, and that the contents were as above." Another Writer fays, that the Letter mentioned his Ma- Hift. Stuarts, jefty's being courted by the Scots Presbyterians as well as P. 390. the Army, and that they that bid fairest for him should have him. Upon the discovery of this Letter Cromwell went to Mr. Ashburnham, who attended the King's person, and told him, " that he was now fatisfied the King could " not be trusted; that he had no confidence in the army, but " was jealous of them and their Officers—that he had "Treaties with the City Presbyterians, and with the Scots "Commissioners, to engage the Nation again in blood, and " that therefore he could not be answerable if any thing " fell out contrary to expectation." Sir Richard Baker, Mr. Coke, and others, are of opinion, that till this time Cromwell and Ireton were hearty and zealous for establishing the King, and opposing the Levellers which began to arise in the Army, but that after this discovery they for fook him, as did the rest of the chief Officers, who seldom came to Court: The Guards also changed their Language, and said, that "God had harden'd the King's heart, andblinded his eyes.

Under these Circumstances the unhappy King left Hamp- King escapes ton Court, Novem. 11. at Night, and having croffed the from Hamp-Thames, took horse in company with Sir J. Berkley, Mr. Rushw. Leg, and Mr. Ashburnham, and next morning arrived at P. 920, 960. Titchfield House, where he stay'd while Leg went over to the life of Wight, to treat with Colonel Hammond, the Governor, about the fafety of his person, who without any Treaty, brought the Governor to the House where his Majesty was, upon which the unhappy King faid, He was betray'd; as indeed he was in all his affairs. Hammond carried fined in the him over to the Isle Nov. 13, and after some time shut him Isle of up in Carifbrook Castle, where his Majesty remained almost Wight. a year with but one or two Servants, having little or no conversation with the world, nor any thing to do, but to contemplate on the uncertainty of all human affairs, and on the mierable circumstances that Divine Providence, and his own imprudent conduct had reduced him to.

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King Charles I. 1647. Propolals of the Army. 736. Rapin, po 416, 418.

Let us now attend to the proposals of the feveral parties for fettling the peace of the Nation: As foon as the Army had got possession of the City of London, they made the following proposals to the two Houses. With regard to Religion, "That an Act be passed to take away all coer-" cive Power and Jurisdiction of Bishops extending to any " civil penalties upon any. That there be a repeal of all Acts, enjoining the use of the Common Prayer, and " imposing any penalty for neglect thereof, and for not coming to Church, or for meeting elfewhere. That " the taking of the Covenant be not enforced upon any, " but that all Orders and Ordinances tending to that puror pose be repealed." With regard to the state, "-That "the Militia and great Officers be disposed of by Parliament for ten years, and after that the Houses to nominate " three, out of which the King to choose one. That "there be Acts of Indemnity and Revocation of all Decla-" rations against the proceedings of Parliament.—That " the present unequal and troublesome, and contentious " way of Ministers Maintenance by Tithes be consider'd of, and some remedy applied. That none may be " obliged to accuse themselves or relations in criminal causes; and no man's life taken away under two Wit-" nesses --- That consideration be had of all Statutes, " Laws, or Customs of Corporations, imposing any oaths "tending to molest or enfnare religious and peaceable " people meerly for Non-Conformity in Religion. That the arbitrary power given to Committees, and De-" puty-Lieutenants, be recalled."

Agreement p. 840.

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After several Debates upon these Proposals with regard to of the Lords Religion, the Lords agreed, Oct. 13, " that the King be " defired to give his confent to the fettling the Presbyte-" rial Government for three years, with a Provision, that " no person shall be liable to any Penalty for Non-Confor-" mity to the faid Government, or form of Divine Ser-" vice; but such Persons shall have liberty to meet for the " Service and Worship of God, and for exercise of Religious "Duties and Ordinances in any fit and convenient Places, " fo as nothing be done by them to the diffurbance of the beace of the Kingdom. Provided this shall not be con-" ftrued to extend to a Toleration of the Popish Religion, " nor to exempt popish Recusants from any Penalties " imposed upon them for the exercise of the same. Nor " shall it extend to the Toleration of any Thing contrary to

the principles of the Christian Religion, contained in the Apostles Creed, as it is expounded in the fisteen first Articles of the Church of England, as they have been cleared and vindicated by the Assembly of Divines now fitting at Westminster; nor of any thing contrary to such points of Faith, for the ignorance whereof Men are to be kept from the Sacrament, according to the Ordinance of Oct. 20, 1645. Nor shall it extend to excuse any persons from the penalties of 1 Eliz. cap. 2. for not coming to hear the word of God on the Lord's Day in any Parish Church or Chapel, unless he can shew a reasonable cause for his absence, or that he was present to hear the Word of God preached or expounded elsewhere."

The Commons likewise agreed, "That Presbytery be And of the " established till the End of the next Sessions of Parliament, Commons. " or till the fecond Sessions; that the tenths, and all other " maintenance belonging to any Church or Chapel shall " be only for the use of them who can submit to the Pres-" byterial Government, and none other. That Liberty of " Conscience shall exend to none who shall print, preach, " or publish, contrary to the first fifteen Articles of the "Thirty Nine, except the Eighth, relating to the Three "Creeds. That nothing contained in this Ordinance shall Rushw. " extend to Popish Recusants." Oct. 14, they agreed fur- p. 841, ther, " That fuch tender Consciences should be freed, by " way of indulgence, from the penalty of the Statute for " the Prelbyterian Government, for their Non-conformity, " who do meet in some other Congregation for the Wor-" ship of God on the Lord's Day, and do nothing against " the Laws and Peace of the Kingdom, and that none " others shall be freed from the penalty of the Statute of " 1 Eliz. cap. 2." October 16, the Commons voted, "That the indulgence granted to tender Cousciences Ibid, p. 842" " should not extend to tolerate the use of Common Prayer " in any part of the Kingdom." Which was against the fense of the Army, who were for a general indulgence, as appears from the Declaration of the Agitators, dated November 1, in which they fay, that " Matters of Religi- Ib. p. 160, " gion, and the Ways of God's Worthip are not at all in-" trufted by us to any human power, because therein we " cannot omit, or exceed a Tittle of what our Consciences. "dictate to be the mind of God, without wilful Sin; ne-"vertheless, the publick way of instructing the Nation, " fo it be not compulfive, is left to their difcretion." Here

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King Charles I. 1647.

was a fair plan of Accommodation, but no Ordinance wa brought into the House to confirm these Resolutions. November 8, both Houses agreed to the addition of some new Propositions. As,

1. " For the due Observation of the Lord's Day.

2. " Against Innovations in Religion.

3. " A new Oath for the Conviction of Papifts.

4. " For the Education of the Children of Papists in the "Protestant Religion.

5. " Against Pluralities."

Proposals of the Prefbyterians.

The Proposals of the Presbyterians were the same with those of Newcastle, already mentioned; but whereas the King declined to accept them without a personal Treaty, they determined, in the House of Commons, to put them into four Bills, which if his Majesty refused to sign as Preliminaries, they determined to fettle the Nation without him; but before they were perfected the King withdrew from Hampton-Court, and was fecured in the Isle of Wight, where the Commissioners from the two Houses waited on him, and tender'd him the following Bills, December 24, the First was for settling the Militia, as has been related. The Second for calling in all his Majesty's Declarations and Proclamations against the two Houses, and those that adher'd to them. The Third to disqualify those Peers from fitting in the House, that had been created after the Great Seal had been conveyed to Oxford. The Fourth to impower the two Houses to adjourn, as they should think fit. In Matters of Religion they infilled peremptorily on the Establishment of the Presbyterian Church Government upon the ruins of the Prelatical; upon the extirpation of all Sectaries; and upon Covenant Uniformity in both Nations, as will appear more fully hereafter. But the King, instead of figning the Preliminaries, infifted strenuously on a perfonal Treaty, which it was hardly reasonable for him to expect, when he had so lately attempted to escape out of their hands, and now refused to yield any thing in order to make way for it.

Motive of H. Court.

It had not been possible to unriddle the Mystery of this the King's Escape if it had not appeared soon after, that the King was at that very time throwing himself into the hands of the Scots, who being offended with the Parliament (now under the influence of the Army) for not acting in concert with them in the present Treaty, according to their Covenant, determined to manage privately by themselves; and accordingly, by the Mediation of some of their own Nation, they concluded

concluded a fecret Treaty with the King, which was began before his Majesty left Hampton Court, but not figned till Charles L. the 27th of December following, three days after his Majefty's refusal of the Parliament's Four Bills. " This Alli- Vol. III. p. " ance (fays Lord Clarendon) was most scandalous and de- 104, 105. " rogatory to the honour and interest of the English Nation, " and would have been abominated if known and under-" flood by all Men." But Rapin thinks it not fo monstrous on the part of the Scots as his Lordship represents, fince they yielded to the Establishment of their beloved Presbytery in England but for three years, but it laid the Foundation of the King's ruin with the Army.

In the Preamble his Majesty gives " a favourable Testi- Private " mony to the Solemn League and Covenant, and to the Treaty with the Scots.

" good Intentions of those that enter'd into it." In the Rapin, p. Treaty " He obliges himself to confirm the Covenant by 442. " Act of Parliament as foon as he can do it with honour

" and freedom in both Kingdoms; with a provifo, that " none that were unwilling should be obliged to take it for

" the future. He engages further, to confirm by Act of " Parliament the Presbyterial Government in England,

" the Directory for publick Worship, and the Assembly of "Divines for three years only, with liberty for himself and " his Houshold to use that form of Divine Service they had

" formerly practifed; and that during the three years there

" should be a consultation with the Assembly of Divines, " to whom twenty of the King's Nomination should be ad-

" ded, and some from the Church of Scotland, to deter-" mine what form of Church Government should be esta-

" blished afterwards."——Then follows a Scourge for

the Army; -- "That an effectual Course should be taken " to suppress the opinions of the Anti-Trinitarians, Arians,

" Socinians, Arminians, Independants, Brownists, Anti-"nomians, Anabaptists, Separatists, Seekers; and in gene-

" ral, all Blasphemy, Herefy, Schism, and other Doctrines

" contrary to the known Principles of Christianity, whether " concerning Faith, Worship, Conversation, or the pow-

" er of Godliness, or which may be destructive to order "and Government, or to the peace of the Church and

" Kingdom."

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In return for thele Concessions " the Scots engaged to " raife an Army to deliver his Majesty out of Captivity, to " affert his Right to the Militia, the Great Seal, the nega-

" tive voice in Parliament; and, in a Word, to reftore him bou god your as doons ar c Y 4

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King's Conceffions from the life of Wight. Ruthw. p. 880. Rapin, p.

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to his Throne with honour and freedom;" which occasioned a second civil War the next year.

As foon as his Majesty arrived in the Isle of Wight from Hampton Court he fent a Letter to the Speaker of the House of Lords, to be communicated to the Commons. with the following Concessions on his part, yery inconsistent with the Treaty last mentioned. For the abolishing 4 Archbishops, Bishops, &c. his Majesty clearly professeth, "that he cannot consent to it either as a Christian or a "King; for the First, he avows, that he is satisfied in his ff Judgment, that this Order was placed in the Church by " the Apostles themselves, and ever since their Time has " continued in all Christian Churches throughout the World till this last Century; and in this Church, in all Times of Change and Reformation, it has been upheld, by the Wisdom of his Ancestors, as the great preserver " of Doctrine, Discipline, and Order in the Service of "God. As a King, at his Coronation, he not only fwore to maintain this Order, but his Majesty and his Prede-" cellors, in their Confirmations of the great Charter have inseparably woven the Rights of the Church into the Li-" berty of the Subject; and yet he is willing that it be provided, that particular Bishops perform the several Du-If ties of their Callings, both by their personal Residence, and frequent preaching; that in their personal exercise " no A& of Jurisdiction, or Ordination, be without con-" fent of their Presbyters; and will consent, that in all " things their Powers be so limited, that they may not be se grievous to the tender Consciences of others; his Majefff ty fees no reason why he alone, and those of his Judg-"ment, should be pressed to a Violation of theirs. Nor can his Majesty consent to the Alienation of

"Church-Lands, because it cannot be denied to be the Sin of Sacrilege; as also, that it subverts the intentions of so many pious Donors, who have laid a heavy curse upon all such profane Violations. And besides, his Majesty believes it to be a Prejudice to the publick Good; many of his Subjects having the Benefit of renewing Leases at much easier Rates than if those Possessions were in the Hands of private Men; not omitting the Discouragement it will be to Learning and Industry, when such eminent Rewards shall be taken away; yet considering the present Distempers concerning Church Discipline, and that the Presbyterian Government is now in practice, his Majesty to avoid consustion as much as may be, and

" for the Satisfaction of his two Houses, is content, that " the same Government be legally permitted to stand in Charles I, " the same Condition it now is for Three Years, provid-" ed that his Majesty, and those of his Judgment, or any " others who cannot in Conscience submit thereunto, be " not obliged to comply with the Presbyterial Govern-" ment, but have free practice of our own Profession without " any prejudice thereby; and that free Consultation be " had with the Divines at Westminster, twenty of his " Majesty's Nomination being added to them, to consider " how to fettle the Church afterwards, with full Liberty " to all those who shall differ upon conscientious Grounds " from the fettlement; always provided, that nothing a-" foresaid be understood to tolerate those of the Popish " Profession, or to exempt them from penal Laws, or to " tolerate the publick Profession of Atheism, or Blasphe-" my, contrary to the Doctrine of the Apostles, the Ni-" cene and Athanasian Creed, they having been received "by, and had in Reverence of all Christian Churches, " and more especially the Church of England since the "Reformation." This was done to please the Army, but was entirely reversed by the Scots Treaty-five Weeks after.

From these inconfistent Views of the contending Parties Remarks we may easily discern the dangerous Situation of the publick Tranquillity, especially as there was a general distrust on all Sides, and each Party resolved to carry their Point without any Abatements: The King was held by Ties of Conscience and Honour; (as he said) to preserve Episcopacy; the Scots and English Presbyterians, though divided at prefent, thought themselves bound to stand by their Solemn League and Covenant; and the Army were under a solemn Engagement to agree with neither without a Toleration. If the King could have submitted to Covenant Uniformity he might have been restored by the Presbyterians; or, if either King or Parliament would have confented heartily to a Toleration, they might have established themselves by the Assistance of the Military Power; but his Majesty does not seem to have been in earnest. The Reader will judge of the Equity of the feveral Propofals, and of the prudential Conduct of each Party, from the Circumstances in which they were placed; the King was a Prisoner; the Parliament in Possession of the whole Legislative Authority, but the Sword was in the hands of the Army, who were determined not to sheath it still they had fecured

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King Charles I. 1647.

secured to themselves the Liberties they had been fighting for: This they had in vain attempted with the King, and were next determined to try what they could do with the Parliament.

The Army the Parliament. Rushw, p. 951, 953, Rapin, p. 453, 467.

The Houses being informed of the King's Defign to make his Escape out of the Isle of Wight, ordered the Governor to put away his Servants, and thut him up a close Prisoner in the Castle, so that no Person might be admitted to speak to him without leave. His Majeffy having also declared, when he rejected the Parliament's Four Bills, that nothing that could befal him should ever prevail with him to confent to any one Act, till the Conditions of the whole Peace were concluded, they began to despair of an Accommodation. In this juncture the Officers of the Army fent a Meffage to the Houses, affuring them, that they would live and die with them in fettling the Nation either with or without the King, and leave all Transactions of State for the future to them alone.

Votes of of Non-addreffes.

However, after the Seclusion of the eleven impeached Members, and the Quartering the Army in the Neighbourhood of the City, the Parliament, either from Interest or Fear, had a great regard to the opinion of those Officers that were Members of the House. Upon a motion that no more Addresses be made to the King from the Parliament, nor any Messages received from him, Ireton and Cromwell opened themselves very freely: Ireton said, Subjection to the King was but in lieu of Protection from " him, which being denied, we may fettle the Kingdom without him-Let us then show our Resolution (fays " he) and not defert those valiant Men who have engaged " for us beyond all possibility of Retreat." Cromwell said, "That the Parliament should govern by their own Power, and not teach the people any longer to expect Safety 46 from an obstinate Man, whose heart God had hardened. " --- 'The Army will defend you against all oppositi-Teach them not, by neglecting your's and the King-" dom's Safety, in which their own is involved, to think " themselves betray'd, and left hereafter to the Rage and Malice of an irreconcilable Enemy, whom they have " fubdued for your fake, least despair teach them to seek their Safety by fome other means than adhering to you; " [here he put his Hand upon his Sword] and how destru-"think, and leave you to judge!" The Question being then put it was carried by a Majority of Fifty Voices; Yea's

Yea's one Hundred forty one, No's Ninety one. Jan. 17, the Lords concurred with the Commons in their Votes of Non-addresses. To this very Time, says Lord Clarendon, no Man mentioned the King's Person without Duty and Vol. III. Respect. But now a new Scene was opened, and some of P. 93the Officers, at their meetings at Windsor, began to talk of deposing the King, or prosecuting him as a Criminal, of which his Majesty was advertised by Watson the Quarter-Mafter, but it made no Impression upon him.

The two Houses having concurred in their Votes for Parliament's Non addresses, the Army agreed to stand by the Parlia- Remonment in fettling the Nation without the King; and that strance, the people might be satisfied with the Reasons of their Proceedings, a Remonstrance was published by Order of Parliament, Feb. 15, in which they recapitulate all the Errors of his Majesty's Government; his Infincerity in the several Treaties of Peace he had entered into with them: and that though they had applied to him feven Times with Propositions, in all which the Scots had concurred except the last, yet he had never complied with any; from whence they conclude, either that the Nation must continue under the present Distractions, or they must settle it without him. In the Posthumous Works of Lord Clarendon there is a large Reply to this Remonstrance, in which his Lordship endeavours to vindicate the King, and throw all the blame upon the Parliament; but though there were ill Instruments on both Sides, and there might be no real occafion to rip up all the misdemeanors of the King's Government from the beginning, yet 'tis hardly possible for the Art of Man to justify his Majesty's Conduct before the War, or to vindicate his Prudence and Sincerity in his Treaties afterwards; the defign of commencing a new War being evidently at this time concerted and agreed upon, with his Majesty's Allowance, in pursuance of the Scots Treaty, while he was amufing both the Parliament and Army with overtures of Peace.

Among the Ordinances that paffed this year for Refor- Ordinance mation of the Church, none occasioned so much Noise and for abolish-Disturbance as that of June 8, for abolishing the obser- ing the Obvation of Saints Days, and the three grand Festivals of Christmas, Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide: The Ordinance says, and other Forasmuch as the Feast of the Nativity of Christ, Ea-Saints Day Scobel, p. fter, Whitsuntide, and other Festivals, commonly called 128.

"Holy Days, have been heretofore superflitiously used " and observed; he it ordained, that the said Feasts, and

es all other Festivals, commonly called Holy Days, be no " longer observed as Festivals; any Law, Statute, Custom, " Constitution, or Canon to the contrary, in any wife notwithstanding. terial and home

ted for Servants Recreation.

Parliamenth

And that there may be a convenient Time allotted for Scholars, Apprentices, and other Servants, for their Recreation, be it ordained, That all Scholars, Apprentices, and other Servants, shall, with the leave of their Masters, have such convenient reasonable Recreation, and Relaxation from Labour, every fe-" cond Tuesday in the Month throughout the year, as formerly they used to have upon the Festivals; and Ma-Rers of Scholars, Apprentices, and Servants, shall grant to them respectively such Time for their Recreation, on the aforesaid second Tuesday in the Month as they may conveniently spare from their extraordinary, necessary " Service and Occasions; and if any difference arise be-" tween Masters and Servants concerning the Liberty hereby granted, the next Justice of the Peace shall recon-

King difapproves of it. Relig. Car. P- 370.

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ice violations of

MANUEL ETTING

The King was highly displeased with this Ordinance; and therefore, while the Affair was under debate he put this Query to the Parliament Commissioners at Holmby House, April 23, 1647. I desire to be resolved of this Question, "Why the new Reformers discharge the keeping of Easter?" My Reason for this Query is, "I conceive the Celebration of this Feast was instituted by the fame Authority which changed the Jewish Sabbath into the " Lord's Day, or Sunday, for it will not be found in Scripture where Saturday is discharged to be kept, or turned into the Sunday; wherefore it must be the Churches " Authority that changed the one and instituted the other; " therefore my opinion is, that those who will not keep this "Feat may as well return to the observation of Saturday, and refuse the weekly Sunday. When any body can shew " me that herein I am in an Error I shall not be ashamed to confess and amend it, 'till when you know my while a first little a little a cond of benefit see and a dame a see to see the

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occase that of Jino 8, the abolificing the oblert its the co Sir James Harrington presented his Majesty with an Anfwer to this Query, in which he denies, that the change of the Sabbath was from the Authority of the Church, but derives it from the Authority and Example of our Saviour and his Apostles in the New Testament; he admits, that if there was the like mention of the Observation of Easter it would be of Divine or Apostolical Authority, but as the Case stands, he apprehends, with great Reason, that the Charles I. Observation of the Christian Sabbath, and of Easter, stand

upon a very different foot, in a

The changing the Festival of Christmas into a Fast last It occasions Winter was not so much taken Notice of, because all Par-Tumults. ties were employed in acts of Devotion; but when it returned this year, there appeared a strong Propensity in the People to observe it, the Shops were generally shut, many Prefbyterian Ministers preached; in some places the Common Prayer was read, and one or two of the fequester'd Clergy getting into Pulpits prayed publickly for the Bishops: feveral of the Citizens of London, who opened their Shops, were abused; in some places there were Riots Rushw. p. and infurrections, especially in Canterbury, where the May- 948. or, endeavouring to keep the Peace, had his head broke by the populace, and was dragged about the Streets: the Mob broke into divers Houses of the most Religious in the Town, broke their Windows, abused their Persons, and threw their Goods into the Streets, because they exposed them to Sale on Christmas Day. At length their Numbers being encreased to above two thousand they put themselves into a posture of defence against the Magistrates, kept Guard, stopped Passes, examined Passengers, and seized the Magazines and Arms in the Town Hall, and were not dispersed without difficulty. The like disorders were at Ealing in Middlefex, and feveral other Counties. The Parliament was alarmed at these disorders, and therefore commanded all Papifts and Delinquent Clergymen to retire without the Lines of Communication, and punished some of the principal Rioters for a Terror to the rest, it being apparent that the King's Party took the advantage of the Holy Days to try the Temper of the people in favour of his Release, for during the space of the following twelve years, wherein the Festivals were laid aside, there was not the least Tumult on account of the Holidays, the Observation of Christmas being left as a Matter of Indiffe-

The War being thought to be at an end many of the King's Cler-Clergy, who had followed the Camp, returned home, and gy petition endeavoured to reposses themselves of their sequestered to be restor-Livings, to the prejudice of those whom the Parliament had edtotheir Livings. put into their places; they petitioned the King while he was with the Army, and in a State of Honour and Dignity, to take their poor diffressed Condition into his gracious Confide-

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King 1647

Suff. Cler. p. 145.

Consideration. His Majesty recommended them to the General at the very Time when the Difference between the Parliament and Army was subsisting, upon which they represented their Grievances to himy in a Petition, shewing, that " whereas for divers years they had been outed of " their Livings, contrary to the fundamental Laws of the " Land, by the arbitrary Power of Committees, whose " Proceedings have usually been by no Rule of Law, but " by their own Wills; most of them having been turned out " for refusing the Covenant, or adhering to the King, and " the Religion established, and of those, divers never cal-" led to answer, and scarce one had Articles proved by "Oath, or other legal Process, by which means your Petitioners are reduced to extream Want and Mifery; and whereas those who are put into our Places labour to fir " up the People to involve the Kingdom in a new War, " and are generally Men ignorant, and unable to inftruct " the People; and many of them feandalous in their Prac-" tices, if impartially examined, and divers of them hold "Three or four of the best Benefices, whilst divers other " Churches are yoid, and without any constant Preacher. And forafmuch as the main profit of our Benefices con-" fifts in the Harvest which is now at hand, which many " of the present Possessors, if they could receive, would presently be gone, whereby the Burthen of the Cure " will lie upon your Petitioners, having nothing to live upon the next year. Your Petitioners therefore pray, that " your Excellency would make flay of the Profits of the " Harvest, that those of us that are charged with any legal " fcandal may come to a just Trial, and if we are found Innocent may enjoy our Rights, according to the known "Laws of the Land." door was I so mid set tade

C. Fairfax's Answer.

By this bold Petition, it is evident, thefe Gentlemen were encouraged to hope, that the Army would carry their Refentment fo far as to unravel all they had been doing for Five Years; that they would not only renounce the Covenant, but disown the Proceedings of their Committees, and even countenance the Clergy's adhering to the King : And no doubt, if his Majesty had at this Time complied with the Proposals of the Army, he might have made good Terms for them; for the General received them with Refpect, and having debated their Address in Council, propofed it to the Parliament, that the Estates of all sequestered Persons, including the Clergy, should remain in the Hands of the Tenants till a general Peace. Upon which the old Incum-

1647.

Incumbents grew very troublesome, forbidding the Parishioners to pay their Tithes, and threatening the present Poslessors of their Pulpits with Profecutions by Law.

On the other hand, the Presbyterian Clergy addressed Counter Pethe General Aug. 12, a few days after the Parliament and tition of the Army were united, with a Complaint, "That divers de-presbyteri-" linguent Ministers, who had been put out of their Liv-" ings, did now trouble, and feek to turn out those Mini-" flers whom the Parliament had put in; and particularly, "that Dr. Layfield, by a counterfeit Warrant from the "General, had endeavoured to remove a Minister from " his Benefice in Surrey." The General and his Council declared their diffike of these Proceedings, and promifed to write to the Parliament, that fuch Offenders might be brought to Punishment, which he did accordingly. The Difference between the Parliament and Army being now in a Manner compromised, which put an end to the Expediations of the Clergy: Aug. 19, the Lords and Commons acquainted the General, that they would take care for the Punishment of those delinquent Ministers, and others, by whose practices Ministers put into Livings by the Parliament had been disquieted and turned out; and on the 23d of thesame Month they past an Ordinance, setting forth, "That " whereas divers Ministers in the several Counties had been " displaced by Authority of Parliament, for notorious Scan-" dals and Delinquency, and godly, learned, and ortho-Ordinance in "dox Ministers, had been placed in their room; and their Pavour. " whereas the faid scandalous and delinquent Ministers by " Force, or otherwise, had entered upon the Churches,

" and gained Possession of the Tithes, &c. the Lords and " Commons did therefore ordain, That all Sheriffs, May-" ors, Committees, &c. do forthwith apprehend fuch "Ministers, and all such Persons as have been aiding and " abetting to them, and commit them to Prison, there to " remain, till those they had thus dispossessed, and molest-" ed, should receive Satisfaction for their Damages; and " that the faid Sheriffs, &c. do restore those molested Mini-" sters to the quiet Possession of their respective Places, and do in case of need raise the Trained Bands to put " this Ordinance in Execution; and do also take effectual " course that the Tithes, Profits, &c. be for the future " duly paid to those Ministers put in by Parliament, &c.

"And if any such disturbance should hereafter be given, " the Offender was to fuffer for every such disturbance one

" Month's Imprisonment."

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King Charles I. 1647 Rufhw. p. 831, 937, 948, 958.

However, some little Favour was shewn, about this Time, to those Bishops, and others, who had lived peaceably, and been little more than Spectators of the Miseries of their Country; the Committee was ordered to make Payment of the eight hundred Pounds per Year granted to the Bishop of Durham; the real Estate of the pious Bishop Hall, who had lately published his hard Measure, was discharged; Archbishop Usher had an Allowance of four Hundred Pounds per Annum, till he could be otherwise provided for; and was foon after allowed to be Preacher at Lincoln's Inn, only upon taking the Negative Oath, But the Bishops were not much the better for these Donations. The Commissioners of the Great Seal were ordered to fill up the vacant Livings in the Gift of the Crown, without obliging the Incumbents to take the Covenant; but the new Disturbances which were created in favour of the captive King, brought down new Severities upon the Episcopal Clergy before the end of the following Year. was liberey's really lead there

Louis CHAP. IX. electing rains, " That

The Visitation of the University of Oxford. State of Religion at the End of the Year.

fity of Oxford.

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Condition of C AD and deplorable was the Condition of the Univerthe Univer- of Oxford when it fell into the Hands of the Parliament; the Colleges and Halls were gone to Ruin; five of them perfectly deferted, and the rest in a very shattered Condition. The publick Acts had been discontinued for fome years, the Schools were turned into Magazines for the King's Army, and the Chambers filled with Officers and Soldiers, or let out to Townsmen; there was little or no Instruction of Youth, nor hardly the face of an University; Poverty, Defolation and Plunder, the sad Effects of War, were to be feen in every Corner; the Burfaries were emptied of the publick Money, the Plate melted down for the King's Service, and the Colleges involved in Debts which they were not capable to fatisfy; there were few Heads of Colleges, or Scholars left, but fuch as remained were strongly prejudiced against the Parliament, having employed their Wits, during the course of the War, in writing weekly Mercuries, and other fatyrical Pamphlets, in

1647.

which they aspersed the Proceedings of the two Houses, and treated their Divines as the most infamous, ignorant, and hypocritical Traitors: Nor were their Tempers in the least changed at present, though their Lives and Fortunes were in the hands of their Adversaries. It was therefore thought necessary to put the Education of Youth into such hands as the Parliament could confide in, a Power being re-

served for that purpose in the Articles of Surrender.

But before they proceeded to Extreams the two Houses Parliament about the beginning of September 1646. appointed Seven fend Minifof their most popular Divines to repair to Oxford, with ters to re-Authority to preach in any Pulpit in the University for Suff. Cler. fix Months, in order to foften the Spirits of the People, and P. 125. give them a better opinion of their Cause, viz. the Reverend Mr. Robert Harris of Hanwell, Oxfordshire; Mr. Edward Reynolds, afterwards Bishop of Norwich; Mr. Henry Wilkinson, Magdalen College; Mr. Francis Cheynel, Mr. Henry Corbet, of Merton College; Mr. Henry Cornish, of New Inn; and, Mr. Henry Langley, of Pembroke Hall; Men of Reputation and Character, fober Divines, and popular Preachers, though A. Wood, the Oxford Historian, is pleased to say, " Their Sermons were " the Contempt and Scorn of the University, because " they were too long, and had too little Learning; because " they prayed very coldly for the King, but were very " earnest for a Blessing upon the Counsels and Arms of the " Parliament, and did not always conclude with the Lord's " Prayer; because they reflected on some of the Heads of " the Univerfity, calling them Dumb Dogs, having a Form " of Religion without the Power; and, because their man-" ner of Delivery was rather Theatrical than Serious; " nevertheless, their Auditories were crowded, though none " of the Heads of the Colleges, or fenior Scholars, attended

" them." The Ministers were very diligent in the Discharge of Their Contheir Trust, preaching twice every Lord's Day; and that duct and they might gain the People, fet up a weekly Conference Succeis. Suff. Cler. every Thursday, in which they proposed to solve such Ob- p. 125. jections as should be raised against their new Confession Minit. Acof Faith and Discipline, and to answer any other im-count, p. 5 portant Cases in Divinity: The Question, or Case, was No. 82. to be propounded the week before, that it might be well confidered; a Moderator also was appointed to keep order, who began and concluded with a fhort Prayer, and the whole was conducted with Decency and Gravity. But VOL. III.

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King Charles I. 1647.

several of the Scholars ridiculed their Proceedings, and by way of Contempt called their place of Meeting, "The " Scruple Shop;" however, it was frequented by great Numbers of People, some of whom were prevailed with to renounce the Oxford Oath; and others to take the Solemn League and Covenant. They met with some little. Disturbance from one Erbury, a turbulent Antinomian, and Chaplain in the Garrison; but upon the Whole, when Minit. Ac the Minitters returned to London they declared, that the count, p. 52 Citizens showed them a great deal of Respect, but the Univerfity poured all the contempt upon them imaginable, fo that they apprehended themselves to have the same Lot Soft Clar as Saint Paul had at Athens, Acts xvii. 32, 34. " Some " mocked them, others flighted them, but certain cleave to " them, and believed."

tion. 283.

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Parliament There being no Prospect of reforming the University resolves up- by these Methods, the two Houses resolved to proceed upon a Visita- on a Visitation, which they apprehended they might undertake without the King, by virtue of the Fourteenth Article of their Capitulation, which fays, "That the Chancel-" lor, Masters and Scholars of the University, and all " Heads, Governors, Masters, Fellows, and Scholars of " the Colleges, Halls, Bodies Corporate, and Societies of " the faid University, and the publick Professors, Readers, and Orators thereof, and all other Persons belonging to " the faid University, shall and may, according to their " Statutes, Charters, and Customs, enjoy their antient Form " of Government, subordinate to the immediate Authority " and Power of Parliament, and that all the Rights and " Privileges, Franchises, Lands, Tenements, Houses, " Rents, Revenues, Libraries, Debts, Goods and Chat-" tles, &c. belonging to the faid University, shall be en-" joyed by them respectively as aforesaid, free from Se-"questrations, Fines, Taxes, and all other Molestations "whatfoever, under colour of any thing relating to the present War. And if any removal be made by the Parliament of any Head, or other Members of the Uni-" versity, that they shall enjoy their Profits for fix Months after the furrendring of Oxon, and shall have conveso nient Time allowed them for the Removal of themselves " and their Goods; provided that this shall not extend to retard any Reformation there intended by the " Parliament, or give them any Liberty to intermeddle with

Fuller's Ap- " the Government." But the Heads of Colleges did not think peai, p. 70.

themselves obliged by this Capitulation, nor any thing contained in it, because they were not made Parties, nor called Charles L upon to give their separate consent to the Articles, though they took advantage of every thing that was stipulated in their Favour.

May 1, 1647. an Ordinance past both Houses for visiting Ordinance the University, and named the following Gentlemen, Law-Purpose. yers, and Divines, for that Service, viz.

d in the Casting need to he had the Sir Nath. Brent, The Rev. Dr. John Wil-Part I. Sir William Cobb, he had been kinfon, Suff. Cler. William Prince of Lincoln's Mr. Henry Wil- P. 126. Inn, Efq; John Pulliston of Lincoln's Mr. Edw. Rey-Inn, Efq; Barth. Hall of the Middle Mr. Rob. Har-Temple, Eiq; ris,
Tho. Knight of Lincoln's Mr. Edw. Cor-Inn, Efq;
William Draper of Lincoln's Mr. Fran. Chey-Inn, Efq; bert transitit / Gabriel Beck of Lincoln's Mr. John Wil-Inn, Esq; kinson, John Cartwright, Esq; Mr. John Mills, Samuel Dunch, Esq; Mr. Christopher, Mr. William Tipping, Rogers. Mr. John Packer, Tody of the southern to the southern to

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deawn un chiede The Ordinance empowers the Visitors, or any Five of them, " to hear and determine all Crimes, Offences, "Abuses, and Disorders, which by the Laws, and Sta-"tutes of this Realm, or by the Customs and Statutes, " rightly established, of that University, or by the several "Statutes, of the respective Colleges or Halls, may law-" fully be enquired of, heard, or determined, in the course " and way of Visitation of the University, or of the "Colleges, Halls, Masters, Scholars, Fellows, Members, " and Officers, or any of them, respectively. They are " more particularly to enquire by Oath concerning those " that neglect to take the Solemn League and Covenant, " and the Negative Oath, being tendered to them by fuch " as are authorized by Parliament; and concerning those "who oppose the Execution of the Ordinance of Parlia-Z 2

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King Charles I. 1647.

ment, concerning the Discipline and Directory; and those who shall teach or write against any Point of Do-"Ctrine, the Ignorance whereof doth exclude from the Lord's Supper. They are likewife to enquire upon Oath, concerning all fuch who have taken up Arms against the " Parliament, or who have been affifting to the Forces " raised against the Parliament. And they are to certify " to a Committee of the House of Lords and Commons " mentioned in the Ordinance, what Masters, Scholars, " Fellows, Members, or Officers, have committed any of " the Offences above-mentioned, and the Quality and Con-" dition of the Offenders, that fuch further Proceedings " may be had thereupon as the Committee of Lords and " Commons shall think fit. The Visitors are further em-" powered, to examine and confider of all fuch Oaths as " are enjoined by the Statutes of the University, or of any " of the Halls and Colleges, as are not fit to be taken, " and present their opinion to the Committee above-menst tioned; provided always, that if any of the Masters, " Scholars, Fellows, &c. shall find themselves grieved by " any Sentence given by the Visitors, it shall be lawful for " them to appeal to the Committee of Lords and Commons, " who were authorized finally to hear and determine every " fuch Case brought before them."

Abstract of the University's Reafons against the Covenant, &c. Bp. Sanderfon's Life, Appendix, p. 169.

But before the Visitation could take place the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Fell, summoned a Convocation [June 1.] wherein it was agreed not to submit to the Parliament Visitors; a Paper of Reasons against the Covenant, the Negative Oath, and the Directory, drawn up chiefly by Dr. Sanderson, was also consented to, and ordered to be published to the World both in Latin and English, against the Time the Visitors were to come down, under the Title of "Reasons" of the present Judgment of the University of Oxford, concerning the Solemn League and Covenant, the Negative Oath, and the Ordinances concerning Discipline and Worship, approved by general Consent in a full Convocation, June 1, 1647." an Abstract of which I shall now set before the Reader.

To the Preface of the Covenant [transcribed under the Year 1643.]

Exceptions against the Preface.

They declare, "We cannot fay the Rage, Power, and Presumption of the Enemies of God (in the Sense there intended) is encreased. Nor that we have consented to

of the PURITANS. Chap. IX.

341

" any Supplication or Remonstrance to the Purposes there-" in expressed. We do not think the taking the Covenant " to be a lawful and probable Means to preserve our selves " and our Religion from Ruin; nor do we believe it " to be according to the commendable Practice of thefe "Kingdoms, or the Example of God's People in other " Nations."

King Charles L. 1647.

To the Covenant in General.

" We are of opinion, That a Covenant ought to be a Against the " voluntary Contract, and not imposed. Now we cannot Covenant in " voluntarily confent to this Covenant without betraying general. " our Liberties, one of which is, Not to be obliged to " take any Oath but what is established by Act of Par-" liament; and without acknowledging in the Impofers " a greater Power than has been challenged in former time, " or can subsist with our former Protestation. But if the " Covenant were not imposed, but only recommended, we " apprehend the taking it to be inconsistent with our Loy-" alty to the King, especially since he has by Proclamation 4 forbid it."

Objections to the feveral Articles of the Covenant.

To the first Article.

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"We cannot swear to preserve the Religion of another Against the "Kingdom (Scotland) whereof we have very little Un-first Article-" derstanding, which as far as we are acquainted with it, " is much worse than our own in Worship, Discipline and "Government, and in Doctrine not better; wherein there " are some things so far tending to Superstition and Schism, " that it feems reasonable to us that we should call upon "them to reform, rather than we be bound to preferve it " entire. " Nether are we satisfied in the present Reformation of

"Religion in our own Kingdom, in Doctrine, Worship, " and Discipline, because, (1.) It gives a manifest Scan-" dal to the Papist and Separatist, by giving up the Cause " for which the Martyrs and Bishops have contended since " the Reformation; by justifying the Papists in their Re-"cusancy, who reproach us, by saying, we know not " what Religion we are of; nor where to stop, since we " have left them; and, that ours is a Parliamentary Reli- Ibid. p. 179. gion. Besides, this would be a tacit Acknowledgment, " that there has been fomething in the Church of England

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King Charles I. 1647.

or not agreeable to the Word of God, and so justifying " the Separation, and condemn all the penal Laws that " have been made to oblige People to conform. (2.) By the intended Reformation we should wrong ourselves, by fwearing to reform that which we have formerly by our Subscriptions approved, and which we do still be-" lieve to be more agreeable to the Word of God than that which by this Covenant we must swear to preserve; " and to which, by the Laws still in being, every Clerk, " at his Admission to a Benefice, is bound to give his " Consent. (3.) Besides, we should be in danger of Per-" jury, because it is contrary to our former Protestation, which obliges us to maintain the Doctrine of the " Church of England, which may take in the whole Esta-" blishment; and it is contrary to the Oath of Supremacy, " which gives the fole Power to the King in matters Ec-" clesiastical."

Objections to the fecond Article.

Against the fecond Article.

Ib. p. 184.

"We are very much grieved to see the Prelacy of the " Church of England ranked with Popery, Superstition, "Herefy, Schism, and Profaneness, with an Intimation, that it is contrary to found Doctrine, or the Power of "Godliness. Nor can we swear to the Extirpation of it, " because, (1.) We believe it to be of Apostolical Insti-" tution. Or, (2.) At least that Episcopal Aristocracy " hath a fairer Claim to a Divine Institution than any " other Form of Church Government. (3.) That Epif-" copal Government has continued in the Church without " Interruption for fifteen hundred Years, therefore to ex-" tirpate it would give Advantage to the Papists, who " are wont to charge us with a Contempt of Antiquity, and Love of Novelty, and it would diminish the just "Authority due to the Consent and Practice of the Catho-" lick Church. (4.) Besides, we cannot swear to the Ex-" tirpating this Government, because we have subscribed " the thirty nine Articles, one of which fays, the Book " containing the Form of Consecration has nothing in it " contrary to the Word of God. We have been ordained by Bishops; we have petitioned the Parliament for the Con-" tinuance of them; and some of us hold our Livelihoods by the Titles of Deans, Deans and Chapters, &c. (5) "We are not satisfied that the Inconveniencies of the

Wew Government will be less than the Old, the House of Commons having remonstrated [Dec. 15, 1641.]

of the PURITANS. Chap. IX.

343 " that it was far from their Purpose to abolish this Govern-

" ment, but only to regulate it, and that it was a Sign of "Malignancy to infuse into the People that they had any "other Meaning. Lastly, In respect of our Obligation to his Majesty, having acknowledged him to be su-" preme Governor in all Causes Ecclesiastical, we cannot

" endure to extirpate this Government without the Royal

" Assent, which we are so far from desiring, that we are 1b. p. 197.

" continually praying, That the King may not be pre-" vailed with to do an Act so prejudicial to his Conscience " and Honour, and which, by his Coronation Oath, he is

" bound to preserve. By the Laws of the Land there are " fundry Privileges and Emoluments arising to the Crown " from the Ecclesiastcal Estate, which are a considerable

" Part of the Revenue, which by the Extirpation of Pre-" lacy will be cut off; whereas we are bound by the Oath

" of Allegiance to maintain the King's Honour and Estate. " And after all, the Prelatical Government is best suited to

" Monarchy, infomuch that King James used to say, No

" Bishop, no King.

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41. that Objections to the third Article.

"We are diffatisfied with the Limitation of our Loy-Against the " alty in these Words, In the Preservation and Defence third Ar-" of the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdom; ticle. Ib. p. 201. " because no such Limitation is to be found in the Oath " of Allegiance, nor in the Word of God; because it

" leaves the Duty of the Subject loofe, and the Safety " of the King uncertain. The Conscience of a Papist, or " Sectary, may swallow an Oath with such a Limitation,

" but the Conscience of a good Protestant cannot but

" ftrain at it."

To the fourth Article.

They reply, " That the imposing the Covenant in this Against the " Article may lay a Necessity upon the Son to accuse the fourth Ar-"Father, in case he be a Malignant, which is contrary to ticle. Ib. p. 203. "Religion, Nature and Humanity; or it may open a " Way for Children that are fick of their Fathers, to effect

" their unlawful Intentions, by accufing them of Malignan-" cy; besides the subjecting ourselves to an arbitrary Pu-" nishment, at the sole Pleasure of such uncertain Judges

" as may be deputed for that Effect, is betraying the Li-

" berty of the Subject."

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King Charles I. 1647. Against the fifth Article. Ib. p. 206.

Objections to the fifth Article.

"We cannot acknowlege the Happiness of such a Peace " as in the Article is mentioned, for no Peace can be firm " and well grounded, unless the respective Authority, Pow-" er, and Liberty of King, Parliament, and Subject, be " preserved full and entire, according to the known Laws, " and respective Customs of the Kingdom, before the Be-" ginning of these Distractions."

Objections to the fixth Article.

Against the Ib. p. 207.

They fay, "We are not fatisfied, that the Caufe of fixthArticle. 66 our joining in Covenant for the Prosecution of the late War, was the Cause of Religion, Liberty, and Peace " of the Kingdom, or that the Glory of God, and the " Honour of the King, was concerned in it. of it was, we are not fatisfied that it ought to be supor ported and carried on by fuch Means as are destitute of all Warrant from the Word of God, or the Laws of " the Realm."

The Conclusion.

In Conclusion, fay they, " Our Hearts tremble to think " that we should be required to pray, that other Christian 66 Churches may be encouraged by our Example to join in the like Covenant to free themselves from the Antichri-" stian Yoke, for we do not know any Antichristian Yoke " we were under; nor do we yet see such good Fruits of this " Covenant among our felves, as to invite us to pray, that " other Churches should follow our Example; it is as if we should pray, that the God of Love and Peace would " take away all Love and Peace, and fet the Christian World in a Combustion; that he would render the re-" formed Religion odious to the World; that Christian " Princes might be provoked to use more Severity towards " those of the reformed Religion, if not to root it out of " their Dominions; for the Yoke of Antichrist, if laid upon Subjects by their lawful Sovereigns is to be thrown off " by Christian Boldness in confessing the Truth, and suffer-" ing for it, not by taking up Arms, or violent refifting of " the Higher Powers."

After these Remarks upon the several Articles they take Notice.

Contradicions in the Covenant. Ib. p. 211.

(1.) Of the following feeming Contradictions in the Covenant, as, "the preferving, and yet reforming one and 66 the

"the same reformed Religion. The Reforming Church Government according to the Word of God, and yet extirpating that Government which we apprehend a greeable to it. The Extirpating Heresy and Schism, and yet dissolving that Government in the Church, the want of the due Exercise of which has been the occasion of the Growth of these Evils. The preserving the Liberties of the Kingdom, and yet submitting to a Covenant and Oath not established by Law.

(2.) They observe some dark and doubtful Expressions Doubtful which they do not well understand; as, "Who are the Expressions "Common Enemies? Which are the best reformed in the Cowenant. "Churches? Who are Malignants? How far the hindring lb. p. 213.

" Reformation may be extended, &c."

(3.) By the Use that has been made of the Covenant Absurdities, they apprehend "the Conduct of the Parliament to be

they apprehend "the Conduct of the Parliament to be contrary to the Meaning of it, for instead of Reforming the Worship and Service of the Church, they have quite abolished it; instead of Reforming the Discipline of the Church it is quite destroyed, or put upon such a Foot as is not agreeable to the Word of God, or the Example of any Church since the Creation. Instead of extirpating Herefy and Profaneness little or nothing has been done towards it but only the Extirpation of Prelacy, and fomething else that looks so like Sacrilege (say they) that we dare not venture upon it. And as for the Preservation of the King's Honour and Estate in defence of the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdom, tho' we apprehend all other things should be subordinate to it, yet by some bold Speeches that have been made we are afraid nothing less is intended."

Of the Salvoes for Taking the Covenant.

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(1.) "It has been faid, that we may take it in our own Salvoes for "Sense. But this we apprehend contrary to the Nature taking the "and End of an Oath; contrary to the End of Speech; Covenant. Ibid. p. 221, "contrary to the Design of the Covenant, and contrary to &c." the solemn Profession at the Conclusion of it (viz.) That Salvo I. "we shall take it with a true Intention to perform the same, as we shall answer to the Searcher of all Hearts at "the great Day. Besides, this would be Jesuitical; it would be taking the Name of God in vain; and it would frengthen the Ohjection of those who say, there is no "Faith to be given to Protestants.

(2.) " It

King Salvo II.

(2.) " It has been faid, we may take the Covenant with Charles I. ce these Salvoes expressed, so far as lawfully I may, so far " as it is agreeable to the Word of God, and the Laws of " the Land, saving all Oaths by me formerly taken, &c. " which is no better than vile Hypocrify; for by the fame " Rule one might subscribe to the Council of Trent, or the "Turkish Alcoran.

Salvo III.

(3.) " It is faid, that we may take the Covenant in our " present Circumstances, notwithstanding our Allegiance to " the King, because Protection and Subjection are Rela-" tives, and the King being unable to protect us any longer, " we are free from Subjection to him. But we answer, that " the King's Inability to perform his Duty does not discharge " the Subject from his, as long as he is able; much less " when the Non-protection on the King's Part, is not from " want of Will, but of Power.

Salvo IV.

(4.) " It is faid, that the Parliament being the supream "Judicatory of the Kingdom, wherefoever the King " is in Person he is alway present with his Parliament in "Power; as what is done in Courts of Justice is not "done without the King, but by him, though not per-" fonally prefent. But we deny the King to be always or present with his Parliament in Power, for then his ac-" tual Royal Affent would not be necessary to the making " of Laws, but only a virtual Affent included in the Votes " of both Houses: The Houses need not then desire the " Royal Affent, nor can the King be supposed to have a " negative Voice. Besides, the Statute which provides, " that the King's Affent to any Bill fignified under his "Great Seal shall be as valid as if he were personally pre-" fent, imports, that the King's Power is not present with " his two Houses, otherwise than it appears in his Person, " or under his Great Seal. As to the Analogy of other " Courts we conceive it of no Consequence; in other " Courts the Judges are the King's Servants, and do all " in his Name, and by his Authority; they fit there not " by any proper Interest of their own, but in Right of the "King, whose Judges they are; but the Parliament is " the King's Council, and have their feveral proper Rights " and Interests distinct from the King's, by virtue of which " they are distinct Orders and Conservators of their seve-" ral Interests. Besides, the Judges of other Courts are " bounded by the Laws in being, and therefore the "King's personal Presence is not necessary; but the Cale

" is quite different in making new Laws, for the making " new Laws is the Exercise of a Legislative rather than a " Judicial Power; now, no Act of Legislative Power can, " be valid, unless it be confirmed by such Person or Per-" fons as the Sovereignty of that Community refideth in. "Upon the whole, fince all Judicial Power is radically in " the King, who is therefore called the Fountain of Justice, " it feems to us, that neither the Judges in inferior Courts, " nor the Lords and Commons affembled in Parliament, " may exercise any other Power over the Subjects of this "Realm, than fuch as by their respective Patents and "Writs islued from the King, or by the established Laws " of the Land, formerly affented to by the Kings of this " Realm, does appear to be derived from them; by which "Writs, Patents, and Laws, it does not appear that the " two Houses of Parliament have any Power without the "King, to order, command, or transact; but only with " him to treat, confult, and advise, concerning the great " Affairs of the Kingdom."

Concerning the Negative Oath.

They fay, "We cannot take it without giving up our Objections"
Liberties, without abusing our natural Allegiance, and to the Ne"without Diminution of his Majesty's just Power and gative Oath.
"Greatness."

Concerning the Discipline and Directory.

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"We are not fatisfied to fubmit to the Ordinance for And Directive effablishing the Directory, because it has not the Royal tory. Affent, and yet abrogates Acts of Parliament made by the joint Consent of King, Lords and Commons, especially one, which annexes the whole Power of ordering all Ecclesiastical Matters for ever to the Imperial Crown of this Realm; now we are not satisfied that a less Power can have a just Right to abrogate a greater.

"If under the Title of Discipline be comprehended the Government of the Church also, we declare, we cannot consent to the Eradication of a Government of such reverend Antiquity, which has from Time to Time been

" verend Antiquity, which has from Time to Time been "confirmed by the Laws of the Kingdom, and which the "Kings at their successive Coronations have sworn to "preserve."

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King Charles I. " preserve. If the Word Discipline be distinguished from Government, as in the first Article of the Covenant, yet are we not satisfied to place so much Power in the hands of Persons (many of whom may be of mean Quality) for the keeping back Thousands of well meaning Christians from the blessed Sacrament, when Saint Paul, in a Church abounding with sundry Errors, and Corruptions in Faith and manners, satisfies himself with a general Declaration of the Danger of unworthy communicating, and enjoins every particular Person a Self-Examination, without empowering either Ministers or LayElders to exclude any from the Communion upon their Examination.

"As to the Directory itself, we cannot, without re"gret of Conscience, and during the continuance of the
"present Laws, consent to the taking away the Book of
"Common Prayer, which we have subscribed, and solemnly promised to use no other, which we believe contains in it nothing but what is justly defensible; and
which we think ourselves able to justify against all Papists and Sectaries. Besides, we look upon the Statute
enjoining the Use of the Common Prayer to be still in
force, and will alway remain so, 'till it shall be repealed
by the same good and sull Authority by which it was
made; that is, by the free Consent of King, Lords and
Commons."

Remarks.

By comparing these Reasons with those of the Parliament Divines for taking the Covenant, the Reader will be capable to judge of their force. If the Constitution had been entire, and the Laws had their free and ordinary Course, as in Times of Peace, most of them would have been conclusive; but how far the Justice of the War, and Self-defence, will vindicate the extraordinary Proceedings of the -Parliament, must be left to every ones Judgment. I am no Advocate for the particulars of the Covenant no more than for the high and arbitrary Principles of Government, contained in the University's Reasons. The Consciences of Men are not under the Direction of their Wills, and therefore ought not to be obliged by Oaths, or Protestations, or Covenants, to attempt those Things in Matters of Religion for which their own Hearts must condemn them. Religion and Civil Government stand upon a distinct Basis; the Magistrate may demand Security for Men's peaceable Submission to the Government they live under, but ought not to force them to be active against the Light of their

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Charles I.

Consciences. But the University Reasons are not built upon these Principles; for those Gentlemen were as much for the Coercive Power of the Magistrate in Matters of Conscience as the Puritans; I shall therefore only remark, that whereas they fay, " the allegiance of the Subject, and the Pro-" tection of the King, are not Relatives; and that the "King's Inability to discharge his Duty does not absolve " the Subject from his," that upon these Principles the Crown can never be forfeited; a Coronation Oath is of very little fignificance; nor may a Nation fubmit to a Conqueror when they can refift no longer. Inability alone in the Prince may not in all Cases absolve us from out Allegiance, but Tyranny, Oppression, and Overt Attempts to subvert the whole Constitution and Laws of the Country, certainly may: Upon what other Principles can we justify the late Revolution, and the Protestant Succession. When the Oxford Divines had taken the Oath of Allegiance to King James II. and the Corporation Oath, which fays, " It is not lawful to refift, or take up Arms against " the King upon any Pretence whatfoever;" what could absolve them from these Oaths, or justify their joining the Prince of Orange with a foreign Force against a King upon the Throne? However, this act of the University was a bold and adventurous Attempt at this Time, for which they had afterwards the Congratulations of the Oxford Parliament in the Year 1665. when it was refolved. " That the Thanks of the House of Commons be " returned to the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars, of " the University of Oxford, for their bold Opposition to the " rebellious Vifitors; for refusing to submit to their League " and Covenant; and Lastly, For the illustrious Perfor-" mance they printed, entirled, The Judgment of the " University, &c. in which they have learnedly maintain-" ed the King's Caufe." This was the fashionable Doctrine of King Charles the Second's Reign, when the Laws were suspended, and arbitrary Power in the Prince rose up to fuch a Height as occasioned a Revolution of Government in the next Reign. The University of Oxford did all they could to support it, for in the Year 1683, they passed a Decree in full Convocation, affirming the Necesfity of Passive-obedience and Non-resistance in the strongest Terms; but how foon were the Tables turned! when within five years these very Gentlemen thought fit to enter into an Affociation to stand by the Prince of Orange against King Charles I 1647-

Visitation opened. Suff. Cler. p. 127.

the King that was then upon the Throne, and have fince had the Mortification to fee their Decree burnt by the hands of the common Hangman.

To return to the Visitation, May, 15, a Citation was iffued in the Names of ten of the Visitors then in London, to the Proctors, and Heads of Houses, or their Vice-principals, requiring them, and all the Officers, Scholars, &c. to appear in the Convocation-House, on Friday June 4, between the Hours of nine and eleven in the Morning, and to bring with them a lift of the several Names of those that were absent, and of the Colleges to which they belonged. At the time appointed the Reverend Mr. Harris. Mr. Reynolds, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Henry Wilkinfon, Mr. Chevnel, Mr. John Wilkinson, Mr. Dunce, and Mr. Diaper, &c. opened the Vifitation with Prayers and a Sermon at St. Mary's Church, from whence they proceeded to the Convocation-House, where the Vice-Chancellor [Dr. Fell] and a few Scholars, had been waiting for fome Time; but perceiving the Visitors were like to out-stay the precise Hour of Citation, he ordered the Sexton to fet the Clock exactly with the Sun, and as foon as it struck Eleven he dismissed the Scholars, and marched away with the Beadles before him; the Visitors met them in their return at the Proscholium, where the Passage being narrow, the Beadle cried out, " Make way for Mr. Vice-Chancellor," which the Visitors did. And the Vice-Chancellor having moved his Hat, as he passed by, said, " How do ye, Gentle-" men, 'tis past Eleven a Clock." But the Visitors went use the Visi- forward, and having consulted about an hour upon the to sill, and Vice-Chancellor's Behaviour resolved to adjourn till Michaelmas, and returned to London, in order to obtain further Powers from the Parliament. In the mean Time Dr. Fell fummoned a Committee of the Heads of the several Colleges, who came to the following Resolutions.

Univerfity will not fub-

> 1. That no Man should appear before the Visitors unless the Summons had five Names.

2. That no one should appear upon an Holy Day.

3. That he should demand by what Authority he was fummoned; and if denied an Answer should presently de-

4. That if they declared their Authority he should anfwer with a "Salvis juribus Regni, Academiae & Colle-" gii, &c."

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5. That he should demand his Accusation in writing, as also Time to put in his Answer, and should return it in wri- Charles L ting, and no otherwise.

Lastly, That he should utterly refuse to answer on Oath, because that would be to accuse himself, and would plainly revive the Oath Ex Officio.

Such was the stout Behaviour of these few Academickt, Suff. Cler. " who (according to Dr. Walker) poured upon the Vifitors p. 122, 123, " all manner of Contempt and Scorn, though they knew their " very Lives and Fortunes were at their disposal. The Uni-

" versity (fays he) held out a Siege of more than a Year and "half; the Convocation-House proved a Citadel, and " each fingle College a Fort' not eafy to be reduced," a furprifing instance of the Humanity of the Visitors, and an unanswerable demonstration of the necessity of the Parlia-

ment's dispossessing them !"

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The two Houses having resolved to support their Visi- Parliament. tors, and enable them to go thorough their Work; past an resolve to support their Ordinance, Aug. 26. empowering them " to administer visitors, " the Covenant, and the Negative Oath; to demand the lb. p. 128. " perufal of the Statutes, Registers, Accompts, &c. and " of all other papers of the University, and of the respec-" tive Colleges and Halls; and to feize and detain in cuf-" tody any person, who after a personal citation refused to " appear, and produce their Books and Papers after a fe-" cond Citation; a Jury was also to be impanell'd, of " Members of the University, above the Age of Twenty " one, to enquire by Oath on the Articles contained in the " Ordinance of Visitation;" and a new Commission was drawn up by Mr. Attorney General St. John, with the Great Seal affixed to it [Sept. 27.] authorifing the Perions above-named, to visit the University without any further Warrant; the Commission began in the usual Form, " Charles, by the Grace of God, &c. to our trusty and " well-beloved Sir Nath. Brent, &c. Know ye, that we " intending the Regulation and Reformation of our Univer-" fity of Oxford, &c." which was very odd, confidering the King was never confulted about the Visitation. nor confented to it; but the Houses affected this Form, from a mistaken Supposition, that the King was always present with his Parliament in his legislative Capacity; but it ferved no other Purpose than giving the Adversary an Opportunity to ridicule their Proceedings and charge them with Forgery. mand hors .no sr

Furnished

16471 Antiq. Oxon. P. 388.

Furnished with these new Powers the Visitors returned to Oxford the latter End of September, the Mayor, Sheriffs, and other Magistrates, being commanded to aid and The Vifitati- affift them as there should be occasion. On Michaelmas on revived. Day a Paper was fixed to the Door of University Church, giving Notice, that the Visitation would now proceed De die in diem. Next Day a Citation was iffued to all the Heads of Houses, requiring them to bring in their Statutes, Registers, Accompts, and all their publick Writings, to the Wardens Lodgings at Merton College. The Vice-Chancellor was ordered to appear at the fame Time, to answer to such Questions, as should be demanded of him. and to fend by the Hands of the Persons who served those Orders, all the Books and Acts belonging to the University. The Proctors were likewife enjoined to bring in their Books, Keys, and other publick things in their Custody. But it is not enough to fay (fays the Oxford Antiquary) that every one of these Orders were disobeyed; they "were also despised and contemned." However, the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Colleges condescended to appear at the fecond Summons, October 6, but instead of bringing their Books and Papers, they demanded to know, by " what Authority they were fummoned?" upon which the Visitors produced their Commission under the Broad Seal, and at the same Time served them with a third Citation, to appear four Days after with their Books and Papers, or with their Reasons in Writing why they refused fo to do. Next Day they fent for the Keys of the Convo-Sty will not cation-House and School, and for the Beadles Staves, but they were denied. The Day following the Proctors appeared, and delivered a Protestation, attested by a publick Notary, in the Name of the Vice-Chancellor, Delegates, and all the Scholars, to this Purpose, that " they could " not own to any Visitor but the King, and that having of fworn to maintain his Right, they could not, without Perjury submit themselves to this Visitation, wherewith "they defire them to acquaint the Parliament." Upon this Dr. Fell the Vice-Chancellor, the very fame day, was deprived of his Vice-Chancellorship, and publick Notice was given to the Proctors, and other officers of the University, not to obey him any longer under that Character; but the Doctor, without regard to his Deprivation, or to the Prorogation of the Term, which the Vifitors had adjourned from the 10th to the 15th instant, proceeded on the 11th to hold a Congregation, and open the Term as ufual;

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King 1647.

usual; whereupon he was taken into Custody, and some Time after, by Order of Parliament brought to London: immediately upon which Dr. Potter, President of Trinity College, ordered the Beadles with their Staves to attend him as Pro-Vice-Chancellor. November 2d and 4th the leveral Heads of Colleges then present appeared before the Visitors, but without their Statute Books and Papers, and being called in feverally, were asked in their Turns, Whether they approved of the Judicium Universitatis; or the "Reasons of the University above-mentioned? Whe-"ther they own'd the Power of the Visitors? Or whether suff. Cler. "they approved of the Answer of the Proctors in the p. 130. " Name of the whole University?" And refusing to give a direct Answer they were served with a Citation to appear before the "Committee for Reformation of the Universi-"ty at Westminster the 11th Instant," which they did accordingly, and having owned their Approbation of the An-Iwer of the Proctors in the Name of the University, they tendered a Paper to the Committee in the Name of all that had been cited, fetting forth, " That what they had " done was not out of Obstinacy, but from Conscience; " and praying, that in an Affair of fo much Consequence " they might be allowed Time to advise with Council." Their Request being readily granted, two Gentlemen of the Long Robe of their own Nomination (viz.) Mr. Hale and Mr. Chute, were appointed their Council. The day of hear- They are ing was December 9; the position they offered to maintain heard by was, " that it was one of the Privileges of the University cil. " to be subject Only to a Royal Visitation;" the Council for the University made a learned Argument upon this Eccl. Hift. Head; but, as Mr. Collier observes, this Question had been p. 766. debated before the King and Council in the year 1639, when Archbishop Laud claimed a Right of visiting the two Universities Jure Metropolitico. It was then admitted, that the King might visit when he pleased, but after a full hearing his Majetty, with the Advice of his Council, declared and adjudged the Right of vifiting both Universities, as Universities, to belong to the Archbishop, and Metropolitical Church of Canterbury, by themselves or Commissaries, and that the Universities should from Time to Time be obedient thereunto. Which Determination of his Majesty, the Archbishop moved might be drawn up by Council learned in the Law, and put under the Broad Seal, to prevent Disputes for the future, which was accordingly done; the University therefore lost their question in the Committee. The Council for the Visitors were further of opini-Vol. III. Aa on,

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King 1647.

on, that the "Kingly Power was always virtually prefent Charles I. " with his great Council of Parliament," and that therefore they might visit; but supposing this to be a Mistake, they affirmed, that the Parliament had an undoubted Right to reform the University by the Articles of Capitulation, in which they had expresly referved this Power to themselves.

But are cast. After a full Hearing on both Sides the Committee voted, " that the Answer of the several Heads of Houses, and " of others of the University, was derogatory to the Au-"thority of Parliament."

p. 130.

Vol. Pamp. No. 34.

Let to Mr. 19 The Oxford Divines not fatisfied with this Determina-Selden tion appealed foon after to the Publick, in a Letter to the learned Mir Selden, Burgels for the University, entitled, 16 The Case of the University of Oxford;" or, the sad Dilemma that all the Members thereof are put to, to be perjured or destroyed. The Letter fays, " that the only Question proposed by the Visitors to every fingle " Person in the University is, Whether he will submit to the Power of the Parliament in this Visitation? To which they reply, that unless they have the personal " Confent of the King they cannot submit to any Visitation without danger of Perjury, as appears by the Words of the Oath, which are, You shall swear to observe all "the Statutes, Liberties, Privileges, and Customs of the " University; to which the Scholar answers, I swear. Now it being one of our Privileges to be visited by none but the King, or by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the "Archbishop being dead, it follows, we can be visited by " none but the King; to submit therefore to another Visitation must be a Breach of our Liberties, and consequent-" ly downright Perjury. They urged further, the Statutes of their feveral Colleges, which bind them to certain " Rules in their Electing of Proctors, in the Calling and " Meeting of Convocations, in Choice of feveral Officers " in Case of a Vacancy, all which, instead of being refer-" red to the Members of the University, is now done by " the arbitrary Power of the Vifitors. Nothing (fay they) can be alledged in Answer to this, but the pretended fo-"vereign Power of the two Houses to make and abolish Laws, which We absolutely disbelieve. Upon the "Whole, they appeal to any Divine, whether they ought " to submit to the Visitation as long as they believe their "Oaths to be in full Force, and are confident, that the "two Houses cannot dispense with them? And conse-" quently, Whether they ought to be turned out of their

"Freeholds

"Freeholds on this account?" But this reasoning was King Charles I. thought too weak to deserve any further Answer.

The Committee at London having waited to the End of the Month of December, to fee if any of the Heads of Suff. Cler. Colleges would submit, voted Dr Fell out of his Deanry of P. 131. Christ Church for Contumacy; and passed the same Sentence upon

Dr. Oliver, President of Magdalen College, Dr. Potter, Dr. Bayly, - Trinity, - St. John's, Dr. Radcliffe, Principal of Brazen Nose, Dr. Gardner, 7 Canons of Christ Church. Dr. Iles, Dr. Morley, J

But when their Resolutions were sent to Oxford the Their stubproper Officers refused to publish them, and when they born Behawere pasted upon the Walls of the Colleges they were torn down, and trampled under foot; upon which the Pro-Vice-Chancellor, and the two Proctors were ordered into Custody, but they absconded, and Dr. Oliver assumed the Office of Pro-Vice-Chancellor. The Parliament pro-whitlock, voked with this usage passed an Ordinance Jan. 22, 1647-8, p. 290. constituting the Earl of Pembroke Chancellor of Oxford, and March 8, they ordered him to repair thither in Person, to support the Visitors, and place the several Persons whom the Committee had chosen, in the respective Chairs of those they had ejected.

April 11. The Chancellor made his publick Entrance in- E. of Pemto the City, attended with a great Number of Clergy, and broke Gentlemen of the Country, and about one hundred Horse Chancellor visits in out of Oxford itself; the Mayor welcomed him at his En- Person. trance into the City with a congratulatory Speech; and when he came to his Lodgings Mr. Button, one of the new Proctors, made a Speech to him in Latin, but not one of the Heads of the Colleges came near him; the Infignia of the University were not to be found, and the Scholars treated the Chancellor with his Retinue with all that Rudeness they had been taught to express towards all that ad-

hered to the Parliament.

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Next Morning the Earl, attended with a Guard of Soldi- His Proers, went to Christ Church, and having in vain desired ceedings. Mrs. Fell, the Dean's Wife, to quit the Lodgings peace-Suff. Clerably, he commanded the Soldiers to break open the doors,

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King Charles L. and carry her out in a Chair into the middle of the Quadrangle; he then put the new elected Dean, Mr. Revnolds, afterwards Bishop of Norwich into Possession; from thence his Lordship, with the Visitors went to the Hall, and having got the Buttery Book, struck out Dr. Fell's Name, and inferted that of Mr. Reynolds; the like they did by Dr. Hammond Sub-Dean, and publick Orator; by Dr. Gardner, by Dr. Rayne, Dr. Wall, Dr. Iles, and Dr. Morley, placing in their flead Mr. Corbet, who was made publick Orator; Mr. Rogers, Mr. Mills, Mr. Cornish, Mr. Henry Wilkinson, sen. and Mr. Langley; Dr. Sanderson being spared, because he was out of Town when the last Summons was issued.

Rufhw. p. 1064.

Suff. Cler. 133, 134-

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In the Afternoon they held a Convocation, which was opened with an elegant Latin Oration, pronounced by Mr. Corbet their new Orator. When the Chancellor had taken the Chair in the Convocation-House he declared Mr. Revnolds Vice-Chancellor, who took an Oath to observe the Statutes and Privileges of the University, subject to the Authority of Parliament. Mr. Button and Mr. Cross were declared Proctors, and all three returned their thanks to the Chancellor in Latin Speeches. At this Convocation Degrees were conferred upon divers learned Men. Mr. Chambers, Mr. Callicott, and Mr. Harris, were made Doctors of Divinity; Mr. Palmer Doctor of Physick; M. J. Wilkins, [afterwards Bishop,] Mr. Langley, Mr. Cornish, and Mr. Cheynell, Batchelors of Divinity; the young Earl of Carnarvan the Chancellor's two youngest Sons, and several other Gentlemen, Masters of Arts.

Next Morning, April 13, the Chancellor and Vifitors, with a Guard of Musqueteers, went to Magdalen College, and having broke open the Doors of the President's Lodgings [Dr. Oliver] who was out of the Way, they gave Dr. Wilkinson Possession. In the Afternoon they went to All-Souls, where Dr. Sheldon, the Warden appeared, but refusing to submit, went back to his Lodgings and locked the Doors, which being broke open, the Doctor was taken into Custody for his Contempt, and Dr. Palmer put in his Place; from thence they went to Trinity College, and having broken open the Lodgings, Dr. Harris was put into Possession in the Room of Dr. Potter. In like manner they put Dr. Cheynel into Possession of St. John's in the Room of Dr. Bayly; Mr. Wilkins into the Prefidentship of Wadham College in the Room of Dr. Pit; and Mr. Greenwood into Brazen Nose College in the Room of D. Radchiffe, allow-

allowing each of them a Month's Time to remove their Effects. But some of the Students of Christ Church having got the Buttery Book, impudently cut out the Names of those whom the Visitors had inserted; so that they were Suff. Cier. forced to return next Day and write over again the Names P. 134. of their new Dean and Canons. The Heads of Colleges being thus placed in their feveral Stations, the Chancellor took leave of the University, and returned to London; and having reported his conduct to the two Houses April 21, received their thanks.

But Dr Wilkinson, sen. and Mr. Cheynel, who came Reports the to Town with the Chancellor, having represented to the Behaviour of Parliament, that the Fellows, Scholars, and under Officers, the Univerfill refused to submit to their Orders, it was resolved, Parliament, "That the Visitors should cite all the Officers, Fellows, " and Scholars, before them, and that such as refused to " repair, or upon Appearance did not fubmit, should be " fuspended from their Places and their Names returned

" to the Committee, who were authorized to expel them " the University; and the new Heads (on Signification Ib. p. 134. " of fuch Sentence from the Committee) in Conjuncti-" on with the Visitors, were empowered to put others " in their Places. They resolved further, that the Bur-" fat should make no Dividend of Money till they had " orders from the Committees; and that the Tenants " should pay their Rents to none but the Heads appointed " by the Authority of Parliament." But the Burfars ab-

sconded and were not to be found. By virtue of these Orders the Visitors cited the Fellows, Numbers

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Scholars of Houses, Gentlemen Commoners, and Servi-ejected. tors, to appear before them at feveral Times; the only Question that was asked them was, "Will you submit to "the Power of the Parliament in this Visitation?" To which they were to give their Answer in writing, and were accordingly continued or displaced. Great Numbers were Life of Mr. absent from the University, and did not appear; others dis- Phil. Henry, owned the Power of the Parliament at first, and afterwards fubmitted, but the main Body stood out to the last: Dr. Walker fays, that one Hundred and Eighty with- suff. Cler. drew; that of about fix Hundred seventy fix that appear- Part I. ed, five Hundred forty eight refused at first to own the p. 135. Authority of the Visitation, but that afterwards many sub- Part II. mitted, and made their Peace. In another Place he sup- p. 138, 139. poses one Fourth submitted; and makes the whole Number of Fellows and Scholars deprived to amount to three Hun-

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King Charles L. 1647.

dred seventy five; and then by a List of new Elections in fome following years, reduces them to three Hundred fifty fix: but then considering that some may have been omitted, he guesses the whole to be about four Hundred. The Oxford Historian, Mr. Wood, fays, the Number of them that did not submit was about three Hundred thirty four, but that they were not prefently expelled; for though the Visitors were obliged to return their Names to the Committee, and were empowered to expel them, yet they deferred the Execution of their Powers in hopes that Time might bring them to a compliance; which 'tis very likely it did, because it appears by the Register, that in the eight following years, i. e. between the years 1648 and 1656, there were no more than three hundred ninety fix new Elections, which, confidering the many Deaths and Removals that happened within that compass of Time, must suppose the Deprivations at this Time to be not very considerable; but if their Numbers had been much greater than they really were, the Parliament were obliged, in their own defence, to disposses them

1b. p. 135.

Insolence of But the few Scholars that remained in the University the Scholars, treated the Visitors with insufferable Rudeness; scurrilous and invective Satyrs, equal if not superior in Raillery and ill Language, to Martin Mar-Prelate, and the rest of the Brownistical Pamphlets in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, were scattered in the most publick Places of the City every week; as Mercurius Academicus; Pegafus, or the Flying Horse from Oxon; Pegasus taught to dance to the Tune of Lachrymæ; News from Pembroke and Montgomery, or Oxford Manchester'd. The Owl at Athens; or, the Entrance of the Earl of Pembroke into Oxford, April 11. The Oxford Tragi-Comedy, in heroick Latin Verse. "Lord have Mercy upon us;" which is the Inscription put upon Houses that have the Plague; and a great many others; which the Visitors took no further Notice of, than to forbid the Booksellers to print or sell the like for the future. If the Puritans had published such Pamphlets against the Exorbitancies of the High Commission Court in the late Times, the Authors or Publishers must have loft their Ears, as the Brownists did their Lives in the latter End of Queen Elizabeth; and furely, the University might have preserved their Loyalty without offering such unmannerly Provocations to Gentlemen who were willing to behave towards them with all Gentleness and Moderation, at of thursan of bevireely seeles

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designed among the Scholars in favour of the King, and in Charles I, concert with the Loyalists in other parts of the Kingdom, acquainted the commanding Officers of the Garrison, who Garrison gave immediate orders to fearch the Colleges for arms; fearch the and on the 26th of May, 1648, the Visitors ordered all the Arms. Members of the University to give a peremptory answer in writing within feven days, "Whether they would submit to the Authority of the Parliament in this Visitation or " no?" And that none should depart the University without leave from the Pro-Vice-Chancellor. The day following both Houses of Parliament pass'd an order, " That for as " much as many Doctors, and other Members of the Uni-" versity, notwithstanding the example that had been made " of fome of them, did still persist in their contempt of the " Authority of Parliament, which might be of dangerous " consequence, therefore the Committee for reforming " the University should have power to send for them un-" der the custody of a guard and commit them to prison." When this order came to Oxford the Vifitors declared, that Suff. Cler. whosoever should not plainly, and without referve, declare P. 137. his submission to the Visitation, should be deemed as flatly denying the authority of it, and be taken into custody;

and that whofoever laid claim to any place in the University should within fifteen days declare his submission or be deprived; accordingly at the expiration of the time, fuch as Scholars exdid not appear were deprived of their Fellowships, and ex-pell'd. pelled the University: But still the Scholars would not re-

move, being too stubborn to be turn'd out of their Colleges by Votes at London, or Papers and Programma's at Oxford. The Vifitors therefore, after having waited above fix months, were obliged to proceed to the last extremity; and July 5, 1648, ordered a Serjeant, attended with some files of Musqueteers, to publish by beat of drum before the gates of the feveral Colleges, that " if any of those who " had been expell'd by the Vifitors should presume to con-

"tinue any longer in the University they should be taken " into custody, and be made prisoners by the Governor." But this not taking effect, the Oxford Historian adds, that four days after they published a further order by beat of drum before the gate of every College, " That if any one who " had been expell'd did presume to tarry in the Town, or " was taken within five miles of it, he should be deem'd

" as a Spy, and punished with death." And to fortify this A 34

King Charles I. 1647. order General Fairfax, who was then in the field, gave public notice, that he would proceed accordingly with such as did not depart in four days, unless they obtained leave from the Vice-Chancellor and Visitors to continue longer. This cool'd their courage, and prevailed with the young Gentlemen to retire. Thus the University of Oxford was cleared of the Royalists, and the Visitors at liberty to fill up their Vacancies in the best manner they could; in all which one cannot tell which most to admire, the unparallel'd patience and forbearance of a victorious Parliament for almost two years, or the stubborn perverseness and provoking behaviour of a few Academicks, against a power that could have batter'd their Colleges about their ears, and buried them in their ruins in a few days.

Heads of About ten of the old Heads of Colleges, and Professors Colleges that of Sciences, submitted to the Visitors, and kept their Places, submitted and about nineteen or twenty were expell'd. Those that

their Places, Submitted were,

Dr. Langbain, Provost of Queen's—
Dr. Hood, Rector of Lincoln—
Dr. Saunders, Provost of Oriel—
Dr. Hakewell, Rector of Exeter—
Sir Nath. Brent, Warden of Merton—
Dr. Zouch, Principal of Alban Hall—
Dr. Lawrence, Master of Baliol——
Dr. Pocock, Arabick Professor,
Dr. Clayton, Anatomy Professor,

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The following Characters of these Gentlemen, with those that were ejected, and their Successors, I have taken so the most part, from Writers that can never be suspected of

partiality in favour of the Puritans.

Mr. Philips, Musick Professor.

Dr. Langbain. Wood's Athen. Vol. II. p. 220. Dr. Gerard Langbain, Provost of Queen's College, was a great ornament to his College; he was elected Keeper of the Archives, or Records of the University, being in general esteem for his great Learning and Honesty. He was an excellent Linguist, an able Philosopher and Divine, a good common Lawyer, a publick spirited Man, a lover of Learning and learned Men, beloved of Archbishop Usher, Selden, and the great Goliahs of Literature. He was also an excellent Antiquary, indefatigable in his studies, and of immense

1647.

Undertakings. He died Feb. 10, 1657-8, and was buried

in the inner Chapel of Queen's College.

Dr. Paul Hood, Rector of Lincoln College, had been many Years Governor of this House, and continued in it, Dr. Hood. through all changes, till his death; he was Vice-Chancel- Wood's lor of the University in the year 1660, when he conformed p. 127. to the established Church, and died in the year 1668.

Dr. John Saunders, Provost of Oriel College, disowned Dr. Saunthe authority of the Vifitors at first, but afterwards com- ders. Walker, plied; for as Dr. Walker observes, there was no other Pro- p. 131.

vost till after his death, which was in the year 1652.

Dr. George Hakewell, Rector of Exeter College, had Dr. Hakebeen Chaplain to Prince Charles, and Archdeacon of Surry; well. upon the Promotion of Dr. Prideaux to the See of Wor-Walker, cester he was chosen Rector of this College, but resided p. 114 little there, for all the time of the Wars he retired to his Rectory of Heanton in Devon, where he lived a retired life, and died in April 1649. He was (fays Dr. Walker) a great Divine, a very good Philosopher, and a noted Preacher.

Sir Nathaniel Brent, Warden of Merton College, was Sir Nath. Probationer Fellow, in the year 1594, and Proctor of the Brent. University in 1607, he afterwards travelled into feveral athen. Ox. parts of the learned World, and underwent dangerous adventures in Italy to procure the History of the Council of Trent, which he translated into English, and therefore, fays Mr. Wood, deserves an honourable mention. By the favour of Archbishop Abbot he was made Commissary of the Diocese of Canterbury, and Vicar-General to the Archbishop, being Doctor of Laws, and at length Judge of the Prerogative. In 1629, he was knighted at Woodstock, but upon the breaking out of the Clvil Wars he took part with the Parliament, for which reason he was ejected his Wardenship of this College, but restor'd again when it came into the Parliament's Hands in 1646. He was one of the Visitors of the University, and was a very learned and judicious Civilian. He refigned his Wardenship in the year 1650, and died at London in 1652, after he had lived 10 110 110 feventy nine years.

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Dr. Richard Zouch, L. L. D. Principal of Alban Hall, Dr. Zouch. was of noble birth, and ferved in Parliament for the Bo-Athen, Ox. rough of Hyth in Kent. He was Chancellor of the Diocefe P. 255 of Oxon, Principal of St. Alban Hall, 1625, and at length Judge of the high Court of Admiralty; he was an exact Artist in his Profession, a subtle Logician, an expert Histo-

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King Charles I. 1647.

Historian, and for the Knowledge and Practice of the Civil Law the chief Person of his time. As his birth was noble (fays Mr. Wood) fo was his behaviour and discourse; and as he was personable and handsome, so naturally sweet, pleasing, and affable: He kept his Principalship and Professorship till his death, which happen'd March 1, 1660-1.

Dr. Lawrence. Athen. Ox. P. 214.

Dr. Thomas Lawrence, Mafter of Baliol College, and Margaret Profesfor of Divinity, had been Chaplain to King Charles I. and Prebendary of Lichfield, and by the Interest of Archbishop Laud preferr'd to the Mastership of this College in 1637. He submitted to the authority of the Vifitors, and had a certificate under their hands, dated August 3, 1648, wherein they attest, "That he had engaged to observe the Directory in all Ecclesiastical Administrations, " to preach practical Divinity to the People, and to forbear " preaching any of those opinions that the reformed Church " had condemned." Dr. Walker fays, he refigned all his preferments in the University in the year 1650, but does not fay upon what occasion; only that he grew careless, and did much degenerate in his Life and Manners; that he died in the year 1657, but that if he had lived three years longer he would, notwitstanding, have been consecrated an Irish Bishop.

Suff. Cler. P. 100.

Characters of the Professors that fubmitted. Athen. Ox. p. 868.

The Professors of Sciences that submitted to the Visitors,

and were continued, were,

Dr. Edward Pocock, Professor of the Hebrew and Ara-Dr. Pocock. bick Languages; one of the most learned Men of his age, and justly admired at home and abroad for his great skill in the Oriental Languages, and for many learned Works that he published. He was afterwards ejected from his Canonry of Christ Church for refusing the Engagement, 1651, but was suffered to enjoy his Professorship of Arabick and Hebrew; he conformed in the year 1660, and lived in great Reputation till the year 1691.

Dr. Clayton-

Thomas Clayton, M. D. King's Professor of Anatomy; he kept his Place till the year 1651, and then renounced it in favour of Sir William Petty. After the Restoration he was knighted, and made Warden of Merton College upon the death of Bishop Reynolds in the year 1676.

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Mr. Philips. Mr. Arthur Philips, Professor of Musick, of whom I have met with no account.

> The heads of Colleges ejected by the Visitors, with their Successors, may be seen in the following Table.

Heads

Chab. TV.	the Lock It.	ANS.	303
Heads of Colleges turned out.	Colleges.	Succeeded by	King Charles I. 1647.
Dr. Fell, Vice- Chancellor, from		Dr. Reynolds, afterwards Bp. of Norwich,	Heads of Colleges
Dr. Pit, Warden of	Wadham College	Dr. J. Wilkins, afterwards Bp. of Chefter.	Er Andrina
Dr. Walker,	University Coll.	Dr. Joshua Hoyle,	
Dr. Radcliffe,	Brazen Nofe Coll.	Dr. D. Greenwood	
Dr. Sheldon,		Dr. Palmer, M. D.	
Dr. Newlin,		Dr. Ed. Staunton,	
Dr. Bayly,		Dr. Cheynel,	
		Dr. John Wilkin	
Dr. Oliver,	Magdalen Coll.	Dr. H. Wilkinson jun. Princ. of Magd. Hall,	
Dr. Han. Potter, Dr. Mansell,	Trinity Coll. Jefus Coll.	Dr. Rob. Harris, Dr. Mic. Roberts,	
Mr. Wightwick, B. D.	Pembroke Coll.	Dr. H. Langley,	
Dr. Stringer, Prof. SGr. Lang.	New Coll.	Mr. Ch. Rogers, Mr. Harmer, Prof Gr. Lang.	• and my of and
Professors of Sciences	Professorships.	Succeeded by	
Dr. Rb. Sanderson.	Reg. Pr. of Div.	Dr. Croffe,	A SECTION OF THE
Mr. Birkenhead, }	M. Philof. Prof.	Dr. Henry Wilkinson, jun.	9:1
M. D.1 337	C LING DC	D T 1 M 1	

Mr. Rob. Warin, Dr. In. Edwards, Nat. Phil. Prof. Dr. Turner, M. D. Savil Prof. Geo. Mr. Jn. Greaves, Profest. Astron. A. M. Dr. Hen. Ham-University Oramond,

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Camb. Hift. Prof. Dr. L. du Moulin, Dr. Joshua Crosse, Dr. John Wallis, Dr. Ward, afterw. Bp. of Salisbury, Mr. Button, A.M, Mr. Corbet, who quitted.

Dr. Gilbert Sheldon, Warden of All Souls College, was Their Chaejected April 3, 1648, and lived retired with his Friends in racters.

Staffordshire till 1659, when he was restored to his Warden-Walker's hip upon the death of Dr. Palmer. After the the Resto- suff. Cler. ration he was successively Bishop of London, Chancellor of p. 198.

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King Charles I. 1647. Oxford, and Archbishop of Canterbury; he built the noble Theatre of Oxford, and did a great many other works of charity, but never gave any great Specimens of his Piety or Learning to the World.

Dr. Pell. Walker, p. 102.

Ath. Ox.

Dr. Radcliffe.

Walker,

p. 101.

Dr. Samuel Fell, Vice-Chancellor of the University, and Dean of Christ Church, dispossessed of his Deanery April 12, 1648. He gave the Visitors all the disturbance he could, and was therefore taken into custody for some time, but being quickly released he retired to his Rectory of Sunningwell in Berkshire, where he died Feb. 1, 1648-9. He had been a Calvinist, but finding that was not the way to preferment he changed his opinion, and after great creepings and cringings to Archbishop Laud (says Mr. Wood) he became his creature, and if the Rebellion had not broke out, would, no doubt, have been a Bishop. He lest no remarkable Specimen of his Learning behind him.

Dr. Samuel Radcliffe, Principal of Brazen Nose College, was elected to this Headship 1614, and was in an infirm condition when he was ejected for discouning the authority of the Visitors, April 13, 1648, and died the June following. Neither Mr. Wood nor Walker say any thing of his Learning, nor has he published any thing that I know of to

the World.

Dr. Newlin. Walker, p. 101.

Dr. Robert Newlin, President of Corpus Christi College, and Pro-Vice-Chancellor in the year 1648. He was restored to his Presidentship again in the year 1660, and died in it 1687. But neither Wood nor Walker give any Character of him.

Dr. Bayly. Walker, p. 116.

Dr. Richard Bayly, President of St. John's College, a Kinsman of Archbishop Laud, and one of his Executors; he had been President of this College twenty years when he was ejected; but was restored again in 1660, and died at Salisbury 1667. He was hospitable and charitable, but very faulty (says Mr. Wood) in using some kind of oaths in common conversation. He published nothing that I know of to the World.

Dr. Oliver. Walker, p. 122.

Dr. Potter.

Walker,

P. 133.

Dr. John Oliver, Prefident of Magdalen College, had been domestick Chaplain to Archishop Laud, and was a Man (fays Dr. Walker) of great Learning and found Principles in Religion, [that is of the Principles of the Archishop] he was restored to his Preferments 1660, but died foon after Oct. 27, 1661.

Dr. Hannibal Potter, President of Trinity College, elected 1643, and turned out with the rest that disowned the authority of the Visitors, April 13, 1648. He afterwards ac-

cepted

cepted of a Curacy in Somersetshire, and was ejected for infufficiency; but Dr. Walker says, it was because he used part of the Church Service. He was restored in 1660, and died in 1664.

Dr. John Pitt, Warden of Wadham College, elected Dr. Pitt. April 16, 1644, after that City was garrifoned for the King; Walker, he behaved very refractorily towards the Visitors, and died P. 136.

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Dr. Francis Mansel, Principal of Jesus College, elected Dr. Mansel, to this Principalship in the year 1630, and ejected May 22, 1648. He was restored again in 1660, and died in 1665

having been a great benefactor to his College.

Dr. Thomas Walker, Master of University College, elec- Dr. Walker. ted 1632, and dispossessed by the Visitors July 10, 1648. Walker, He was restored in the year 1660, and died in 1665. He p. 114. was related to Archbishop Laud, and was one of his Executors, and (according to Lloyd) a deferving modest Man, and a great Sufferer.

Mr. Henry Wightwick, B.D. elected to the Mastership of Mr. Wight-Pembroke College in direct opposition to the Order of Par-wick, Walker, liament, July 13, 1647, for which reason he was soon p. 132. after dispossessed. In the Year 1660 he was restored, but turned out again in 1664, for what Reasons Dr. Walker says he does not know. He died in Lincolnshire 1671.

Dr. Henry Stringer, elected to the Wardenship of New Dr. Stringer. College, after the same Manner, in direct opposition to the Walker, Visitors, Nov. 18, 1647, for which reason he was deprived P. 127. Aug. 1, 1648. He was Professor of the Greek Language,

but refigned, and died at London 1657.

The Professors that were turned out by the Visitors were, Professors Dr. Robert Sanderson, Regius Professor of Divinity; a ejected. very learned Man, and an excellent Casuist; he was nomi- fon. nated one of the Assembly of Divines, but did not sit among Life of Santhem. He had a very confiderable hand in drawing up Walton. " the Reasons of the University against the Covenant, and " the Negative Oath." After his ejectment he retired to his Living at Boothby, where he continued preaching, though not without some Difficulties, till the Restoration, when he was preferr'd to the Bishoprick of Lincoln, and died 1662-3.

Mr. John Birkenhead, A. M. Moral Philosophy Reader; Mr. Birkenhe was employed by the Court to write the Mercurius Auli-head. cus, a paper filled with most bitter invectives against the Athen Ox. Parliament, for which he was rewarded with this Lecture-

King Charles I. 1647.

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thip. After his ejectment he lived privately till the Refloration, when he was knighted, and chose Burgess in Parliament for the Borough of Wilton. He was also created L. L. D. and Master of the Faculties, and died in 1679. leaving behind him (according to Wood) a very forry chathat City was garrioned for the line last

Walker, P. 143.

Mr. Waring. Mr. Robert Waring, Cambden History Professor; he bore arms for the King in the Garrison at Oxford, and was p. 106. Dore arms for the King in the Visitation began: He was reckon'd (fays Wood) among the Wits of the University, and was a good Poet and Orator. He died 1658.

Dr.Edwards Walker, p. 118. 1 ...

John Edwards, M. D. Natural Philosophy Lecturer; he behaved rudely towards the Visitors, and was therefore not only dispossessed of his Preferment, but expell'd the Univerfity; but neither Wood nor Walker give any character of him bd flooring model bd.mid to

Dr. Turner. Wood, M P. 125.

Peter Turner, M. D. Savilian Professor of Geometry; he ferved his Majesty as a Volunteer under the Command of Sir J. Byron, and being a zealous Loyalist was expelled the University by the Visitors, after which he retired to London, and died 1650. He was a good mathematician, well read in the Fathers, an excellent Linguist, and highly valued by Archbishop Laud.

Mr. Greaves, A. M. Professor of Astronomy, was sent walker, by Archbishop Laud to travel into the Eastern Parts of the World to make a collection of Books in those Languages. After his return he was preferr'd to this Professorship, but was ejected by the Vifitors, and Nov. 9, 1648, expell'd the University, for sending the College Treasure to the King, and other Crimes of the like nature. He died at London 1652, with the reputation of a good Scholar, and was well respected by Mr. Selden, and others.

Dr. Hammond. Vide his Life.

Dr. Henry Hammond, University Orator, was a very learned Man, and a great Divine, highly esteemed by King Charles I. He affifted at the Treaty of Uxbridge, and attended the King as his Chaplain when he was permitted. After his ejectment he retired to the house of Sir J. Packington of Worcestershire, where he employ'd his time in writing feveral valuable and learned Treatifes in defence of the Hierarchy of the Church of England, and in the study of the New Testament. He died April 25, 1660.

> The Head's of Colleges who succeeded those thatwere ejected by Authority of Parliament, were

Dr.

Dr. Edward Reynolds, Vice-Chancellor of the Univer-King Charles L fity, and Dean of Christ Church in the place of Dr. Fell; he was Probationer Fellow of Merton College in the year 1620, which he obtained by his uncommon skill in the New Heads Greek Tongue; he was a good Disputant and Orator, a of Colleges that succeed. popular Divine, and in great esteem in the City of Lon-ed. don, being a Preacher to the honourable Society of Lin Dr. Rey coln's Inn. Mr. Wood confesses, he was a person of exBishop. cellent Parts and Endowments, of a very good Wit, Fancy Athen, Ox. and Judgment, and much esteemed by all Parties for his p. 568. florid Stile. Sir Tho. Brown adds, that he was a Divine of fingular Affability, Meekness, and Humility; of great Learning, a frequent Preacher, and a constant Resident. He conformed at the Restoration and was made Bishop of

Norwich, and died 1676.

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Dr. John Wilkins, promoted to the Wardenship of Wad- Dr. Wilkins, ham College in the place of Dr. Pit. He was educated in aft. Bishop. Magdalen Hall, and was Chaplain to Charles Count Pala- Athen. Ox. ine of the Rhine: A little before the Restoration he came P. 505. to London, and was Minister of St. Lawrence Tury, and Prescher to the Society at Lincoln's Inn. Mr. Wood admits, that he was a person of rare gifts, a noted Theologill and Preacher, a curious Critick, an excellent Mathematician, and as well feen in Mechanism, and the new Philosophy, as any in his time. In the year 1656, he married the fifter of O. Cromwell, then Lord Protector of England, and had the Headship of Trinity College, in Cambridge, conferred upon him, which is the best preferment in that University. He was afterwards a Member of the Royal Society, to which he was a confiderable Benefactor. Dr. Burnet fays, that Bishop Wilkins was a Man of as great a Mind as true a Judgment, of as eminent Virtue, and as good a Soul, as any he ever knew. Bishop Tillotson gives im the same character; and several Members of the Roy-Society acknowledge him to have been an ornament to the University, and to the English Nation. He was creatd Bishop of Chester in the year 1668, and died of the Stone in the House of Dr. Tillotson 1672.

Dr. Joshua Hoyle preferr'd to the Headship of Univer- Dr. Hoyle. ty College in the room of Dr. Walker; he was educated Athen. Ox Magdalen Hall, Oxford, but being invited into Ireland P. 185. became Fellow of Trinity College, and Professor of Divi-nity in the University of Dublin. In the Beginning of the ish Rebellion he came over to England and was made car of Stepney, a Member of the Assembly of Divines, nd at length Master of this College, and King's Professor

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of Divinity in the room of Dr. Sanderson. Mr. Wood fays, he was a perfon of great reading and memory, but of less judgment. He was exactly acquainted with all the School Men, and so much devoted to his book, that he was in a manner a stranger to the world; he was indefatigably industrious, and as well qualified for an Acade. mick as any person of his time. He died 1654.

Dr. Greenwood. Wood's Faiti. p. 91.

Dr. Daniel Greenwood, Principal of Brazen Nofe College in the room of Dr. Radcliffe; he had been Fellow of the College for a confiderable time, and had the reputation of a profound Scholar and Divine. Mr. Wood fays, he was a fevere and good governor, as well in his Vice-Chancellorship as in his Principalship; he continued in his Col. lege with an unspotted character till the Restoration, when he was ejected by the King's Commissioners, after which

he lived privately till 1673, when he died.

Dr. John Wilkinson had been President of Magdalene Dr. John Dr. John Wilkinson had occur when that University Wilkinson. College before the Civil Wars, but when that University Wilkinson had occur when the University will be seen to was garrifoned by the King be fled into the Parliament's Quarters, and was succeeded in his Presidentship by Dr. Oliver, about the year 1643, but the Doctor not submitting to the Visitors was voted out of his place April 13, 1648. and Doctor Wilkinson was restored. He was a learned and pious man, but did not continue long in his Station.

Dr. Henry Wilkinion. Ashen. Ox. P. 543.

Dr. Henry Wilkinson, jun. commonly called Dean Harry, President of Magdalen Hall; he was a noted tutor, and moderator in his College before the beginning of the Civil Wars, upon the breaking out of which he left Oxford and came to London; but when that City was furrender'd to the Parliament he return'd to the University, and was created D. D. made Principal of his College, and Moral Philosophy Professor in the room of Mr. Birkenhead. Mr. Wood fays, that he took all ways imaginable to make his House flourish with young students; that he was a frequent and active preacher, and a good disciplinarian, tor which reason the heads of the University perswaded him earnestly to conform at the Restoration, that they might keep him among them, but he refused. After his ejectment he suffered for his Non-conformity, by imprisonments, mulcts, and the loss of his goods and books; though, according to the same author, he was very courteous in speech and carriage, communicative of his knowledge, generous, charitable to the poor, and fo publick-spirited, that he always minded the common good more than his own private after of this College, and King's Professor

Concerns. He published several learned works, and died

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Dr. Robert Harris, resident of Trinity College in the Room of Dr. Potter, was educated in Magdalen Hall, and Dr. Harris. had been a famous Preacher in Oxfordshire for about forty Clark's years; upon the breaking out of the War he came to London, where he continued till appointed one of the Visitors of the University, and Head of this College, over which he prefided ten years, though he was now feventy. He was a person of great piety and gravity, an exact mafler of the Hebrew language, and well versed in Chronology, Church History, the Councils and Fathers. He governed his College with great Prudence, and gained the affections of all the Students, who reverenced him as a Father, though he has been stigmatized by the Royalists as a notorious Pluralist. To which the Writer of his life replies, that whatever benefices he might have been nominated to, he declared he did not receive the profits of them. The Inscription upon his Tomb-Stone says, that he was "Præ-" fes æternum celebrandus; Perspicacissimus indolum scru-" tator, Potestatis Arbiter mitissimus, merentium Fautor " integerrimus, &c. He died 1658.

Dr. Henry Langley, Mafter of Pembroke College in the Dr. Langley, room of Mr. Wightwick, was original Fellow of his Col. Wood's Fa-fli, p. 66, lege, and made Mafter of it in 1647. He kept his place or. till the Restoration, after which he set up a private Academy among the Differers; he was a folid and judicious Di-

vine, and a frequent Preacher. He died 1679.

Dr. Francis Cheynel, President of St. John's College in Dr Cheynel. the room of Dr. Bayly, was probationer Fellow of Mer-Athen. Ox. ton College in the year 1629, and afterwards Rector of P. 358. Petworth, a Member of the Affembly of Divines, and this year made President of that College, and Margaret Professor in the room of Doctor Lawrence, both which he quitted after some time for refusing the Engagement, and retired to his Living at Petworth, from whence he was ejected at the Restoration. He was a person of a great deal of imprudent zeal, as appears by his behaviour at the funeral of the grear Mr. Chillingworth, already mentioned. Bishop Hoadly says, he was exactly orthodox, and as pious, honest, and charitable, as his bigotry would permit; and Mr Eachard adds, that he was of confiderable learning and great abilities.

Vol. III. Bb

King Charles I.

King Charles I. 1647.

Dr. Michael Roberts, Principal of Jesus College in the room of Dr. Manfel, was a good Scholar, and would, no doubt, have conformed at the Restoration, had he been Dr. Roberts, inclined to have accepted any preferment, but he had re-Fasti, p. 71. figned his Principality into the hands of the Protector, 1657, and being rich chose a private life. He published a Latin Elegy upon General Monk, Duke of Albemarle, and died in Oxford 1679.

Dr. Staun-P. 484.

Dr. Edmund Staunton, Principal of Corpus Christi Colton's Life by lege in the room of Dr. Newlin, was admitted Fellow of Athen. Ox. this College 1616, and afterwards Minister of Kingston upon Thames. He took the degrees in Divinity 1634, and was afterwards one of the Affembly of Divines. He kept his Principality till he was ejected by the King's Commissioners at the Restoration; he was a diligent popular Preacher, a good scholar, and continued his labours among the Non-conformists till his death, which happen'd 1671.

Dr. Palmer. Fafti, p. 66.

John Palmer, M. D. Warden of All Souls in the room of Dr. Sheldon, had been Batchelor of Physick of Queen's College, and was now created M. D. in presence of the Chancellor; he was a learned man, and held his preferment till March 4, 1659, when he died. Upon his death, there being a near prospect of the Restoration, Dr. Sheldon was repossessed of his Wardenship.

Wood's Fafli, p. 68.

Upon the death of Dr. Pink the Visitors nominated old Mr. White of Dorchester to succeed him, but I think he refused it, being very much advanced in years, and that it was conferr'd on Mr. Christopher Rogers, who was a perfon of a reverend aspect, an excellent plain preacher, and a very charitable man, but of no great parts; he was ejected at the Restoration, and lived afterwards privately to his death.

New Profesfors.

The Professors of Sciences who succeeded those that were ejected were,

Dr. Ward, aft. Bifhop. Athen. Ox. p. 826.

Dr. Seth Ward, Professor of Astronomy in the Place of Dr. Greaves, and, according to Mr. Wood, the most noted Mathemacitian and Astronomer of his time; he was educated in Sidney College, Cambridge, and in the year 1643, ejected for adhering to the King, but having afterwards changed his mind he made friends to the Committee for reforming the University of Oxford, and was appointed to this preferment; he was afterwards Master of Trinity College, and foon after his Majesty's Restoration preferr'd

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first to the Bishoprick of Exeter, and then to that of Salif-

bury, where he died, 1668.

Dr. John Wallis, Savilian Professor of Geometry in the room of Dr. Turner; the fame of this most learned gen- Dr. Wallis. tleman is well known to the world; he was of Emanuel Wood's Fa-College, Cambridge, and afterwards Fellow of Queen's 106. College in the same University, then Minister of St. Martin's Ironmonger-Lane, London, one of the Scribes in the Assembly of Divines, and now, by the appointment of the Committee, Geometry Professor; he conformed at the Restoration, and continued in his place, an ornament to the University, to a very old age.

Lewis du Moulin, M. D. of the University of Leyden, Dr. Du Cambden Professor of History in the place of Mr. Robert Moulin. Wareing, was incorporated in the same Degree at Cam-Fasti, p. 72. bridge, 1634, he was son of the famous Peter du Moulin, the French Protestant, and kept his preferment till the Restoration, when he was turned out by his Majesty's Commissioners, and continued a Non-Conformist till his Death. He was a valuable and learned man, as appears by his writings; but Mr. Wood adds, he was a violent Independent,

aud ill-natured: He died in London 1680.

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Joshua Crosse, L. L. D. Natural Philosophy Reader in Dr. Crosse. the room of Dr. Edwards, and one of the Proctors of the Abridg p. University; he was Fellow of Magdalen College, and kept 58. his Reader's place till the Restoration, after which he lived privately in Oxford till 1676, when he died. He was a gen-

tleman much honoured for his becoming conversation.

Ralph Button, A. M. University Orator in the room of Ca amy's Dr. Hammond, and one of the Proctors of the University, Abridg p. was originally of Exeter College, where he made fo great 60. a progress in Philosophy, and other Literature, that when he was but Batchelor of Arts he was recommended by Dr. Prideaux to stand for a Fellowship in Merton College, and was accordingly chosen 1633. He was afterwards a noted Tutor in his House, but was obliged to leave Oxford in the beginning of the Civil Wars because he would not bear Arms for the King. When the War was over he returned and took pupils, and upon the Refusal of Edward Corbet was made Canon of Christ-Church, and University Orator; he was ejected at the Restoration, and afterwards taught Academical Learning at Islington, near London, till 1680, when he died. He was an excellent Scholar, a most humble, fincere man, and a great fufferer for Non-Contormity.

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King Charles I. 1647.

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King Charles L. 1647.

Mr. Harmar.
Athen, Ox. p. 478.

Mr. John Harmar, A. M. Professor of the Greek Language in the room of Dr. Stringer, was educated in Magdalen College, and took his Degrees 1617, he was afterwards Master of the Free School at St. Albans, and one of the Masters of Westminster School; from thence he was removed to the Greek Professorship in this University. He was (says Mr. Wood) a great Philosopher, a tolerable Latin Poet, and one of the most excellent Grecians of his time, but otherwise an honest weak Man. He was turned out at the Restoration, and afterwards lived privately at Steventon in Hampshire till the year 1670, when he died.

These were all the changes that were made among the Heads of Colleges and Professors at this time; and upon the whole, though it must be allowed, that many of the ejected Loyalists were men of real learning and merit, 'tis certain, those that kept their places, and the successors of such as were ejected were men of equal probity and virtue, and no less eminent in their several professions, as appears by the monuments of their learning which several of them have left to the World.

Behaviour of the new Profesors.

Pagi, p. 72

The very enemies of the new Heads of Colleges have confessed, that they were severe in the Government of their several Houses; that they kept a more than common watch over the morals of the Students, and obliged them to an exact Compliance with their Statutes. The Professors were indefatigable in instructing their pupils both in publick and private; Religion sourished more than before; Drunkenness, Oaths, and Profanation of the Lord's Day, were banished; strict Piety, and a Profession of Religion were in sashion; the Scholars often met together for prayer and religious conference; so that, as Mr. Philip Henry, who lived then in the University, observes, "If those of the old Spi-"rit and Way were at first the better Scholars, these were the better Men."

Remarks. Walker's Suff. Cler. p. 140.

Let the Reader now judge of the spirit and candor of those Writers, who insinuate, "that the new professors could neither pronounce Latin, nor write English; that in the room of the ejected Loyalists there succeeded an illiterate rabble, swept up from the plough-tail, from shops and grammar schools, and the dregs of the neighbouring University; that the muses were driven from their ancient seats; that all Loyalty, Learning, and good Sense, was banished; and that there succeeded in their room nothing but barbarism, enthusiasm, and ig-

norance,

" norance, till the dawn of the Restoration." Lord Clarendon was a declared enemy to these changes, and has painted them in the most frightful colours, but the force of truth has obliged him to confess, that " though it might " have been reasonably expected, that this wild and bar-" barous depopulation (as he calls it) would have extirpated " all the Learning, Religion and Loyalty, which had flou-" rished there, and that the succeeding ill husbandry, and " unskilful cultivation, would have made it fruitful only in "ignorance, profaneness, atheism and rebellion, yet by " God's wonderful providence that fruitful foil could not be " made barren by all that stupidity and negligence; it " choaked the weeds, and would not fuffer the poisonous " feeds that were fown with industry enough, to spring up, " but after feveral tyrannical Governors mutually succeed-" ing each other, and with the same malice and perverse-" ness endeavouring to extinguish all good literature and " allegiance, it yielded an harvest of extraordinary good " knowledge in all parts of Learning; and many who were "wickedly introduced, applied themselves to the study " of good Learning and the practice of Virtue, and "had inclinations to that Duty and Obedience they "had never been taught, that when it pleased God " to bring King Charles II. back to his Throne he " found the University abounding in excellent Learn-"ing, and devoted to Duty and Obedience, little in-" ferior to what it was before its defolation." Without remarking upon the ill-natured Satyr of this paragraph, it must be acknowledged a noble Testimony to the Learning and Industry of the new Professors, from the Pen of an Adversary; and with the same justice it may be added, that the University was in a much better condition for Learning, Religion, and good Sense, at the Restoration, than before the beginning of the Civil Wars; for all the great Philosophers and Divines of the Church of England, and others that flourished in the reigns of King Charles II. and King William III. owed their education to these Professors, as the Tillotsons, Stillingfleets, Patricks, Souths, Caves, Sprats, Kidders, Whitbys, Bulls, Boyles, Newtons, Locks, and others. The University was in great reputation in foreign parts, and produced as many learned performances as at any time before. If then we admit, that the new protellors were not introduced into their places in a legal way, according to the statutes, because of the necessity of the B b 3

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King Charles I. 1647.

times, 'tis certain, they proved wife and careful Governors, strict observers of their statutes, and industrious promoters of Learning and Piety; so far were they from deferving the infamous characters of " ignorant, illiterate, "hypocritical blockheads, enemies to the legal Conftituti-" on of their Country," or of being any ways unworthy

the preferments they enjoyed in the University.

Vacancies in the Univerfity filled

There were no doubt, at first, very considerable vacancies in the feveral Colleges by these removes; many of the Fellows and Scholars being dead, or killed in the King's Service, others having refigned their places in the Univerfity for Benefices in the Church, besides those that were expelled by the Vifitors, already mentioned; but to fupply the defect of Fellows and Tutors, the Committee encouraged several learned Graduates in the University of Cambridge to translate themselves to Oxford, and accept of Preferments according to their merits. Many that had fled from the University when it became a Garrison for the King, returned to their Colleges, and were promoted according to their feniority. Great numbers of youth that had kept at home because of the Wars were now sent to Oxford by their Parents, to perfect their education; and if it be considered further, that there had been no admissions from Westminster, Eaton, St. Paul's, Merchant-Taylors, aud other publick Schools, for five or fix years past, it is not to be wondered that there was an unufual flow of youth to the University at this time, so that the damage occasioned by this Revolution of Affairs was quickly repaired, Learning revived, and the Muses returned to their ancient

Caples of the Increase of Laypreachers.

Rufhw. p. 854.

The long interruption of Education in the University produced a very great scarcity of orthodox and learned Ministers in the Countries, some being silenced for refusing the Covenant, and others dispersed, or killed in the Wars. Many Pulpits also were vacant by reason of the scandal or infufficiency of the incumbents, which was one occasion of the increase of Lay-preachers, for the country people would go to hear any body rather than have no Sermons; besides, the Presbyterian Clergy would authorize none to preach but fuch as would take the Covenant, and confent to their discipline. To remedy these evils the Northern Counties petitioned the Houses to erect a new University in the City of York, but the confusion of the times prevented their profecuting the design. The Independants, who were less zealcus about clerical Orders, encouraged, or at least connived at the Lay-preachers, apprehending, that in cases of Necessity, pious Men of good natural parts might Exercise their Charles I. gifts publickly to the Edification of the Church; till under this cover they faw every bold Enthusiast almost began to usurp the the Office of a Teacher. To bring things therefore into a little better order, the following Petition was presented to both Houses of Parliament, Oct. 6. under the Title of "The humble Petition of many Citizens of Lon-" don, and othres.

7 OUR Petitioners are deeply sensible of the extream Petition for want of preaching the Gospel throughout this unordained "Kingdom, there being many hundreds of Towns and Preachers. Rushw. p. "Villages altogether destitute of any preaching Ministers, 834. " and many others are not well supplied; by reason where-" of Ignorance, Drunkenness, Profaneness, Disaffection to " the Parliament, and to others in Authority, every where " abounds, there being scarce so much as the Face of "Religion in many places. There is a great cry of " People from several Counties of the Kingdom, for Men " to preach to them the word of eternal Life; and there " are many Men of competent gifts and abilities, of good "Life and honest Conversation, who being willing to employ their talents in the Lord's Work, and to submit "themselves for approbation to moderate and judicious "Men, are yet, by occasion of some scruples about Ordi-" nation, discouraged from engaging in this work of pub-" lishing the Gospel, wherein they might be helpful to " many. And feeing that in the days of Queen Elizabeth, " upon Occasion of People's Necessities, many such Men " were fent forth to publish the Gospel. who had no for-" mal act of Ministerial Ordination past upon them, whose " Endeavours the Lord bleffed to the Good of many Souls, " and the furthering of the Kingdom's Peace. And fince " also we nothing doubt, but the Propagation of the Gos-" pel throughout this Kingdom, and the Information of " Men in the things of their peace, and the Peace and fafety " of the Kingdom, are worthy of your greatest zeal, and are " not the least of your care; "Therefore your Petitioners humbly pray, that those " who shall be approved of as Men meet to dispense the

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" Mysteries of the Gospel, by such judicious, moderate, " and able Men, whom you in Wisdom shall appoint " thereunto, may receive from this honourable House En-" couragement and Protection in preaching the the Gof-B b 4

King Charles L 1647.

" pel in any Place of this Kingdom, or Dominion of Wales, where need requires, that so the Word of the "Lord may have free Course and be glorified; ignorant "Men may be instructed; Drunkenness, Profaneness, and " Disaffection to the Parliament, and to others in Authori-" ty, may be abandoned; and both the temporal and spiri-" tual Peace and Prosperity of all forts of Men be the " more advanced."

The Houses thanked the Petitioners for their good Affection, but did nothing upon it.

Stage Plays pubdown. Scobel, P. 143.

By an Ordinance of Feb. 11, this year, " All Stagee players were declared to be Rogues punishable by the "Act of the 39th of Queen Elizabeth, and 7th of King " James, notwithstanding any Licence they might have " from the King, or any other Person. All Stage Galleries, " Seats and Boxes, are ordered to be pulled down by War-" rant of two Justices of the Peace; all Actors in Plays " for Time to come being convicted shall be publickly " whipp'd, and find Sureties for their not offending in like " manner for the future; and all Spectators of Plays for

State of Religion. Clarend. Vol. V.

" every offence are to pay five Shillings." The controversies about Church-Government, and Liberty of Conscience, ran still as high as ever; the Presbyterians, who had the Government of the City of London p. 115, 116, in their hands, were for pressing Covenant Uniformity in their Sermons, which the Independents, and others of more Catholick Principles, endeavoured to oppose with all their might. Lord Clarendon is pleased to represent this in a ludicrous manner; " The Pulpit Skirmishes (fays his Lord-" ship) were now higher than ever; the Pretbyterians in " those Fields losing nothing of their courage; having a no-" torious power in the City, notwithstanding the Emulation " of the Independants, who were more learned and rational, " who, tho' they had not fo great Congregations of the " common People, yet infected, and were followed by the " most substantial Citizens, and by others of better condies tion. To these Men Cromwell and most of the Officers " of the Army adhered; but the Divinity of the Times was not to be judged by the Preaching and Congregations " in Churches, which were now thought not to be the fit " and proper places of Devotion, and religious Exercises, 46 where the Bithops had exercifed fuch illimited tyranny, " and which had been polluted by their Confectations.

" Liberty of Conscience was now become the great Char-

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King Charles L. 1647.

" ter, and Men who were inspired, preached and prayed "when and where they would. Anabaptists grew very " numerous, with whom the Independents concurr'd, fo far " as to join with them for the abolishing of tithes, as of " judaical Institution - If an honest Man could have " been at so much ease as to have beheld the Prospect with " Delight, never was fuch a Scene of Confusion as had " fpread itself at this Time over the whole Kingdom." And yet it is certain, that the Laws against vice and immorality were strictly executed, the Lord's Day was duly obferved, the Churches were crowded with attentive Hearers. Family Devotion was in repute, neither Servants nor Children being allowed to walk in the Fields, or frequent the Publick Houses. In a word, notwithstanding the difference of Men's opinions, and publick views, there was a zeal for God, and a much greater appearance of Sobriety, Virtue, and true Religion, than before the Civil War, or after the bleffed Restoration.

Among the Puritan Divines that died this year was the Death of Reverend Mr. Herbert Palmer, B. D. of whom men-Mr. Herbert tion has been made among the Cambridge Professors; his Palmer. Father was Sir Thomas Palmer of Wingham in Kent, his Lives, Mother the eldest Daughter of Herbert Pelham of Suffex. Efq; our Divine was born at Wingham, and baptized there March 29, 1601. he had a polite Education in his Father's house, and learned the French Language almost as soon as he could fpeak. In the year 1615, he was admitted Fellow Commoner in St John's College, Cambridge. In the year 1622, he took the Degree of M. A. In 1623, he was chosen Fellow of Queen's College in that University; the year following he was ordained to the Ministry, to which he had devoted himfelt from his Intancy: His first Exercise was at a Lecture in the City of Canterbury, where he preached once a Week till it was put down with the rest of the Afternoon Sermons. In the year 1632, he was prefented by Archbishop Laud to the Vicarage of Ashwell in Hertfordshire, where he preached twice every Lord's Day, and catechifed the Children of his Parishioners. The same year he was chosen one of the University Preachers of Cambridge, by which he had Authority to preach, as he should have occasion, in any part of England. In the year 1640, he and Dr. Tuckney were chosen Clerks of the Convocation for the Diocefe of Lincoln. In the year 1643, he was called to be a Member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and after some time chosen one of their As-

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King Charles I. 1647.

fessors, in which place he behaved with great Wisdom and Integrity. April 11, 1644, he was constituted Master of Queen's College Cambridge, by the Earl of Manchester; here he fet himfelf industriously to the promoting of Religion and Learning, being very folicitous that none should be admitted to a Scholarship or Fellowship in his College but fuch as were qualified in both these respects, the good effects of which appeared in the reputation and credit of that Society beyond most others of the University in his time. Mr. Palmer was a Gentleman of a low Stature, and a weakly Constitution, but indefatigable in business; all his time was employed in works of Devotion and Charity, for as he had a competent Estate, and chose a single Life, he had an opportunity of doing a great deal of good; he maintained feveral poor Scholars at his own expence in the College, and when he died left a confiderable Sum of Money to the same Purpose. His last Sickness was not long, his Constitution being spent, but his behaviour was uncommon. looked the King of Terrors in the Face with an holy Courage and Resolution, and resigned his Life this Summer, with a firm Expectation of the Mercy of God to eternal Life, in the forty fixth year of his Age, and was buried in the New Church at Westminster.

Death of Mr. Henry Wilkinson. Mr. Henry Wilkinson, B. D. was born in Yorkshire, and educated in Merton College Oxford. In the year 1586. he was chosen Probationer Fellow, and proceeded in Arts; after some time he was made B. D. and in the year 1601, became Pastor of Waddesdon in Bucks. He was a Person of considerable Learning and Piety, and being an old Puritan (says Mr. Wood) was elected one of the Assembly of Divines in 1643, but he spent the chief of his time and labours among his Parishioners at Waddesdon, by whom he was greatly beloved; here he died, in a very advanced age, March 19, 1647-8, and lies buried in his own Church.

Death of Mr. Saltmarsh. Ath. Ox, p. 287.

Mr. John Saltmarsh, descended of an ancient Family in Yorkshire, was educated in Magdalen College, Cambridge, and graduated there; he was esteemed a Person of a fine active Fancy, no contemptible Poet, and a good Preacher; he was first Minister at Northampton, afterwards at Braisted in Kent, and at length Chaplain in Sir Tho. Fairfax's Army, where he always preached up Love and Peace: He meddled not with Presbytery or Independency, but laboured to draw Souls from Sin to Christ. He writ some Treatises by which it appears he was of Antinomian Principles. The manner of his Death was extraordinary;

Rufw. p.

dinary; December. 4, 1647, being at his house at Ilford in Effex he told his Wife he had been in a Trance, and re- Charles I. ceived a Message from God which he must immediately deliver to the Army. He went that Night to London, and next Day to Windfor; being come to the Council of Officers he told them, that the Lord had left them; that he would not prosper their Consultations, but destroy them by Divisions among themselves, because they had sought to deftroy the People of God, those who had stood by them in their greatest difficulties. He then went to the General, and without moving his hat told him, that God was highly displeased with him for committing of Saints to Prison. The like Message he delivered to Cromwell, and required him to take effectual measures for the enlargement of the Members of the Army that were committed for not complying with the general Council. He then took his leave of the Officers, telling them, he had now done his errand, and must leave them, never to see them any more. which he went to London, and took leave of his Friends there, telling them, his work was done, and defiring fome of them to be careful of his Wife. Thursday, Dec. 9, he returned to Ilford in perfect health; next day he told his Wife, that he had now finished his work, and must go to his Father. Saturday Morning, Dec. 11, he was taken speechless, and about four in the Afternoon he died.

CHAP. X.

The fecond Civil War. The Conclusion of the Assembly of Divines. The Progress of Presbytery. The Treaty of the Isle of Wight. Death and Character of King Charles I. His Works. And, the Authors of his unhappy Sufferings.

HE King was all last Winter a close Prisoner in Carifbrook Castle, attended only by two Servants of his Charles L own, but debarred of all other Conversation, without the Knowledge of the Governor; nevertheless, by the Affist- The second ance of some particular Friends, he fent, and received se- Civil War. veral Letters from the Queen, though his Correspondence was discovered oftener than he was aware. His Majesty made feveral attempts to escape but was always discovered; Captain Burley attempted to raise the Island for him,

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King Char es 1. 1648.

Rufhw. p. 1007.

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but was apprehended and executed. However, in purfuance of the fecret Treaty with the Scots, already mentioned, an Army was raising in that Kingdom, to becommanded by Duke Hamilton, but the English Cavaliers, impatient of delay, without concerting proper measures among themselves, or with the Presbyterians, rose up in Arms in several Counties to deliver the King from his Confinement, and to restore him without any Treaty with his Parliament. The Welch appeared first, under Major General Langhorn, Colonel Poyer and Powell, three Officers in the Parliament Army, who had privately accepted Commissions from the Prince of Wales. These were followed by others in Dorsetshire, Devonshire, Sussex, Surrey, Lincolnthire, Norfolk, Kent, Northamptonshire, Essex, and in the City of London itself. The insurrection in the City began on Sunday, April 9th, in Moorfields, by a company of young Fellows with Clubs and Staves, crying out, for God and King Charles. But after they had done fome mifchief in the Night, and frighted the Mayor into the Tower, they were dispersed next Morning by the General at the Head of two Regiments. The Kentish Men under the Earl of Norwich plundered some Houses, but were defeated near Maidstone, and having a promise of pardon the main body laid down their Arms; but the Earl of Norwich, with five hundred resolute Men, crossed the Thames at the Isle of Dogs, and came as far as Mile-End Green, expecting affiftance from the City, but being disappointed, he joined the Effex Cavaliers under Sir Charles Lucas and Lord Capel, who furprized the Parliament's Committee at Chelmsford, and then shut themselves up in Colchester, where they maintained themselves against General Fairfax for ten Weeks, till being reduced to the last extremity they were forced to furrender at discretion Aug. 28th, after which the General marched round about the Country, and having quieted all infurrections in those parts returned to his head quarters at St. Alban's about Michaelmas. Fairfax was in Kent and Essex, Lieutenant General Cromwell reduced the Welch by the End of June. About which time the Earl of Holland and Duke of Buckingham appeared at the head of five hundred Horse and some Foot about Kingston upon Thames, but they were foon dispersed; the Earl was taken prisoner at St. Neot's in Huntingtonshire by Colonel Scroop, and the Duke of Buckingham, with great difficulty, got into the Low Countries. About the fame time several of the Parliament's Ships revolted to the Prince

Charles 1.

1648.

of Wales, then in Holland, who went on board, and with Prince Rupert, Lord Hopton, and others, failed to the coast of England with a design to relieve Colchester, but being disappointed, he landed five hundred men about Deal and Sandwich, and blocked up the Thames Mouth; but when the Earl of Warwick came up with the Parliament's Fleet he failed back to Holland, and most of the Ships re-

turned to the obedience of the Parliament.

It was not without great difficulty that the King's Friends Rapin, p. in Scotland prevailed with their Parliament to confent to the 475. raising an Army against England, for the Commissioners of the Kirk, and the whole body of their Ministers were vehemently against it; and when it was put to the vote, eighteen Lords and forty Commoners entered their Protest, from a strong suspicion, that by the flocking of the Loyalists to Edinburgh there was a private agreement between Hamilton and that party to lay afide the Covenant, and reflore the King without any conditions; to prevent which H. Mem. p. the Scots Parliament gave express orders, that none should 339be received into their Army, or join with them, at their entrance into England, but fuch as should take the Covenant; but Hamilton, who betrayed their cause, found means to evade the order, by which means he ruined himfelf, and the party he intended to ferve.

The Scots Army entered England July 8, to the number The Scots of twenty thousand Foot and fix thousand Horse, under the Army encommand of Duke Hamilton, and were met some time after by Sir Marmaduke Langdale at the head of four thoufand Foot and feven thousand Horse; but these being Englishmen and Cavaliers, who had not taken the Covenant, were not incorporated with the Scots Forces, but were obliged to march a Day before them, which was Hamilton's contrivance to evade his orders; nevertheless they were but one Army, Langdale being to receive all his Orders from Hamilton, and to act only by his directions. But though there was a private Understanding between the two Generals, the Subalterns, and Soldiers of both parties were not acquainted with it, but had the fame incurable jealoufy of each others intentions as formerly; for the same reason the Presbyterians in the Parliament at Westminster commissioned their army to oppose the Scots, though they came into England with an avowed intention of restoring the King upon the Terms of the Covenant; which was the thing they wished for above all things.

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King Charles I. 1648.

It may feem furprizing, however, that there was no good understanding between the two Parliaments, when those of England fent Commissioners to Edinburgh to accomplish it; but the Scots were so strongly perswaded, that the Parliament at Westminster was still governed by an Army of Independents, that all that Mr. Marshal, and the rest could say, was not sufficient to divert them from their enterprize, which is not to be wondered at, confidering the strength of the Hamiltonian Faction, and their obligations to the King by their fecret Treaty. This appears from the Duke's Letter to Lambert, in which he acquaints him, that he was commanded to enter England with an Army, " for maintaining the Solemn League and Covenant; for " fettling Religion; for delivering the King from his bale " imprisonment; and freeing the Parliament from the con-" ftraint put upon them." But the State of Affairs was now changed by the rifing of the English Cavaliers; the Army was in the Field, and divided into several distant parts of the Kingdom, and the Presbyterians in as full possession of the Government, as heretofore; they were reviving the Treaty with the King, and fending propositions to the Scots to join with them; but the good understanding between the two Nations having been interrupted last Winter, by the growing influence of the A1my, who were no Friends to Covenant Uniformity, the Scots would not be fatisfied with the present revolution of affairs, unless they were disbanded, and therefore had not changed the Instructions to their General. On the other hand, the Parliament could not with safety disband their Army while the Cavaliers were in the Field; nor could they forbid their opposing the Scots, because they had joined the common Enemy, and were marching into England with an armed force to deliver the King from his imprisonment, without concerting measures with the two Houses, or communicating their secret treaty with his Majesty in the Isle of Wight. Thus the two Parliaments of England and Scotland opposed each other, when both had the same views, and were carrying on the very fame Defign. If the Scots Army had been commanded by a General the Preibyterians could have confided in, and had marched directly for London, without joining the Cavaliers, the Parliament of England would have received them, while the Army was abroad, and the Citizens of London have opened their Gates; for the

Rufhw. p.

English Presbyterians wished them well; but by joining the common enemy, who were in Arms all over the Kingdom, they were staggered; and Duke Hamilton, who betrayed their cause, by trifling away a whole month in the North, Ham. M. p. gave the Army, which was divided and dispersed into 337, 345, distant parts, time to join, and defeat all their enter- 353, &c.

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The Scots invading England after this manner, and in the midst of so many insurrections, awakened men's fears, and made them apprehend the cause was to be fought over again. The Parliament was alarmed on every fide, but the Army promifed to fland by them, and march wherefoever the Committee of the two Houses (appointed to manage their motions) should direct. General Fairfax engaged heartily against the Cavaliers, but refused to march against the Scots, because they had declared openly for the Covenant. Colonel Lambert therefore was ordered into the North, with a And is deflying Squadron to harrass them, till Lieutenant General seated by Cromwell could come out of Wales to his affiftance; the Cromwell. Scots having been joined by Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who had feized the important Town of Berwick, marched through Cumberland and Westmorland into Lancashire without opposition, but upon the 17th of August Cromwell having joined Lambert, and refreshed his Troops, faced them near Preston with eight or ten thousand Men, and after a sharp fight with the Cavaliers, under Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who were almost a day's march before the Duke, routed the whole Scots Army, and took eight or ten thoufand prisoners, with all their Artillery and Baggage; Hamilton fled with three thousand Horse, but was so closely purfued by Lambert, that he furrendered without striking another stroke, and all his men were dispersed or taken prisoners. Cromwell, after this, pursued his victory with rapid swiftness, marched directly to Edinburgh, which opened its Gates, and having changed the Magistracy, and lettled the Government to his mind, he left three Regiments of Horse to keep the Country quiet, and returned into England October 11, laden with martial Glory and Renown.

Before the Army left London, and while their influence Proceedings over the Parliament continued, the Commons having taken of Parliainto confideration the affair of fettling the Government, Rushw. voted unanimously, that the Government of the Kingdom p. 1074. should be still by King, Lords, and Commons, and that the

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ground-work for a Settlement should be the propositions at Hampton Court, which shews, there was no defign of changing the Government into a Commonwealth, as yet formed, at least nothing appeared, though the Agitators, who were the chief Managers of the Army, began to mutter, that if the King could not be brought to reason he must be set aside, and the Duke of Gloucester, or one of his younger Children, placed on the Throne.

Which is entirely Presbyteri-Rapin, p. 504, 508, 511, 518.

The Army had no fooner left the neighbourhood of the City, but the Presbyterians resumed the management of all publick Affairs. May 5, the Parliament resolved to maintain the Solemn League and Covenant, and to unite with the Kingdom of Scotland upon the propolitions of Hampton Court. The Militia of the City of London was restored to the Lord Mayor and Common Council; the eleven impeached Members, and the feven Peers were discharged; and, in short, all that had been done against the Presbyterian greatness by the influence of the Army last Winter, was reversed; so that, as from August 6, 1647, to the beginning of May 1648, the Parliament may be supposed to be under some restraint from the Army; from that time to the end of the Treaty of the Isle of Wight, it was at full liberty, and entirely under Presbyterian Direction. Petitions came now from divers Counties, and from the City of -London itself, for a personal Treaty with the King; upon which the Commons fet afide their Votes of Non-Addresses, and at the request of the Lords consented to treat with the King without his figning any preliminary propositions, hoping as matters then stood, his Majesty would not delay a moment to grant their demands, that he might be released from his confinement, and placed upon his Throne, before the Army should be at leifure to throw any obstacles in the way; but here was the fatal overfight, the King and his Friends would not comply, nor the Presbyterians relax, till both were driven out of the Field, and the Army at liberty to break all their measures.

Rushw. P. 1127.

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Let the Reader now pause a little, and reflect with griet on the Con-upon the miserable distractions of this unhappy Kingdom; fusion of the here were three or four powerful parties with separate views, and all at a crisis; the King was the golden prize contended for, who was a close prisoner in the life of Wight, and could do nothing himself, though by figning the Scots Treaty he was reputed the Author of that and that the Invation, .

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having concerted no measures among themselves were easily dispersed. The Scots came into England in pursuance of the Covenant, and the fecret Treaty of the Isle of Wight, but two mistakes ruined this whole Enterprize; one was, their not communicating the Contents of that Treaty to the English Presbyterians, which they might have done by their Commissioners before they marched into England, without the Knowledge of the Army. The other was Duke Hamilton's acting in concert with the English Cavaliers, allowing them to march in the van of his Army, which gave their Enemies in the Parliament at Westminfler a fair Opportunity of engaging the whole military Power of England against them; for without all doubt, if the Duke had prevailed, not only the Independant, but the Presbyterian Cause, had been betrayed into the hands of the Cavaliers, which must, in the End, have been equally fatal to both Parties, and lost them all the Advantages of the War. This fatal Conjunction broke the strength of the English Presbyterians, and played the Advantage into the hands of a third Party, which destroyed the other two. The Army, with whom were the Independants, Anabaptilts, and other Sectaries, was governed by the Agitators, who had given up the King, and had an incurable Aversion to the Cavaliers, and all that adherr'd to them, as their most determined Enemies; nor could they confide in the Presbyterians, because in all their Treaties with the King they were made a Sacrifice, and given up to their Covenant Uniformity. Upon the whole, all Parties were refo-

lute in their demands, but disunited in their Councils, and

fatally distrustful of each other. Among the Presbyterians,

lome were for fighting only with the Cavaliers, and others for opposing the Scots Invasion also; some of the Cava-

liers were for restoring the King by their own Valour, and others for joining with the Scots as tools to play the game

mto their own hands. The Army was no less perplexed;

those that served under General Fairfax were unwilling to

march against the Scots Presbyterians; but those under

Cromwell were for destroying every Power that would not

secure them that Liberty of Conscience they contended

for; and not being able to obtain this from the King, nor

in Arms to preserve the Episcopal Church of England, but

the Scots or English Presbyterians, they were driven to despair, and unhappily run upon those extravagant meaCharles L.

fures which ended in the Subversion of the Constitution, and Description of the King the following Winter.

" Tantum Religio potuit fuadere malorum !"

Conclusion
of the Affembly of
Divines.
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In the mean time, let us attend the Affairs of the Church: The Affembly of Divines having finished their main Business, was now reduced to a small number, most of the Coutry Ministers went home, and those that remained about London were employed chiefly in the Examination of such Ministers as presented themselves for Ordination, or Induction into Livings; thus they continued till Feb. 22, 1648 9, about three weeks after the King's Death, having sat five years, six months, and twenty days, in which time they had one thousand, one hundred, and sixty three Sessions. They were afterwards turned into a Committee for the Purposes last mentioned, and met every Thursday morning, till March 25, 1652, when the long Parliament being turned out of the House by Oliver Cromwell they broke up without any formal Dissolution.

Their Works.

The Works of the Assembly, besides some Letters to foreign Churches, and occasional Admonitions, were,

1. Their humble Advice to the Parliament for Ordidination of Ministers, and settling the Presbyterian Government.

2. A Directory for publick Worship.

3. A Confession of Faith.

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4 A larger and shorter Catechism.

5. A Review of fome of the thirty nine Articles.

But the Annotations on the Bible, which go under their name, were neither undertaken, nor revised by them, but by a Committee of Parliament, who named the Commentators, and furnished them with Books; nor were they all Members of the Assembly, as appears by the following List;

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King Charles I. 1648.

The Commenta- ry on the five Books of Mofes.	The Rev. Mr. Ley, Subdeam of Cheffer.
of Kings, The Two Books	e in town the factor of the second of the se
of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiali,	Dr. Gouge.
Elther, J The Pfalms,	* Mr. Meric Causabon.
Proverbs, Ecclefiastes,	Mr. Francis Taylor. Dr. Reynolds.
Solomon Song, }	* Mr. Smalwood, recommend-
liaiab, Jeremiah, }	ed by Archbishop Usher. Mr. Gataker.
Lamentations, J. Ezekiel, Daniel, and the ?	5* Mr. Pemberton in the First Edition.
imaller Pro-	* Bishop Richardson in the Second.
Matthew, Mark,	Ad Collings box borner had rank
luke;	Mr. Ley.
Paul's Epi-	Dr. D. Featley, but his Notes are broken and imperfect, the Author dying before he had revised them.

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There were two other Persons concerned in this Work, might probably have the other Parts of Scripture lotted them, not here mentioned, viz. Mr. Downham and Ir. Reading.

When Posterity shall impartially review the Labours of Their Cha-Assembly of Divines, and consider the times in which racter. by fat, they will have a just Veneration for their Memofor though their Sentiments in Divinity were in many fances too narrow and contracted, yet with all their faults,

King Charles I 1648.

P- 73-

faults, amongst which their persecuting zeal for Religion was not the leaft, they were certainly Men of real Piety and Virtue, who meant well, and had the interest of Religion at Heart; most of them had as much Learning as any in the times in which they lived; the names of Lightfoot, Selden, Gataker, Greenhill, Arrowsmith, Twisse, Bishop Reynolds, Wallis, &c. will be always famous in the learned World; and had they not grasped at coercive Power, or Jurisdiction over the Consciences of Men, their Baxter's Life, Memoirs would have been unspotted. Mr. Baxter, who knew most of them, fays, "They were Men of eminent " Learning, Godliness, ministerial Abilities, and Fidelity; and being not worthy to be one of them mylelf (favs " he) I may more fully speak the Truth which I know, even in the face of Malice and Envy, that as far as I " am able to judge by the Information of History, and by any other Evidences, the Christian World, fince the "Days of the Apostles, had never a Synod of more excellent Divines than this Synod, and the Synod of Dort." They were in high Esteem in the learned World till they run into Heats, and split upon the fatal Rock of the Divine Right of the Presbyterian Government; this engaged them first with the Parliament, and then with the Independent and Erastians; their opposing a Toleration raised thema great many Enemies, and divided their own Body, for after they had carried the Question of Divine Right the Inde pendants and Erastians deserted them, after which the found it very difficult to get fo many together as would make a House. Had the Parliament dissolved them at that time they had gone off with Honour, but they funk by degrees, as has been related; the Business of the Churc being now translated to the Provincial Affemblies.

Proceedings of the 3d Provincial Affembly. M S.

Affemblies, the third met May 3, this year, and chose the reverend Mr. Whitaker Moderator. In their fourth Sellio they agreed to prefent a fecond Petition to the Parliamen in the name of the Province, humbly to defire, I. " The "they would renew the Consideration of their former Pet " tion. 2. That they would establish the two Catechila of the Assembly of Divines, and appoint them to be put lickly taught throughout the Kingdom. 3. That the would add their Civil Sanction to the new Confession

We have already remembered the two former of the

of Faith. 4. That the Directory for public Worth may be better observ'd; and that better Care may

taken for the observation of the Lord's Day."-

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King 1648.

their twelfth Session October 6, they agreed to the Report of their Committee concerning the Caufe of the decay of Religion, and of the Increase of Wickedness, which they fay was chiefly owing to the want of able and fettled Ministers, there being above forty Parish Churches and Congregations within the Province that had no Ministers settled among them by Allowance of Authority, a Catalogue of which Churches was subjoined. The Reason of this defect being chiefly want of maintenance, they pray the Houses, "to agree upon some method, that the Dean and "Chapter Lands, and the Impropriations belonging to "Bishops, lying within this Province, may be applied for " the Augmentation of the Clergy's Maintenance; and " there may be a fixed Maintenance in every Parish reco-

verable by the Incumbent."

The fourth Provincial Assembly met Nov. 3, the Reve- The 4th rend Mr. Edmund Calamy Moderator. In their third Sef- Provincial fion, Nov. 23, they order'd that the several Ministers of Assembly. the Province of London do begin the Work of catechifing; that they use the Assembly's Catechism, and no other; that the persons to be catechised be Children and Servants not admitted to the Lord's Table; that the time be in the Afternoon before Sermon; and that they exhort their Parishioners to encourage it. In their fourth Session, Nov. 30, that the twelve Classes of the Province of London observe their course for Ordination of Ministers; and that at the close of every publick Ordination notice be given which Classis is to ordain next. But the Nation being in confusion, and the Clouds gathering thick over their heads, they did little elfe this Winter but keep a weekly fast among themselves, to avert the Judgments of God, which threatened the Life of the King, and the Diffolution of the whole Government.

The County of Lancashire being formed into another Provincial Presbyterian Province this year, affembled at Preston Feb. Affembly of 7, 1648, and published a kind of pastoral letter, or solemn Vol. Pamp. Exhortation to the feveral Churches within their Province, No. 73. to the practice of those Duties that were requisite to the supporting and carrying on the Presbyterian Discipline, subcribed by the Reverend

Mr. James Hyett, Moderator, Mr. Tho. Johnson, Affessor, Mr. Edw. Gee, Scribe.

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King Charles L 1548. of the People. Rufhw. p. 1358.

The 4th

Provincial

They likewife appointed a Committee to examine the Paper called The Agreement of the People, Thereafter to be mentioned] and tender'd to the " Consideration of Agreement the Nation by the Officers of the Army, with a defire " that they would by Subscription declare their Concur-" rence to it;" but it was carried in the negative. The defign of this Paper was to change the Form of Government into a kind of Commonwealth, without a King or House of Lords. It was published by way of Probation, that they might learn the Sense of the Nation; but the Article relating to Religion being peculiar, and giving great Offence to the Presbyterian Clergy, shall be transcrib'd entire, " We do not impower our Representatives (fay they) to continue in force, or make any Laws, Oaths, or " Covenants, whereby to compel by penalties, or otherwife, " any person to any thing, in or about matters of Faith, "Religion or God's Worthip; or restrain any person from professing his Faith, or exercise of his Religion according " to his Conscience, in any house or place, except such as " are, or shall be fet apart for the publick Worship. Ne-1' vertheless, the Instruction or Direction of the Nation in " a publick way, for matters of Faith, Worship and Dif-" cipline, so it be not compulsive or express Popery, is " referr'd to their Discretion." The Agreement adds, " It is intended that the Christian Religion be held forth, and recommended as the publick Profession in this Na-" tion, which we defire may, by the Grace of God, be " reform'd to the greatest purity in Doctrine, Worship, " and Discipline, according to the Word of God. The instructing the People thereunto in a publick Way, provided it be not compulfive; as also the maintaining of " able Teachers for that end, and for the Confutation and " Discovery of Herefy, Error, and whatsoever is contrary " to found Doctrine, is allowed to be provided by our "Representatives; the maintenance of Teachers may be " out of a Treasury, and we desire not by Tithes." But besides these, " All who profess Faith in God by Jesus ". Christ, however differing in Judgment from the Doctrine, 1. Discipline, and Worship publickly held forth, shall be " protected in the Profession of their Faith, and Exercise " of their Religion according to their Consciences, so as "they abuse not this Liberty to the civil Injury of others, " or the disturbance of the publick Peace." These were generous and free Sentiments; but the Synod forbid their People to subscribe them, not only because the Agreement in, the labeline early at they then be to a imported

imported a change in the Civil Government, but because of the Mischiefs that would attend a Toleration; their reasons for which they published to the World March 6,

1648, subscribed by fifty nine Ministers.

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The Provincial Assemblies of London met regularly Country every half year, to the year 1655, when finding themselves without power, and not being willing to apply to the Protector and his Parliament for support they desisted; but there were none legally formed in any other Counties of England. However, the Country Ministers enter'd into voluntary Affociations, and erected a fort of Classes for Ordination of Ministers, and promoting Friendship and Peace among themselves, many of the Independant Ministers joining with them: The Associations met once a month, at one or other Church in the County, and after Prayers and a Sermon conferr'd upon the State of Religion, and gave their Advice upon fuch Cases as were brought hefore them in a neighbourly and friendly manner.

Charles I 1648.

To return to the Parliament, which was now recruited Ordinance with fuch Presbyterian Members as had absconded, or de- against Blasferted their Stations, while the Army was quartered in the phemy and Herely. Neighbourhood of the City; these Gentlemen finding they Scobel's had the Superiority in the House, resumed their Courage, Collect. cap. and took the opportunity of discovering their Principles 114. P. 149. and Spirit, by passing such a Law against Hereticks as is hardly to be parallell'd among Protestants. It had been laid afide by the Instance of the Army for above nine months, but May 1, it was voted, that all Ordinances concerning Church Government referr'd to Committees, be brought in and debated; and that the Ordinance against Blaspherry and Heresy be now determined, which was done accordingly. This was one of the most shocking laws I have met with, and shews, that the governing Presbyterians in these times would have made a terrible ule of their Power, if it had been supported by the Sword of the Civil Magistrate. The Ordinance is dated May 2, 1658, and ordains, "That all Persons who shall willingly " maintain, publish, or defend, by preaching or writing, " the following Herefies with Obstinacy, shall upon com-" plaint, or proof, by the Oaths of two Witnesses, be-" fore two Justices of the Peace, or confession of "Party, be committed to Prison, without Bail or Main-"prize, till the next Gaol Delivery; and in case the In-"dictment shall then be found, and the Party upon his CCA

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King 1648.

"Trial shall not abjure his faid Error, and his defence and " maintenance of the same, he shall suffer the pains of death, as in case of Felony, without Benefit of Clergy; " and if he recant or abjure, he shall remain in Prison till he find Sureties, that he will not maintain the faid Herefies or Errors any more; but if he relapse, and is " convicted a second time, he shall suffer death as before. " The Herefies or Errors are these following:

1. " That there is no God.

2. " That God is not omnipresent, Omniscient, Almigh-

" ty, Eternal, and perfectly Holy.

3. " That the Father is not God, that the Son is not "God, that the Holy Ghost is not God, or that these three " are not One eternal God; or, that Christ is not God " equal with the Father."

4. " The Denial of the Manhood of Christ, or that " the Godhead and Manhood are diffind Natures; or,

that the Humanity of Christ is pure and unspotted of " all Sin.

5. " The maintaining that Christ did not die, nor rise " again, nor ascend into Heaven bodily.

6. "The denying that the death of Christ is meritorious " on the Behalf of Believers; or, that Jesus Christ is the

" Son of God. 7. " The denying that the Holy Scriptures of the Old

" and New Testament are the Word of God. 8. "The denying of the Refurrection of the Dead, and

" a future Judgment."

The Ordinance goes on to mention some other Errors of lefs Demerit, and fays, " That whofoever shall main-" tain or defend them, shall, upon Conviction by the Oaths of two Witnesses, or by his own Confession before two Iustices of Peace, be ordered to renounce his said Error or Errors in the publick Congregation of the Parish from whence the Complaint comes, or where the Ofis fence was committed, and in case of Refusal he shall be committed to Prison till he find Sureries that he shall not publish or maintain the faid Error or Errors any more. The Errors are these following:

1. " That all Men shall be saved.

2. " That Man by Nature hath Free-Will to turn to " God. os helbert :

3. That God may be worshipped in, or by Pictures or

" That

- 4. "That the Soul dies with the Body, or after Death goes neither to Heaven, or Hell, but to Purgatory.

 5. "That the Soul of Man sleeps, when the Body is dead dead
- 6. "That the Revelations, or workings of the Spirit, "are a Rule of Faith or Christian Life, though diverse from, or contrary to the written word of God.

7. " That Man is bound to believe no more than by his

" Reason he can comprehend.

8. " That the moral Law contained in the ten Com-

" mandments is no Rule of the Christian Life.

9. " That a Believer need not repent, or pray for par-

" don of Sin.

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10. "That the two Sacraments, of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, are not Ordinances commanded by the "word of God.

11. " That the Baptism of Infants is unlawful and void;

" and that fuch persons ought to be baptized again.

12. "That the observation of the Lord's Day, as en"joined by the Ordinances and Laws of this realm, is not
"according, or is contrary to the Word of God.

13. " That it is not lawful to join in publick, or family

" Prayer, or to teach Children to pray.

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14. "That the Churches of England are no true "Churches, nor their Ministers and Ordinances true Ministers and Ordinances; or, that the Church Government

" by Presbyters is Antichristian or Unlawful.

"gistrate, by Law established in England, is unlawful.

16. "That all use of Arms, though for the publick de-

" fence (and be the cause never so just) is unlawful."

These Heresies and Errors were taken from the Speeches Remarks. or Writings of the Papists, Arminians, Antinomians, Arians, Baptists, and Quakers, &c. of those times. The Ordinance was a comprehensive engine of cruelty, and would have enclosed great numbers of good Christians, and good Subjects. The Presbyterians of the present age are not only thankful that the confusion of the times did not permit their predecessors to put this Law in Fxecution, but wish also, that it could be blotted out of the Records of time, for 'tis so very unrighteous that no censure too severe can be passed upon it.

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Charles I.
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Ordinance for fettling the Presbyterian Discipline.
Schobel, cap. 118.
P. 165.

June 21. the Army being still in the Field, and the Parliament at liberty, the Ordinance for the more effectual fertling the Presbyterian Government, without limitation of time, was read the fecond time, and committed, on the 29th of August it was perfected, and received the fanction of both Houses, under the Title of " a Form of Church " Government to be used in the Churches of England and " Ireland." It is a collection of the feveral Ordinances for establishing the branches of Presbyterial Government already mentioned, and ordains, that " all parishes and places " whatfoever within England and Wales shall be under the "Government of congregational, classical, provincial, and " national Assemblies, except the Houses or Chapels of " the King and his Children, and of the Peers of the " Realm, which are to continue free for the exercise of " divine Duties, according to the Directory, and not otherwise; it gives directions for the choice of ruling El-" ders in every Parish, and for proper persons to be judges " of the qualifications of the persons chosen; it appoints " Commissioners to divide the whole Kingdom into distinct " classical Presbyteries; it gives direction about the consti-" tuting of provincial Synods, with the extent of their fe-" veral powers; it determines the method of Ordination " of Ministers, of dispensing Church Censures, and suspen-" fion from the Sacrament; and last of all, it gives direc-" tion for Excommunication and Absolution," but lays no penalty upon Recufants, or fuch as do not come to the Sacrament, or fubmit to their discipline; which was the utmost length that Presbytery obtained in this Kingdom.

Treaty of the Isle of Wight. Rushw. Vol II, p. 1236.

The Parliament having agreed to treat with the King without any preliminary Conditions, fent the Earl of Middlefex, Sir John Hipfly, and Mr. Bulkly, to acquaint his Majesty with their Resolutions, and to desire him to appoint what place he pleased in the Isle of Wight for the Treaty; his Majesty seemed pleased with the message, and sent a letter to the two Houses Aug. 10th, desiring them to recal their Votes, which forbid the access of his Friends, and to direct, that men of necessary use in this affair may be permitted to assist him; and that the Scots be parties in the Treaty. His Majesty then appointed Newport in the Isle of Wight for the place of Conference; to all which the Lords agreed without any restriction; but the Commons insisted, that no person lately in Arms against the Parliament be of the number; that the Scots be not inclu-

ded;

ded; and, that if his Majesty be at liberty, as at Hampton Court, he pass his Royal Word not to go out of the Island during the Treaty, nor twenty eight days after, without consent of Parliament.

King

Upon these conditions his Majesty was conducted to Newport, and left at liberty upon his Parole of Honour. Several Noblemen, Gentlemen, Divines, and Lawyers, were appointed to affift him in the Treaty, who were to fland behind his Majesty's Chair and hear the debates, but not to speak, except when the King withdrew into another room for their advice: The Names of his Divines were, Dr. Juxton Bishop of London, Dr. Duppa, Bishop of Salibury, Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Oldsworth, Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Turner, Dr. Haywood; and towards the end of the Treaty Dr. Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, Dr. Bramhall, Dr. Prideaux, Dr. Warner, Dr. Ferne, and Dr. Morley; Dr. Brownrigge, Bishop of Exeter, was also fent for, but he was under restraint.

The Parliament appointed five Noblemen, ten Commonners, and four Divines to affift them in their Debates about Religion (viz.) Mr. Vines, Mr. Caryl, Dr. Seaman, and Mr. Marshal. The Treaty was to continue forty Days, and to proceed upon the propositions of Hampton Court. Sept. 12th, the Parliament kept a Day of publick Rapin, p. Fasting and Prayer, for a Blessing; and some Days after the 526. King and his Houshold did the like, when after the publick Service the following Prayer was read, drawn up by his

Majesty's direction.

MOST merciful Father, Lord God of Peace " U and Truth, we a people forely afflicted by the " fcourge of an unnatural War, do earnestly beseech thee " to command a bleffing from Heaven upon this prefent "Treaty, begging for the establishment of an happy " peace. Soften the most obdurate Hearts with a true chri-" stian defire of saving those Mens Blood for whom Christ " himself hath shed his; or, if the guilt of our great fins " cause this Treaty to break off in vain, Lord, let the " truth clearly appear, who those men are, who, under " pretence of the publick good do pursue their own private " ends; that this people may be no longer so blindly miser-" able, as not to fee at least in this their day, the things

" that belong to their peace. Grant this, gracious God, " for his fake, who is our peace itself, even Jesus Christ our "Lord. Amen."

King Charles I. 1648.
Parliament's Proposals and the King's Reply.

Rufhw. p. 1263.

The Treaty began on Monday September 18th, about Nine in the Morning, at the House of Sir William Hodges. The first Day the Commissioners presented the King with a draught of three Bills; the first to establish the Presbyterian Government for ever in the Church of England ; the fecond to relinquish the Militia to the two Houses for thirty years; and the third, to recal all his Majesty's Declarations against the Parliament. To the last of these the King readily confented, but excepted to the Preamble, in which were these words, "That the two Houses of Parliament " had been necessitated to enter into a War in their just " and lawful defence." Instead of which, the King proposed an Act of Indemnity; but the Commissioners insisting peremptorily upon it, as that without which they could not be safe, his Majesty with great reluctancy consented, having first protested in writing, that " no Concession of his " should be binding if the Treaty broke off without effect." His Majesty yielded the Militia to the Parliament for twenty years; and the management of the Irish War. He confented to vacate those Titles of Honour that had been conferred fince the carrying away the Great Seal, and to confirm the Parliament's Great Seal. He agreed to the payment of the publick Debts, provided they were stated within two years; to confirm the Charter of the City of London; to impower the Parliament to confer Offices, and constitute Magistrates for twenty years; and to take away the Court of Wards provided he might have fifty thousand pounds a year in lieu of it. His Majesty confented further, that those of his Party which they called Delinquents should submit to a Fine, or be prohibited the Court, if the Parliament law fit; but he abhorred the thoughts of charging them with Treason, for acting by his Commission, and therefore absolutely refused to consent to it.

King's Concessions on the Article of Religion. Rushw. p. 1281.

With regard to Religion his Majesty agreed, October 2. "that the Assembly of Divines at Westminster be con"firmed for three years; that the Directory and Presby-

"terian Government be confirmed for the same time, pro"vided that neither himself, nor those of his judgment,

" be obliged to comply with it; that a confultation in the mean time be had with the Affembly, and twenty Di-

"vines of his Majesty's Nomination, what form of Church
Government shall be established afterwards, with a clause

"for the ease of tender consciences. His Majesty con"fented further, that legal Estates for Lives, or for a

e term

1648.

" term of years not exceeding ninety nine, should be made " out of the Bishops Lands and Revenues, for the satis-" faction of them that have purchased them, provided " that the Inheritance may still remain to the Church, and " the rest be reserved for their maintenance. His Majesty will confent further, to an Act for the better Observation " of the Lord's Day; for suppressing Innovations in " Churches and Chapels; for the better advancing of " preaching God's holy Word; and against Pluralities and " Non-Residence. To an A& for regulating and reform-" ing the Universities, and the Colleges of Westminster, "Winchester, and Eaton; for the better Discovery of Papists, and for the educating their Children in the Pro-" testant Religion; to an Act for better putting the Laws " in Execution against Papists, and to prevent the hearing " and faying Mass; but as to the Covenant, his Majesty

" is not yet satisfied to sign or swear to it, or consent to " impose it on the Consciences of others."

These Concessions about Church Government being de-Conference "clared not fatisfactory, as amounting only to a fort of King and Interim, his Majesty desired to confer with the Parliament Parliament Divines for the satisfaction of his Conscience, having been Divines. bred and instructed (as he faid) in the way he stands for, by his Father, the wifest King and the best in the World, and therefore could not eafily yield. There is hardly any thing to be met with in this Conference but what has been already taken notice of in his Majesty's Debate with Mr. Henderson, and in the Answer of the Smectymnuan Divines to Bishop Hall, in the Second Volume of this History; and therefore it will be the less necessary to enter into the same Particulars in this Place. His Majesty proposed some Scruples in Law about the Obligation of his Coronation Oath, which the Commissioners undertook to answer themselves; but the Papers relating to the Unalterable Institution of Episcopacy were referr'd to the Divines on both fides, and were as follow:

The King's First Paper.

Newport, Oct. 2, 1648.

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"I conceive that Episcopal Government is most conso- Ring's fire forant to the Word of God, and of an Application India " fonant to the Word of God, and of an Apostoilical Insti- the Parl.

" tution, as it appears by the Scripture to have been prac- Divines. " tifed by the Apostles themselves, and by them commit-Rel. Carol.

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King Charles I. 2648. 1 Tim. v. 22. Titus i. 5.

Rev. ii. 3.

I Tim. v.

" ted and derived to particular persons as their Substitutes or Succeffors therein, (as for ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, giving Rules concerning Christian Discipline, and exercifing Cenfures over Prefbyters and others) and has ever fince, till thefe last times, been exercised by Bishops Cor. xiv. in all the Churches of Christ; and therefore I cannot in 1 Cor. v. 3. " Conscience consent to abolish the said Government.

Notwithstanding this my Perswasion I will be glad to be informed, if our Saviour and his Apostles did so leave " the Church at Liberty, as they might totally alter or change Church Government at their Pleasure, which, if you can make appear to me, then I will confess that one Titus iii. 10. 60 of my great Scruples is clean taken away, and then there only remains,

That being by my Coronation Oath obliged to maintain Episcopal Government, as I found it settled to my hands, whether I may confent to the abolishing thereof or until the fame shall be evidenced to me to be contrary to

" the Word of God."

Aband of he Park Divines Reply. 16. p. 246.

The Parliament Divines, in answer to the first part of his Majesty's Paper admit, that the Apostles did exercise the extraordinary Powers his Majesty mentions; but deny, that they conferred them upon any particular persons as their Substitutes or Successors, and insist, that in Scripture there are only two Orders of Officers (viz.) Bishops and Deacons, Phil. i. 1. " To the Saints at Philippi that are in Christ Jesus, with the Bishops and Deacons;" and that the Name, Office, and Work of a Bishop and a Preflyter is the same; as in Titus i, 5, and 7. " For this Canfe left I thee in Crete-that thou shouldst ordain Presbyters in every City; for a Bishop must be blameto less. Acts xx. 27, 28. Paul called the Presbyters together, and charged them to "take heed to the Flock over which the Holy Ghost had made them Bishops *.
The Presbyters among you I exhort, " who also am a Presbyter, feed the Flock of God among " you, performing the Office of Bishops +." As the Apostles were extraordinary Officers, so were Timothy and Titus (viz.) Evangelists, but neither of them are called Bishops in Scripture, much less were they fixed to Ephesus or Crete, but travell'd up and down to fettle Churches in feveral Countries. They observe further, that in the same Order of Officers there was not any one superior to another; no Apostle above an Apostle, no Presbyter above a byes, and by them commit-Presbyter,

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Presbyter, nor one Deacon above another. They add, that the Angels of the Churches in the Revelations are never called Bishops, nor is the Word used in any of St. John's Writings, who calls himself a Presbyter; from whence they argue the Identity of these Offices in Scripture, and the Equality of the Officers. They admit, that not long after the Apostles Times Bishops are reported to have some Superiority above Presbyters, but this was not a Divine, but an Ecclefiastical Institution, as is evident from the Testimony of the most ancient Fathers, and the most considerable Writers in the Romish Church; to which they add the Suffrage of the first Reformers in King Henry the Eighth's Reign. The Erudition of a Christian Man, printed 1643, fays expresly, that the Scripture mentions but two Orders, i. e. Bishops or Priests, and Deacons. They conclude with observing, that the modern Episcopacy is very different from that which began to obtain in the fecond and third Ages of the Church, infomuch that the present Hierarchy, which is but an human Institution, might be abolished, and the other remain.

After three Days his Majesty, with the Assistance of his Octob. 6. King's selearned Divines, replied to the foregoing Paper, and ac-cond Paper. knowledges, " that the Words Bishop and Presbyter are Rel. Carol. " fometimes confounded in Scripture; he admits, that P. 260. " Presbyters are Episcopi Gregis, Bishops of the Flock;

" but that Bishops are Episcopi Gregis & Pastorum within " their several precincts, i. e. Bishops of the Flock and of " the Pastors too; and that soon after, common Usage " appropriated Bishop to the Ecclesiastical Governor, leaving Presbyter to fignify the ordinary Minister or Priest, " as appears from the ancient Fathers and Councils. He " admits the Calling of the Apostles and their Gifts to be " extraordinary, but adds, that their Mission to Govern " and Teach was ordinary and perpetual; that the Bishops " succeeded them in the former, and Presbyters in the latter " Function.

" His Majesty still insists, that Timothy and Titus were "Bishops, as appears from Antiquity, and by a Catalogue " of twenty feven Bishops of Ephesus lineally descending " from Timothy, as is avouched by Dr. Reynolds against "Hart, and therefore the distinction between the Evange-" lift and a Bishop is without foundation, the Work of an " Evangelist being no more than " Diligence in preaching " the Word, notwithstanding all Impediments," accord-

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King Charles I 1648. ing to the Apostle, 2 Tim. ii. 4, 5. His Majesty observes, that the Parliament Divines had faid nothing to prove, " that the Angels of the Churches were not personæ sines gulares, and such as had a Prelacy over Pastors, i. e. Bishops, but that they dealt only in generals, and seemed

" unwilling to speak their opinions about them. His Majesty affirms, " that Bishops are the Successors of the Apostles in all things not extraordinary, such as " Teaching and Governing; and the Reasons why they " are not mentioned as a distinct Order in the New Testament, are; 1. Because the Apostles reserv'd to themselves " the Government of those Churches where they appointed Presbyters, and so 'tis probable the Philippians had of no Bishop when Paul writ to them. 2. Because in " the Epistles to Timothy and Titus, the Persons to whom " he writ being themselves Bishops, there was no need to " write about the qualifications of any other Officers than " thole they wanted, which were Presbyters and Deacons

es only."

His Majesty admits concerning the Ages after the Apostles, "That they are but a human Testimony, and yet " may be infallible in matter of Fact, as we infallibly 46 know that Aristotle was a Greek Philosopher, &c. he avers the genuineness of those Epistles of Ignatius, which es give Testimony to the Superiority of a Bishop above a " Prefbyter; and though his Majesty's Royal Progenitors had enlarged the Power and Privileges of Bishops, he conceives the Government to be substantially the same." Eleven Days after the Parliament's Divines replied to the King's fecond Paper, in which they fay, that they can find no fuch Partition of the Apostolical Office in Scripture, as his Majesty mentions, (viz.) that the Governing part should be committed to Bishops, the teaching and administring the Sacraments to Presbyters; but that the whole Work, per omnia, belongs to Presbyters, as appears from

the two Words used in the Acts of the Apostles and St.

Peter's Epistle, Homairen, and Emozonen, under the force of

which Words the Bishops claim their whole right of Government and Jurisdiction; and when the Apostle Paul was

taking leave of the Ephelian Presbyters and Bishops, he

commits the Government of the Church, not to Timothy,

who was then at his Elbow, but to the Presbyters, under

the name of Bishops, made by the Holy Ghost: From

whence they conclude; that Bishops and Presbyters must be

only two names of the same Order. They observe, that

Octob. 17. Parl. Divines Reply. Rel. Carol. P. 277.

conn Paper.

the obscurity of Church History in the times succeeding the Apostles made the Catalogue Makers take up their Succession upon Report; and 'tis a blemish to their Evidence, that the nearer they come to the Days of the Apostles, they are the more doubtful and contradictory. These Divines are therefore of opinion, that human Testimony on both fides, ought to be discharged, and the point in debate be determined only by Scripture. And here they take hold of his Majesty's Concession, that in Scripture the names of Bishops and Presbyters are not distinguished; and that there is no mention but of two Orders, Bishops and Deacons. They defire his Majesty to show them, where the Scripture has affigned any particular Work or Duty to a Bishop that is not common to a Presbyter, for they apprehend his Majesty's afferting that a Bishop is an Ecclesiastical Governor, and a Presbyter an ordinary Minister, is without any Demonstration or Evidence; a few clear Paslages of Scripture for the proof of this (they fay) would bring the point to an Issue. They deny his Majesty's Distinction of "Episcopi Gregis & Pastorum, Bishop of Sheep and Shepherds," as being the point in question, and affirmed without any Evidence—That the Office of Teaching and Governing was ordinary in the Apostles, because continued in the Church (we crave leave to fay) is that great Miltake which runs through the whole File of your Majesty's Discourse; for though there is a Succession in the Work of teaching and governing, there is no Succeition in the Commission or Office, by which the Apostles performed them; a Succession may be to the same Work, but not to the same Commission; and since your Majesty can't produce any Record from Scripture warranting the Division of the Office of Teaching and Governing into two Hands, we must look upon it but as an Invention of Men to get the power into their hands.

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These Divines go on with a long proof that Timothy and Titus were Evangelists; that is, not fixed to one place, but travelling with the Apostles from one Country to another to plant Churches, and accordingly have drawn out an account of their Travels from the Acts of the Apostles, and St. Paul's Epistles. They observe the Weakness of his Majesty's Reasons, why Bishops are not mentioned as a distind Order in Scripture, and add a third of their own (viz.) Because really they were not. As for the Apostles relerving in their own Hands the power of governing, they admit, that they could no more part with it than with their VOL III. Apostle Dd

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King Charles L. 1648. Apostleship. Had they set up Bishops in all Churches they had no more parted with their power of governing, than in setting up Presbyters; Presbyters being called Rulers, Governors, and Bishops; nor could the Apostles reasonably be supposed to commit the Government of the Church of Ephesus to the Presbyters, when he was taking his last farewel of them, and yet reserve the power of governing (in ordinary) to himself. His Majesty's other Reason (they say) is inconclusive, and in a Sort begging the Question. They add, that it is very unaccountable, that if there had been two sorts of Bishops, one over Presbyters, and the other over the Flock, that there should be no mention, no mark of Difference, no distinct method of Ordination, by which they might be distinguished, throughout the whole New Testament.

As to the Ages after the Aposses, they admit there were. Presbyter Bishops, but not of Divine Institution; that the Catalogues of Succession are undoubtedly defective, but if they were not, it remains still to be proved, that the Bishops in the Catalogue were vested with the Jurisdiction

which the modern Bishops claim.

These Divines profess to honour the pious Intentions of his Majesty's Ancestors, and admit, that ornamental Accessions to the person make no substantial Change in the Office, but that the primitive Episcopacy, and the present Hierarchy, are essentially different. They acknowledge a Subordination of the Exercise of Jurisdiction to the Civil Power, and the Laws of the Land; and conclude with Thanks to his Majesty's Condescension, in allowing them to examine his learned Reply, clothed in such Excellency of Stile, and pray, that a pen in the hand of such Abilities may ever be employed in a Subject worthy of it.

Nov. 1: 1648. King's last Paper. Pb. p. 324.

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Some Days after his Majesty offer'd his last Paper wherein he acknowledges the great pains of these Divines to inform his Judgment, and takes particular Notice of the Decency of their Manner, and of their respectful Address to him upon this Occasion, but says they mistook him, when they spoke of a Writ of Partition of the Episcopal Office; whereas his meaning was, that the Office of Teaching was common both to the Bishop and Presbyter, but that Government was peculiar to the Bishop." His Majesty declines answering to all the particulars, because he would not draw out the Dispute into a greater length, but seems not convinced by any Thing that had been offered; he affirms, that Timothy and Titus

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were Episcopi Pastorum, Bishops over Presbyters; and that Timothy had a distinct Work from Presbyters, that is, that he " might know how to behave himself in the Ex-" ercise of his Episcopal Office." His Majesty relies on the numerous Testimonies of ancient and modern Writers for the Scripture Original of Bishops, and adds, that the Testimonies of an equal Number of equal Credit to the contrary will fightfy nothing, because one Witness for the Affirmative ought to be of more Value than ten for the Negative.——In conclusion his Majesty put them upon evidencing one of these three things, (1.) Either, that there is no form of Church Government prescribed in Scripture. Or, (2.) If there be, that the Civil Power may change it as they see cause. Or, (3.) If it be unchangeable, that it was not Episcopal, but some other that they will name, for till this is done he shall think himself excusable for not confenting to the abolishing that Government which he found fettled at his Coronation; which is fo antient; has been univerfally received in the Christian World; has been confirmed by so many Acts of Parliament, and subscribed by all the Clergy of the Church of England. But the Ministers declined entring into so large a Field, which must

These were all the Papers that passed on both sides, and Remarks. deserve the notice of those who would enter deep into this Controversy. His Majesty saying, that one Witness for the Affirmative, that Episcopacy is of Divine Institution, ought to be of more value than ten for the Negative, is (I apprehend) one of the weakest and most frivolous Arguments of his Letter; for 'tis but changing the Form of the Question, and making the Presbyterian say, that Presbytery is of Divine Institution, and then asking his Majesty, or any Episcopal Divine, whether one Affirmative Testimony ought to be of more value than ten Negative ones of equal merit. His Majesty's Stile is strong and mascuune, and the Parliament Divines decent and respectful. Sir Phil. Warwick read the King's Papers before the Commishoners, and Mr. Vines those of the Ministers: All was manag'd with the greatest Propriety, which makes it hard to account for Lord Clarendon's Account of the Behaviour of these Divines, who says, " they all behaved with that p. 216.

have brought on a Debate upon the whole Ecclefiastical

"Rudeness, as if they meant to be no longer subject to a "King any more than to a Bishop; that they inveigh'd bit-" terly against the Pride and Lustre of Lord Bishops; that Dd 2

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" two of them very plainly and fiercely told the King, that Charles I. if he did not consent to the utter abolishing of Bishops, " he would be damned; the Men were Spurftow and " Jenkins, who after the return of King Charles II. ac-" cording to the modesty of that Race of People, came to kiss his Majesty's hand." And yet neither of the Divines above-mentioned were nominated to affift at the Treaty, nor had any share in the Debates. Mr. Baxter fays, " All the Parliament Divines came off with great "honour." But such is his Lordship's candour towards any thing that looks like a Prefbyterian !

Of the Coronation Oath.

The King's second difficulty, relating to his Coronation Oath, by which he apprehended himself bound to maintain Episcopal Government as he found it settled when he received the Crown, the Commissioners did not think so proper for the Determination of Divines, because it depended upon the Law of the Land, and therefore took this part of the Debate upon themselves. The King conceived, "That the consent of the Clergy themselves in Convoca-"tion affembled, was necessary before they could be de-" prived of those Possessions and Privileges of which they " were legally possessed." But the Commissioners maintained that the Legislature alone was to determine in this case, as it did at the Reformation; that it was not to be supposed, that any Body of Men would consent to part with their Possessions if they could keep them; but " if " the Legislature judged any part of the King's Corona-"tion Oath hurtful to the publick it was certainly in their " Power, with the Confent of the King, to alter or annul " it."—One may justly wonder, that this Branch of the Coronation Oath should stick so much with the King, when it was notorious that his Government for almost fitteen years, was one continued Breach of Magna Charta, and an Invasion upon the Civil Liberties of his Subjects, without their confent in Parliament, or any other way.

The King's final Conce lions.

Rufh. p. 1291. But neither Party would accede to the other, tho' the Article of Religion was almost the only point that hinder'd the Conclusion of the Treaty: His Majesty wondered at the shyness and unwillingness of the Parliament Divines to debate his three Questions, and told them plainly, that their Endeavours to give him Satisfaction in them, would have added to the Reputation of their Ingenuity in the whole Undertaking, it not being probable that they should work much upon his Judgment while they were fearful to declare their own; or possible to relieve his Conscience, but by a

free declaring of theirs. But what was all this to the point? the only question before them was, whether Diocesan Epif-Charles I. copacy was of Divine Institution? if they had satisfied his Majefty in that they had done their Duty; to launch out Rushw. faither was to lose time and protract the Treaty beyond its P. 1301, limits. If Diocesan Episcopacy was not scriptural it might be abolished, which was all the Parliament contended for at presents But the King's Divines made him dispute every inch of ground, and instead of yielding any one point to

the Ministers, started new difficulties, which was his ruin. However, towards the close of the Treaty, when the conquering Army was returning towards London, and things were almost come to an extremity, his Majesty told the Commissioners, " that though he could not with a good " conscience consent to the abolishing of Episcopacy, be-" cause he believed the Substance of it to be of apostolical " Institution, he was willing to reduce it to the primitive " ulage; and if his two Houses should so advise, he would " be content to leffen the extent, and multiply the num-" ber of Diocesses—He still apprehended the entire " alienation of the Bishops Lands by sale to be Sacrilege-"He was willing to affent to the calling and fitting of the " Affembly of Divines, as defired—He would also con-" firm the publick use of the Directory in all Churches and "Chapels, and would repeal fo much of all Statutes as " concerned the Book of Common Prayer only; provided " the use thereof might be continued in his Majesty's "Chapel for himself and his Houshold; and that the " fame [i.e. the Directory] should be confirmed by Act of " Parliament for three years, provided a consultation be " had in the mean time with the Affembly of Divines as " before mentioned-Touching the Articles of Religion " [the Affembly's Confession] his Majesty desired further " time to examine them before he bound up himfelf and " his subjects in matters of Faith and Doctrine——His " Majetly will confent to an Act for better observation of " the Lord's Day, and to prevent faying of Mass-But " as to the Covenant, his Majesty was not satisfied to take " it, nor to impose it upon others."

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These concessions being voted unsatisfactory by the two Houses at Westminster, his Majesty consented further, October 21. 1. " That Archbishops, Chancellors, Deans, " and the whole Hierarchy, be abolished, except Bishops. " 2. That none but the Presbyterian Government be exer-" cifed for three years. 3. That in case no settlement

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Charles I. 1648.

" should be agreed upon within that time, that then for the " future the power of Ordination should not be exercised " by Bishops without the Council and Assistance of Pref-"byters; that no other episcopal Jurisdiction should be " exercised but such as should be agreed upon in Parlia-" ment; and if within that time his Majesty should be "convinced that Episcopacy is not agreeable to the Word of "God, or that Christ commanded any other Government, " he will embrace it, and take Episcopacy quite away." The Houses not being satisfied with these Concessions, his Majesty added, November 4, "That he would make no " new Bishops for three years; and for the further Satisfac-"tion of the Parliament, he would not infift upon the " use of the Common Prayer in his own Chapel for that " time, but would make use of some other form of divine "Service for himself, and forbid Mass to be said in the "Queen's Chapel." This was his Majesty's final answer, which the Commons voted unfatisfactory, and ordered the Commissioners to acquaint him with their Votes.

Confent. Rushw. p. 1335. Whitl. p. 351.

Arguments The Treaty was prolonged three weeks after this, in and Motives which time the Commissioners did all that was in their powof the Parl. er to obtain his Majesty's Consent, beseeching him with oners to gain Tears upon their bended Knees, fince matters were brought the King's to so narrow a compass, to yield up the point of Religion. In their last paper of Nov. 20, they befeech him to consider, " That it is not the Apostolical Bishop which the Parliament defire him to abolish, but that Episcopacy which was formerly established by Law in this Kingdom, and " has been found by experience to be an hindrance to piety, a grievance to the Subject, an encroachment upon the power of the Civil Magistate, and so a burden to the persons, purses, and consciences of Men. They do not " meddle with the Apostolical Bishop, nor determine what that Bishop was whom the Apostles mention in Scripture; but they are for putting him down by a Law with was fet up by a Law; and certainly nothing can be more proper for Parliaments, than to alter, repeal, or make Laws which appear to them for the good of the Com-" monwealth.

But admitting Apostolical Bishops were within the purport of this Bill, we humbly conceive it does not fol-" low, that therefore in conscience it must not be palled, of for we may not grant, that no occasion can make that alterable which has foundation only in the practice of the "Apostles, and not in a precept. Some things have cerec tainly Market terr , will with dry , 7 8,01

King Charles I. 1648.

" tainly been altered which the Apostles practifed; circum-" stances many times change the nature of moral actions; " for the attaining a great good, or the avoiding a great " evil, that which, fingly confidered, is not fit to be done, " and, perhaps, would be a fault if it were, may become " a duty, and a Man may, be bound in conscience to do it. "And if ever circumstances could have a more powerful " and confiderable influence than in this juncture, we leave " to your Majesty's consideration. But this is said only for " argument fake, admitting, but not granting the grounds " on which your Majesty is pleased to go, in refusing to pass " this Bill." The Strength of the Commissioners Reasoning upon this Head may be seen at once in this short Syllogism; "Whatsoever is not of divine Institution may be " very lawfully altered, changed, or reverfed—But the " Episcopacy which is established in the Church of Eng-" land is not that Episcopacy mentioned in Scripture-

"therefore the Laws which established it may take it away. The Commissioners go on, "As for the Sale of Bishops Lands, which your Majesty conceives to be Sacrilege, we humbly offer, that Bishopricks being dissolved their Lands revert to the Crown, which is their foundation and patron, and heretofore held it no Sacrilege to dispose of Bishops Lands to its own and other uses by Act of Parliament, which was an ordinary practice in your Majesty's Predecessors, Kings and Queens of this Nation. Besides, in all Ages, even under the ceremonial Law, imminent and urgent necessity has dispensed with

" the alienation of confecrated things.

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"Your Majesty is pleased to say, you cannot communicate in a publick form of Divine Service, where it is
uncertain what the Minister will offer to God. But we
beseech your Majesty to be informed, that the Directory
sets down the matter of the Prayer which the Minister is
to use; words and expressions for enlargement being left
to his discretion. But give us leave to add, that this
ought to be no objection with your Majesty, for then
one must not hear any prayer before Sermon, for here
every Minister has a several Form, which he varies according to occasion.

"Upon the whole therefore we humbly hope, that your "Majesty, after a most serious consideration, will discern the just cause which the two Houses have for remaining unsatisfied with your Majesty's Concessions, with relation

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King Charles I. 1648.

" to the Church, for they are apprehensive, that after the er expiration of the three years in which Episcopal Go-" vernment is to be suspended, a Bishop so qualified as " your Majesty expresses will rise again; for if you should or not in the mean time agree with your Parliament upon any other form of Government, which depends wholly " upon your Majesty's Pleasure, no other Government can " be fet up; and then this Episcopacy will return with so " great power, that the Bishop may choose whether any Minister at all, shall be made in the Church of England, " and those that shall must be at his Devotion, he having " the negative Voice in Ordination, which, we humbly " conceive, is no where declared in Scripture to be the prerogative of an Apostolical Bishop.

"We humbly fay further, that the charging Bishops Lands with Leases for ninety nine years is not sufficient, because there is a Rent reserved to the Bishop, and the or property will continue as before; fo that it can't be expected that the Presbyterian Government should be complied with, and exercised with profit or comfort to "the Church, as long as a door is left open for the return

" of a superior Power upon the first opportunity.

We hope your Majesty will pardon our pressing in this manner; our intention is not to offer violence to your " Majesty's Conscience, but to endeavour to inform it in a matter that appears to the two Houses of fo great Confequence. We again humbly befeech your Majesty to " review our former Papers; call to mind those Reasons and Arguments which in debate have been used upon this "Subject, with such others as your own Wisdom shall suggest, and then be pleased to give your Royal confent to the Particulars above specified, that both " your self and your People may have Cause to re-" joice."

States of. Scotland preis the King's Con-Rushw. p. 1304.

The Committee of States in Scotland joined with the Parliament Commissioners in befeeching his Majesty to confent to the Proposition about Religion, which they understood to be the point his Majesty most stuck at, and which they in honour and interest were obliged most to infift upon, and without which (they add) his Throne cannot be established in Righteousness. not be established in Righteousness. They also writ to the Prince of Wales to mediate with his Father. The General Assembly, and the Commissioners of the Kirk of Scot-

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land, fent at the same time two frowning letters, for (it was faid) they could speak mare plainly in the Name of their Charles L Mafter than the Commissioners of Estates would venture to do in their own. But his Majesty was deaf to all argu- Clarend. ments and perfwasions, being determined, if his two P. 224. Houses did not think fit to recede from the strictness of their p. 1326. demands in these Particulars, to cast himself (as he said) on 1334-1 his Saviour's goodness to support and defend him from all afflictions, how great foever, which might befal him, rather than upon publick Confiderations deprive himfelf of the Tranquillity of his Mind; and therefore, excepting his Majesty's "Consent to license the Assembly's lesser Cate-" chism with a proper Preface," in all other matters in difference he resolved to abide by his former Answers.

At the close of the Treaty the King made a short Speech King's to the Commissioners, in which he reminds them how the Commisfar he had condescended for the sake of Peace. He desired soners. Vol. them to put a good interpretation on his vehement expressi- Pam. No. ons in some parts of the Debates, there being nothing in his 83intentions but Kindness; and that as they had used a great deal of freedom, and shewed great abilities in their Debates, which had taken him off from fome of his Opinions, that they would use the same freedom with his two Houses, to press them to an abatement of those things in which his Confcience was not yet fatisfied, which more time might do, his opinion not being like the Laws of the Medes and Persians, unalterable or infallible; adding his very hearty thanks for the pains they had taken to fatisfy him, professing that he wanted Eloquence to commend their Abilities. He defired them candidly to represent all the Transanctions of the Treaty to his two Houses, that they might fee nothing of his own interest, how near or dear loever (but that wherein his Conscience is not satisfied) can hinder, on his part, an happy conclusion of the had not by the marked

The King's Concessions were certainly a sufficient founs Remarks. dation for Peace with the Presbyterians, if they could have been relied upon, and were fo voted by the Parliament when it was too late. His Majesty had given up the main Pillars of the Hierarchy, by confenting to abolish Archbishops, Deans, and Chapters, and that a Bishop thould not act without his Presbyters; which was Archbishop Usher's Scheme, and all that the Puritans at first contended for; but the Scots and English Presbyterians not being fo apprehensive of danger from the Army as they

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King Charles I. 1648.

ought, concluded they could not fail of their whole Effablishment in a few weeks, though there was not the least mention of Liberty of Conscience for Diffenters, which, they were fensible, must occasion high discontents in the Army. The Commissioners would willingly have relaxed to an accommodation, and took all opportunities to affure his Majesty, that if he would but yield for a time, things should be made easy to him afterwards. But the truth is, as the King would not trust the Parliament, so neither Clar. p. 222. would they the King, because they observed, (1.) His dilatoriness in the Treaty, as if he waited for some advantagious Turn of Affairs to revoke his Concessions. (2.) His resolute disputing every inch of ground without yielding a fingle Proposition. (3.) His Majesty's maxim, "That what was yielded out of Necessity was not binding when " the Restraint was taken off." (4.) They suspected his Sincerity, because the Duke of Ormond was at this very time treating with the Irish Rebels by his Majesty's Commission, which he would not recal. (5.) They remembered his Majesty's artful manner of interpreting away his Concessions. (6.) They gave out that he was not his own Master, but that his Conscience was under the directions of his Divines, who would put him upon all extreams for their Support. (7.) They were incensed at the Murders and Depredations of the Cavalier Soldiers, even after they were beaten out of the Field, and were afraid of their recovering the management of publick Affairs. And laftly, they were as firmly in the belief of the divine Institution of Prefbytery, and the Obligation of the Covenant, as the King and his Divines could be of the necessity of Episcopacy.

Book XI. p. 217.

But under all these Prepossessions Lord Clarendon observes fome of the Commissioners found means to advertise the King in private, " that they were of his Majesty's Judgment about Church Government, which they hoped " might be preferved, but not by the method his Majesty " purfued; that all the reasonable hope of preserving the "Crown was in dividing the Parliament and the Army, which could be done no other way than by giving fatiffaction with Reference to the Church. This might probably unite the Parliament and the City of London, and enable them to bring his Majesty to London with ho-" nour, where he might have an opportunity of gaining " more abatements than he could ever expect by refuling " to fign the Preliminaries. Many Advertisements came "Welling Tour A our mon

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" from his Majesty's Friends in London, and other Places, " that it was high time the Treaty was at an end, before Charles L " the Army drew nearer London, which it would shortly " do, as foon as those in the North had finished their "Works." Sir J. Browning begged his Majesty, in his Closet, to make all his Concessions in one Declaration, at one instant, and in one day. The Parliament Commissioners were no less importunate with the King, but he was inflexible, and usually out of humour. Remarkable are the Words of Mr. Whitlock, speaking of the above-mentioned Concessions; " More than this could not be obtained, white " though most earnestly begged of his Majesty by some of Mem. p. "the Commissioners (great Persons) with Tears, and up- 335, 336. " on their Knees, particularly, as to the Proposition con-" cerning Religion, wherein Church Government, pub-" lick Worship, and chiefly the Revenues of the Church, " fwayed more with the King's Chaplains then about him; " and they more with his Majesty (continually whispering " matters of Conscience to him) than the Parliament, " and all his Commissioners, could prevail with him for an " agreement, though possibly his own Judgment (which " was above all theirs) might not be fo fully convinced by "his eager Divines about him," But these had possession of his Majesty's Conscience, and directed his Answers: And though they abhorred the thoughts of deposing the King, or putting him to Death, it ought to be considered, whether their stiff and imprudent behaviour did not manifeltly lead the way to it?

His Majesty being intangled in this manner was pleased, Archbishop before the breaking up of the Treaty, to fend for Arch-Ufher's Senbishop Usher, and asked him this Question, "Whether he timents. " found in all Antiquity, that Presbyters alone ordained " any ?" To which the Archbishop replied frankly, that he could shew his Majesty more than that, " even that Pres-" byters alone had successively ordained Bishops," and instanced in St. Jerom's Words, in his "Epist. ad Evagrium," Baxter's where he fays, the Presbyters of Alexandria chofe and made Life, p. their own Bishops from the Days of Mark the Apostle till 206. Heraclus and Dionysius. At the same time the Archbishop offered his Majesty his own Scheme for the reduction of Episcopacy to the Form of Presbytery, which his Majesty had formerly rejected, but was now at length willing to accept, as the Archbishop himself told Mr. Baxter; but the Scots and English Presbyterians would not acquiesce.

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Book XI.

p. 227.

from their Instructions, the Treaty was prolonged from Time to Time in hopes that something or other might gain upon the King; but his Majesty was frequently out of of the Trea- temper, and treated the Commissioners with no degree of confidence. The forty Days to which the Treaty was limited being ended Octob. 28, it was prolonged for feven Days, then for fourteen, and so on, to the 28th of November, for which (fays Lord Clarendon) his Majesty was nothing glad; nor did his Friends in the House desire the Prolongation, but was moved by those that wished the Treaty might have no good Effect, to give the Army time to finish their Summer's Work, and return to London. On the last Day of the Treaty, when the Commissioners pref-fed his Majesty to consider, that there was not one whole Day to determine the Fate of the Kingdom, and that nothing could fave his Majesty from the growing Power of the Army, but giving his two Houses satisfaction in the particular of the Church, "then (fays Lord Clarendon) 168 his Majesty's own Council and the Divines, befought hin to consider the safety of his Person, even for the Church's fake, which had no prospect of being preserved but by his Life, that the unavoidable necessity that lay upon him obliged him to do any thing that was not Sin." But why did they not do this fooner? However, it feems " they could not prevail for a suspension of the " Episcopal Power in a point of Ordination and Jurisdicti-" on, till he and the two Houses should agree what Government should be established for the future." Which was the Substance of all his Majesty meant by his Concessions. After Supper the Commissioners took their leave, and having kiffed his Majesty's Hand, began their Journey next Morning towards London. 'Tis heroick Language that Mr. Warwick puts into the King's Mouth on this occasion: His Majesty said to him one Night, " I am like a "Captain that has defended a place well, and his Superi-" ors not being able to relieve him he had leave to furrender it; but though they cannot relieve me in the time let them relieve me when they can, else (fays he) "I will hold it out till I make fome Stone in this Building my Tomb-Stone; and fo will I do by the Church of

> England." Highel is won abw and Lord Clarendon is of opinion, "That the major part " of both Houses, as well as the Commissioners, were the tiens

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" at this time so far from desiring the Execution of all their "Concessions, that if they had been able to have refisted Charles L. " the wild Fury of the Army, they would themselves have " been Suitors to have declined the greatest part of them." And were not the King's Counsellors and Divines sensible of this? Why then did they trifle away the Time in fruitless Debates for above a month, when it was evident to all Men that every day the King lost made his condition more desperate? But thus ended the famous Treaty of Newport, which, like all the rest, proved unsuccessful, chiefly from an incurable jealouly and distrust between the contending parties, which, how reasonable it was on either Side must be left with the Reader.

The noble Historian observes, that the King sent the King's Let-Prince of Wales a Journal of the Proceedings of the Trea-ter to the ty, and an exact Copy of all the Papers that had passed to Prince. the 20th of November, together with a Letter of fix Sheets of Paper writ with his Majesty's own hand, containing the reasons and motives of all his Concessions. The conclusion of the Letter, his Lordship says, deserves to be preserved in Letters of Gold, as it gives the best Character of that excellent Prince; but the copy does not in my opinion, resemble the Original. Some Passages of it are these, " -- We have laboured long in the fame steps .- Prefer Book XI.

"the Way of Peace—Conquer your Enemies by par- p. 229. "doning rather than by punishing-Never affect more "Greatness or Prerogative than that which is really and " intrinfically for the good of your Subjects, not the Satif-" faction of Favourites. You may perceive that all Men " entrust their Treasure where it returns them Interest. It " Princes, like the Sea, receive, and repay all the fresh "Streams the Rivers intrust them with, they will not " grudge, but pride themselves to make them up an Ocean "-If God restore you to your Right what ever you " promise keep-Don't think any thing in this World " worth obtaining by false and unjust means-" These are excellent Maxims of Government; but furely if his Majesty had conducted himself by them he could not have been reduced to such a low and destitute Condition, as to have hardly a place in the World to hide himself in;

for, fays Lord Clarendon, there was at that time no Clarend. " Court in Christendom so honourably or generously con- P. 231-

"flituted, that it would have been glad to have feen him, " and they who wished him well, did not wish his escape,

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King Charles I. 1648. Remarks.

" because they imagined Imprisonment was the worst that " could befal him."

I am unwilling to suspect the genuiness of this Letter, though there were fo many Forgeries put upon the World about this time to advance his Majesty's Piety and Virtue, that one can hardly feel the Ground he treads on. If fuch a Letter was fent to the Prince it is very strange he should never see it; or that his Lordship, who lived in the Prince's Family, and extracted his account of the Treaty of Newport from these Papers (as he declares) should never shew it his Master; and yet these are the Words of Bishop Burnet, in the History of his Life and Times, "The Duke " of York suffered me to talk very freely to him about "Religion, and he told me among other things, That " the Letter to the Prince of Wales was never brought to " him."

The Cafe of the Army.

P. 51.

The Army had been fix Months in the Field this Summer fighting against the Cavaliers and Scots, but both being now reduced and conquered they began to express an high diffatisfaction with the present Treaty, because no provision was made for the point they had so much at Heart, which was Liberty of Conscience. Here they had just reafon of complaint, but ought not to have relieved themfelves by the methods, and at the expence they did. They were thoroughly incenfed against the King and his Cavaliers on one hand, and the high Presbyterians on the other. It appeared to them, that the King's Sentiments in Religion and Politicks were not changed; that he would always be raising new Commotions till things returned to their former Channel; that in the present Treaty he had yielded nothing but by conftraint; and, that when he was restored to his Throne they should never be fafe in their Lives or Fortunes after the shedding so much loyal Blood. On the other hand, if Presbyterian Uniformity should take place by virtue of the present Treaty their condition would not be much mended; for (faid they) if the King himfelt cannot obtain Liberty to have the Common Prayer read privately in his own Family, what must the Independents and Sectaries expect? What have we been fighting for, it after all the hazards we have run to fet up Presbytery as the established Religion, we must be banished our Country or driven into Corners?

Their Pro. ceedings.

While the Resentments of the Army ran thus high, their Officers, who were high Enthusiasts, but otherwise Men of fober and virtuous Morals, kept feveral days of Faiting •

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Fasting and Prayer at their Head Quarters at St. Alban's, till at length being in deep despair, and having worked themselves up to a kind of spiritual phrensy, they entered upon the most desperate measures, resolving to assume the Sovereign Power into their own Hands; to bring the King to Justice; to set aside the Covenant; and change To accomplish the Government into a Commonwealth. these monstrous Resolutions, which were founded (as they faid) upon Self Prefervation, though carried on by methods subversive not only of the Rights of Parliament, but of the very Laws of Society itself, the Officers agreed upon a Remonstranc, which was presented to the Parliament by fix of their Council, Novem. 20, eight Days before the expiration of the Treaty with the King, together with a Letter from General Fairfax to the House, defiring it might have a prefent reading.

The Remonstrance sets forth the Miscarriages of the Their Re-King's Government; his double and dilatory Proceedings monstrance, in Treaties, particularly in that now on Foot; and then defires the House to return to their Votes of Non-addresles; to lay aside that bargaining Proposition of compounding with Delinquents, and bring them to Punishment; and among these Offenders, they propose, "(1.) That Clarend. " the King be brought to Justice, as the capital Cause of p. 256. "all. (2.) That a Day be set for the Prince of Wales Rapin, p. " and Duke of York to furrender themselves, or be declared 549. " incapable of the Government; and, that for the future,

" no King be admitted but by the free Election of the People." The Commons upon reading this Remonstrance, were They seize struck with surprise, and being all in Confusion deferred the King's the Debate for ten days, i. e. to the End of the Treaty. Person a 2d But the Officers being apprehensive of what might happen in that time fent Colonel Ewer to the Isle of Wight with a Party of Horse to secure the Person of the King, and to order Colonel Hammond to quit the Island, and attend the Council of Officers at their Head Quarters at Windfor; the King was secured the very day, after the expiration of the Treaty, and next Morning [Nov. 30.] conveyed by a Party of Horse to Hurst Castle, where he conunued till he was conducted by Colonel Harrison to Winlor, in order to his Trial. The fame day the Officers fent Rushw. a Declaration to the House to enforce their late Remon- p. 1341. trance, complaining that they were wholly neglected, and defiring the Majority of the House to exclude from 555. their Councils such as would obstruct Justice, or else with-

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King Charles I. 1648. Claren. p. 237-They march to London and purge the Parl.

draw from them. This occasioned such high Language a. mong the Members, that some moved that the principal Officers who had a share in the Remonstrance might be impeached of High Treason. Upon which the Army marched directly to London, with General Fairfax at their Head, who writ to the Lord Mayor and Common Council. that he was marching to Westminster in pursuance of the late Remonstrance, and defired 40000 l. of the City in part of their Arrears. Dec. 2, he quartered his Troops about Whitehall, the Mews, Covent Garden, and St. James's, affuring the Citizens, that they should disturb no Man in his

property.

Though the Houses were now surrounded with an armed Force, they had the Courage to vote, that the "Seiz-" ing the Person of the King, and carrying him Prisoner " to Hurst Castle, was without their Advice and Consent;" and next Day, after having fat all Night [Dec. 5.] it was carried without a Division, " that the King's Concessions " to the Parliament't Propositions were a sufficient Ground of for the Houses to proceed upon for settling the Peace of "the Kingdom; two hundred forty four Members being present. But the Officers being determined to carry their Point discharged the City Trained Bands, and placed a Regiment of Horse, and another of Foot, the very next Day, at the Door of the Parliament House, and Colonel Pride having a List of the disaffected Members in his Hand, took about forty of them into Custody, and denied Entrance to about an hundred more, which discouraged several others from keeping their places, infomuch that the House of Commons was left in the Possession of about one hundred and fifty or two hundred Persons, most of them Officers of the Army, who carried every thing according to the plan agreed upon in their Coun-Dugdale, p. cil at St. Albans. Oliver Cromwell was not yet come to London from his Northern Expedition, but writ from Knottingfly, Nov. 20. that the Officers of his Regiments were deeply fensible of the Miseries of the Kingdom, and had a great zeal for impartial Justice to be done on Offenders, with whom he concurred. December 6, he came to London, and next day had the thanks of the House for his faithful Services to the Publick. December 11, a Paper called the Agreement of the People was presented to the General and Council of Officers, as a Rule for future Government. 'Twas supposed to be drawn up by Ireton, s fach as would confund Judice, or elle with-

and proposed a Dissolution of the present Parliament, and a new one to be chosen, consisting of three hundred Members, who shall elect a Council of State from among themfelves for the management of all publick Affairs, under certain Restrictions; one of which is, "that they do not lay " any Restraints on the Consciences of Men for religious "Differences" (as has been mentioned) but no Proceedings

were had upon it, nor did it ever take place.

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In the mean time, the House of Commons (if they now Votes of the deferved that Name) voted his Majesty's Concessions at the Remainder Isle of Wight not satisfactory; and, " that no Member of the H. of Commons. " who had been absent when that Vote was passed should Rushw. p. " fit again in the House till he had subscribed it; that no 1360. " more Addresses be made to the King for the future; that Ib. p. 1365. " no Malignant, who had affifted against the Parliament " in the first or second Civil War, or that had abetted the " late Tumults, should be capable of being chosen Lord " Mayor or Alderman of the City of London, or be capa-" ble of any Place of Profit or Trust, or so much as of "giving his Vote for choosing Persons into such Offices,
"for the space of one year." The secluded Members pub-Clarend. lished a protestation against all these Proceedings as null and p. 240. void, till they were restored to their places; but the Lords and Commons that remained in the Houses voted their Protestation false, scandalous, and seditious.

The Army having conquered all opposition went on with Who resolve irrefistible violence to change the whole Frame of the Go- to try the vernment; and to make way for it, determined to impeach King. the King of High Treason, as having been the Cause of Rushw, p. all the Blood that had been spilt in the late War. This Rapin, p. unheard of motion met with some opposition even in that 562. pack'd Affembly; Oliver Cromwell was in doubt, and faid, Dugdale, " If any Man moved this of choice or defign he should p. 366. " think him the greatest Traytor in the World; but since "Providence and Necessity had cast them upon it, he " should pray God to bless their Councils, though he was "not provided on the fudden to give them Advice." Some faid, there was no need to bring the King to a Trial; others, that there was no Law to try him, nor any Judicatory to call him to an Account; but all this was over-ruled; and because the Lords rejected the Ordinance for the King's Trial, Lord Clarendon tells us, they that up their Doors; but Mr. Whitlock fays, they entered their house, p. 361. and past several Ordinances, but that the Commons would

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King Charles I. 1648.

Voice of the Nation.

not own them any longer. Thus the Constitution was diffolved, and the whole Legislature brought under the Power of the Sword.

Tho' fome few Petitions had been procured from divers Counties, and even from the Common Council of London, " that Justice might be done upon the Authors of our "Troubles and Bloodshed, in an exemplary Way, and " without respect of Persons;" yet the Voice of the Nation was against it, as appears by the Petitions and Protesta-

tions of all orders of People.

The Prelatical Clergy lay still, either because they could and Dr. not affemble in a Body, or because they apprehended they Proteflation, could do no Service by appearing; but Dr. Gauden, afterwards Bishop of Exeter, published "a Protestation against " the declared purposes and proceedings of the Army, and " others, about trying and destroying our Sovereign Lord the "King," dated Jan. 5, and fent it to a Colonel to be presented to Lord Fairfax at the Council of War. Dr. Hammond fent " an humble Address also to the General and Council of " war, to prevent the horrid Defign of putting the King to " death, dated Jan. 15." Both these papers infisted on the Divine Right of Kingly Government, and that to call the King before the Tribunal of the People was contrary to the Laws of the Land. The famous Mr. Prynne, one of the secluded Members, published " a brief Memento " to the present unparliamentary Junto, touching their preof fent Intentions and proceedings to depose and execute " Charles Stewart, their lawful King of England," dated from the King's-head in the Strand, Jan. 1, 1648.

And of the whoie Body of the Pief-London.

AL STABLES

p. Jule.

The Officers of the Army attempted by their Creatures to gain over the London Ministers to their side, or at least byterian Mi- to perswade them to a Neutrality. Hugh Peters one of their Chaplains, was fent to the Remains of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster for this purpose, but " they de-" clared unanimously for the Release of the King." He then invited several of the London Ministers, as Mr. Marshal, Calamy, Whitaker, Sedgwick, Ash, &c. to a Conference with some Officers of the Army, upon the Subject " of the coercive Power of the Magistrate in Mat-" ters of Religion," which was nothing to the present purpose; but instead of meeting them, these Divines asfembled with their Brethren at Sion College, who published a Paper, entitled, " A serious and faithful Representa-"tion of the Judgment of the Ministers of the Gospel

" within the Province of London, whose Names are sub-" scribed, contained in a Letter to the General, and his Charles I.

" Council of War, delivered to his Excellency by some of

" the Subscribers, Jan. 18. 1648.

In this Address, after giving Reasons why they would not confult with the Officers upon Matters of Religion, they complain of imprisoning the Members of Parliament; "We remember (fay they) that when the King with a Vol. Pamp " multitude ot armed men demanded but a fmall number No. 52. " of the Members of Parliament it was deemed an un-" parallell'd breach of the Privilege of Parliament, and was one reason that an Army was raised by their Au-" thority, and for their Preservation; but that this very " Army should so far exceed that Act, which was then " esteemed without Parallel, is what we could not believe, " had not our Eyes been Witnesses of it!

" And though both Houses of Parliament saw Reason to " take up Arms in their own defence, and in defence of " the Protestant Religion, and the Fundamental Laws of " their Country, yet this cannot be pleaded in Justifica-" tion of your usurping an Authority over King and Par-" liament, who are but to many private Persons, and no

" part of the Legislature.

" Moreover, though the Parliament took up Arms in " defence of the Laws, it was never their intention to do " violence to the Person of the King, or divest him of his "Royal Authority, much less to overthrow the whole Con-" ditution.

"We therefore think ourselves bound by our Protestaton, by our Solemn League and Covenant, to appear " for our excellent Constitution against arbitrary and ty-" rannical power in the King, on the one hand, and against " the illegal Proceedings of private persons, tending to " fubvert the Constitution, and introduce Anarchy and

" Confusion on the other.

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" Instead therefore of consulting with you, we earnestly "entreat you, as the Ambassadors of Christ, that you "would confider of the evil of your present Ways, and " turn from them. You cannot but know, that the " Word of God commands Obedience to Magistrates, and " consonant to Scripture this hath been the Judgment of "Protestant Divines, at home and abroad, with whom " we concur; disclaiming, detesting, and abhorring the " practices of Jesuits, concerning the opposing of lawful Magistrates. Ee 2

King . Charles I. 1648.

" Magistrates by any private persons, and the murthering of Kings by any, though under the most specious and " colourable pretences. Examine your Consciences, if any number of persons of different Principles from your-" selves, had invaded the rights of Parliament, imprison'd " the King, and carried him about from place to place, " and attempted the Dissolution of the whole Government, whether you would not have charged them with " the highest crimes?

"We defire you not to infer the Justice of your pro-" ceedings from the Success, but to distinguish between "God's Permission and Approbation, and that God's suf-" fering Men to prosper in their evil Courses is one of the " feverest Judgments; the Providence of God therefore, "which is so often pleaded in Justification of your Ac-" tions, is no fafe Rule to walk by, in fuch Actions which " the Word of God condemns.

" Nor is it safe to be guided by the Impulses of the " Spirit, when they are contrary to the written word of "God; we are to try the Spirits, and to have recourse to 46 the Law and the Testimony, if they speak not according " to them, there is no Light in them.

"If you plead Necessity for doing that which yourselves " confess to be irregular, we answer, no Necessity can " oblige Men to fin; besides, 'tis apparent, you were un-

" der no Necessity, the Parliament (till forced by you) " being full and free; befides, you have engaged by oath

" to preserve his Majesty's Person, and the Privileges of " Parliament, and no necessity can justify Perjury, or dis-

" pense with lawful oaths.

"We therefore befeech you to recede from this your evil way, and learn John Baptist's Lesson to Soldiers, "Do Violence to no Man, neither accuse any Man falfly, " and be content with your Wages. But if you perfift in "this Way, befure your fin will find you out. If our Exhortation prevail not we have discharged our Duty, " and we hope delivered our own Souls. If it be our of portion to fuffer, as we are told, we trust we shall suffer " as Christians; but we hope better things of you, and " fubscribe ourselves your Servants in the Lord."

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Tames Nalton Pastor Foster | Ralph. Robinson Pastor St. King lane, Tho. Cawton St. Bartholomew Exchange, John Fuller Bishopsgate, Fran. Roberts St. Austin, W. Jenkin Christ Church, Elidad Blackwel Alhall, Undershaft. William Harrison Grace Church. John Sheffield St. Swithins, Matth. Haviland Trinity, Geo. Smallwood Poultry, Willam Taylor Colemanftreet, Christ. Love Aldersgate, Rob. Mercer St. Brides. Tho. Gataker Rotherhithe, Geo. Walker St. John Evang. Arthur Jackson M. Woodstreet. Char. Offspring St. Antholines, Hen. Roborough East-ch. Nic. Profet Foster-lane, Tho. Cafe Milk-street, Stanly Gower Ludgate. Andrew Janeway Allhall. on the Wall, Sam. Clarke St. Bennet Fink. Tho. Clendon Alh. Barkin, John Wale St. M. Cornhill, James Crawford St. Christ.

Mary Woolnoth, Will. Blackmore St. Peter Cornhill, Fran. Peck St. Nic. Acorns, Steph Watkins St. Saviour Southwark. Will. Wickers St. Andrew Hubbard, John Wallis Ironmongerlane, Tho. Manton Stoke-Newington, Tho. Gouge St. Sepulchres, Tho. Watfon Walbrook, Nath. Staniforth St. Mary Bothaw. John Halk Alhallows on the Wall, John Glascock St. Andrew Undershaft, Tho. Whately St. Mary Woolchurch, Jacob Tice Billingsgate, Jonat. Loyd Garlickhithe, John Morton Newington-Butts, Joshua Kirby, Arth. Barham St. Helens, Benj. Needler St. Margaret Mofes, John Wells St. Olave Jury, Rob. Mathew St. Andrew Wardrobe.

Notwithstanding this bold Remonstrance, the Episcopal Divines in order to throw off all the Guilt of the King's Misfortunes from themselves, who by their resolute Behaviour had in reality reduced him to the last Extremity, resolved to fix it upon the Presbyterians; as their Succesfors have done ever fince. It was therefore given out among the people, that the Presbyterians had brought the King to the block, and that the Independants would cut off Their furhis head. To wipe away this calumny the Presbyterian ther Vindie Clergy

1648.

Clergy published another paper, entitled, " A Vindication of the London Ministers from the unjust Aspersions cast " upon their former Actings for the Parliament, as if they " had promoted the bringing the King to capital Punish-" ment." It was addressed to the people, and after they declared over again their Diflike of the Proceedings at Westminster against the King, they conclude in Words to this purpose, "Therefore according to our Covenant we of do, in the name of the great God, warn and exhort all that belong to our respective charges, or to whom we " have administer'd the said Covenant, to abide by their "Vow, and not suffer themselves to be perswaded to sub-" fcribe the Agreement of the People, which is subver-" five of the prefent Constitution, and makes way for the "Toleration of all Herefies and Blasphemies, and will " effectually divide the two Kingdoms of England and We earnestly beseech them to mourn for 46 the Sins of the Parliament and City, and for the Mif-" carriages of the King himself in his Government, " which have cast him down from his Excellency into " an horrid pit of misery almost beyond example; and to " pray, that God would give him effectual Repentance, and fanctify the bitter Cup of Divine displeasure which "Divine Providence has put into his hands; and that God would restrain the violence of Men, that they may not "dare to draw upon themselves and the Kingdom the Blood " of their Sovereign."

This was figned by fifty feven Ministers, among whom were the following nineteen, whose Names were not to the

above-mentioned Representation.

Corn. Burges, D. D. at St. Laz. Seaman Bread-street, Paul's, Will. Gouge, D. D. Blackfriars, Edm. Stanton, D.D. Kingston, Tho. Temple, D. D. Batterfea, Edm. Calamy, B. D. Alderdermanbury, Whitaker St. Mary Magd. Bermondfey, Dan. Cawdry St. Martin in the Fields, William Spurstow, D. D. Hackney,

Simeon Ash Bassishaw, Tho. Thoroughgood of Crayford, Ed. Corbet Croydon, John Viner Aldgate, John Croffe Friday-street, Peter Witham St. Alban Wood-street, John Stileman Rotherhithe, Josias Ball North Grey, Jonathan Devereux, late of St. Andrew Holborn, Paul Ruffel Hackney.

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It was not possible for the few Independant Ministers in London to join the Presbyterians in these Addresses, (1.) Charles I. Because they were not possessed of Parochial Livings, nor Members of the Provincial Affembly of London, nor ad-Behaviour of mitted to their weekly Consultations at Sion College, but the Indewere a fort of Dissenters from the publick Establishment. Vol. Pamp. (2.) Because they did not believe themselves so far bound p. 108. by the Covenant as to oppose a Toleration, nor to support any Constitution that was not consistent with Christian Liberty, which the Presbyterians would not admit. None of their Ministers, that I know of, declared their Approbation of the Proceedings of the Council of Officers in the Trial of the King, except Hugh Peters, and John Goodwin the Arminian. Some of the Independent Ministers in the Country joined the Presbyterians in protesting against it; those of Oxford and Northampton of both Denominations published their " humble Advice and earnest " Defire," presented to General Fairfax and the Council of War, Jan. 25. fubscribed by nineteen or twenty names, in which they declare their utter diffent from all proceedings against his Majesty's Crown and Life, as contrary to Scripture, to the Laws of the Land, the Solemn League and Covenant, and tending to destroy the Constitution, and involve the Nation in a War with their Neighbours-They express their Dissent from the late Violence upon the Parliament.—But with reference to Religion they fay, "Though our Souls abhor that grand defign of the Devil " and his Agents to decry all religious and zealous professors " under the name of Sectaries and Independants, we wil-" lingly grant, and heartily defire, that the interest of all " godly and honest Men may be carefully provided for, and " fecured, as far as is confistent with the Word of God, " our Covenant, and the publick peace; and that Men of " different Apprehensions in matters of Religion may not " be utterly uncapable of all Offices of Power and Trust, "though we cannot agree to an universal Toleration." They conclude with befeeching the General to suspend all further profecution against the King, and to endeavour a right Understanding between the King, Parliament and Army; but if they cannot prevail they defire to wash their hands of the Blood of their dread Sovereign, and to approve themselves innocent of all that Blood and Misery in which the deposing and taking away his Majesty's Life will involve them, their Posterity, and all Men professing Godliness in the three Kingdoms. It

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Each. Hift. p. 654. Eleneh. Not. Narr.

It must be confessed the Independants were a fort of Malecontents, and had reason to be dissatisfied with the Treaty of Newport, because they were not only excluded the new Establishment, but debarred of a Toleration; and vet as Mr. Eachard and Dr. Bates the Physician observe. feveral of them joined with their Brethren in declaring Ima, p. 118. against the design of putting the King to Death, in their Sermons from the Pulpit, in Conferences, Monitory Letters, Petitions, Protestations, and publick Remonstrances.

and of the Scots.

The Scots Kirk, by their Commissioners, declared and protested against putting the King to death, as absolutely inconfistent with their Solemn League and Covenant. They published a Protestation, directed to the Ministers of the Province of London meeting at Sion College, Jan. 25, 1648-9, with a Letter, exhorting them to Courage and Constancy in their Opposition to the proceeding of the House of Commons, and an universal Toleration.

Proceedings and Parliament. Rapin, P. 568.

Sundry foreign Princes and States, by their Ambassadors, of the Army interceeded for the King; fome from their respect to his Person, and others from a regard to the Honour that was due to crowned Heads. But it was impossible to stop the impetuous Wildfire of the Army, who having brought the King from Hurst Castle to Windsor, obtained a vote in the Parliament (if we may fo call it) that all Ceremonies due to a crowned Head be laid afide; and then came to the following Refolutions, Jan. 4. First, " That the People " under God are the original of all just Power." Secondly, "That the House of Commons are the supreme Power of. "the Nation." Thirdly, "That whatever is declared for Law by the Commons in Parliament is valid though the "Confent of the King and House of Peers be not had " thereto." The House of Lords, which was reduced to fixteen Peers, having unanimously rejected the Ordinance of the Commons for the King's Trial, and adjourned for a Fortnight, the Commons refolved to act without them, and having named a Committee of thirty eight perfons to receive Informations, and draw up a Charge against the King, they constituted a High Court of Justice for his Trial, confifting of one hundred forty five persons, of whom twenty or more might proceed to business; but not above one half would be concerned; Mr. Serjeant Bradshaw was President; Mr. Cook Sollicitor General; and Mr. Steel, Mr. Dorillaus, and Mr. Aske, were to manage the Cause. The Form of Process being settled by the Commissioners, the King, who had been conducted to and the transited and a sich a St.

The King's Execution.

King Charles I. 1648.

St. James's, Jan. 15, appeared before his Judges in Westminster-Hall, the first time, on Saturday Jan. 20. when being feated at the Bar in a Chair of Crimson Velvet, and covered, as were all his Judges, Mr. Cook the Sollicitor exhibited a Charge of High Treason against him, which being read, the King, instead of pleading to the Charge, excepted to the Jurisdiction of the Court, which was overruled, the President replying, that they would not suffer their Authority to be disputed, and therefore required the King to think better of it against Monday; but his Majesty perfifting in his Refusal to plead both on Monday and Tuefday, the Clerk was ordered to record the Default; Wednelday the Court fat in the Painted Chamber, and examined Witnesses against the King; Thursday and Friday they consulted how to proceed; and on Saturday his Majesty was brought the last time to the Bar, when persisting to disown the Jurisdiction of the Court, but desiring to be heard in the Painted Chamber by the Lords and Commons, his Request was denied, the President pronounced Sentence of Death against him as a Traytor, fifty nine being present. and fignifying their Concurrence by standing up, as had been agreed. Sundry Indignities and Affronts were offered to the King by the Soldiers, as he past along Westminfler-Hall, but the far greater number of People pitied his unhappy Condition. Tuesday Jan. 30, being appointed for his execution his Majesty was offered the Assistance of Mr. Calamy, Vines, Caryl, Dell and Goodwin, but he refused them, and chose Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London, who, according to Bishop Burnet, did his Office with such a dry Coldness as could not raise the King's Devotion. On the fatal Day he was conducted on Foot by a strong Guard through St. James's Park to a Scaffold erected in the open freet before the Banquetting House at White-hall, where he made a fhort Speech to the People, in which he made no mention of the miltakes of his Government, but declared himself a Martyr for the Laws and Liberties of the People; after which he laid down his Head on the Block, which was fever'd from his Body at one Blow by some bold Executioner in a Mask, in the forty ninth year of his age, and twenty fourth of his Reign. His body was buried privately at Windsor Feb. 28th following, without Ceremony, and with no other Inscription on the Coffin, than King Charles, 1648.

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King Charles I. 1648. His Character.

Clarend. Hift, p.

The Reader will collect the Character of this Prince rather from the foregoing History, than from the satyrical ieflections of his determined Enemies, or the flattering Encomiums of his Friends and Admirers, who, in their anniverfary Sermons, have almost equalled his Sufferings with those of our bleffed Saviour. It must be admitted, that King Charles I. was fober, temperate, chafte, an Enemy to Debauchery and Lewdness, and very regular in his Devotions. But these excellent Qualities were fullied with some of a very different nature; his Temper was distant and grave to a Fault; he was far from being liberal, and when he bestowed any Favour it was in a very disagreeable and uncourtly Manner; his judgment in Affairs of Government was weak, infomuch that he was always under the direction of a Favourite. In his Treaties with the Parliament he was chargeable with great infincerity, making use of doubtful and ambiguous Terms, the Explication of which he referved for a proper Time and Place. He had high Notions of the absolute power of Kings, and the un-Hmited obedience of Subjects; and tho' he was very fcrupulous about his Coronation Oath with regard to the Church. it gave him no trouble with regard to the Laws and Liberties of his Subjects, which he lived in the constant violation of for fifteen years. He was a perfect Slave to his Queen, who had too much the direction of publick Affairs both in Church and State; no wonder therefore that he had a perfect aversion to the Puritans, and leaned so much to the Pomp and Ceremony of the Church of Rome, that though he was a Protestant he was for meeting the Papists half way, and for establishing one motley Religion throughout Great Britain, in which both Parties might unite. He told Dr. Sanderson, that if God ever restored him to his Crown he would go bare Foot from the Tower of London, or Whitehall, to St. Paul's, by way of Penance, for confenting to the Earl of Strafford's Death, and to the abolishing Episcopacy in Scotland, and defire the people to intercede with God for his Pardon. Such was his Majesty's Superstition! Upon the whole, though King Charles I. had Virtues enough for a private Gentleman, his Foibles were fo many as rendered him a very weak and impolitick Prince; far from appearing truly Greatin any one Scene of his whole Life except the last. Mr. Coke says, he was wilful, and impatient of Contradiction; his actions sudden and inconfiderate, and his Councils without secrecy. He would ne-

Life of Sanderson.

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er own any of his Irregularities in Government, but justid them all to his Death. If any gave him advice con-Charles I trary to his Inclination he would never be Friends with him again. He was unaffable, and difficult of address, requir. ing such strain'd Submissions as were not usual to his Predeceffors. The Sincerity of his Promifes and Declarations were suspected by his Friends as well as Enemies, so that he fell a Sacrifice to his arbitrary Principles, the best Friends of the Constitution being afraid to trust him. Bishop Burnet adds, "That he affected in his Behaviour the His Life, p. " solemn Gravity of the Court of Spain, which was sullen 47. " even to moroseness; this led him to a grave reserved " deportment, in which he forgot the Civilities and Affabi-" lities which the Nation naturally loved; nor did he, in " outward Deportment, take any pains to oblige any Per-" fons whatfoever. He had fuch an ungracious way of " shewing Favour, that the Manner of bestowing it was al-" most as mortifying as the Favour was obliging. " loved high and rough Measures, but had neither Skill to " conduct them, nor height of Genius to manage them. "He hated all that offered prudent and moderate Coun-" fels, and even when it was necessary to follow such Ad-" vices he hated those that gave them. His whole Reign, " both in Peace and War, was a continued Series of Er-" rors, fo that it does not appear that he had a true judg-" ment of things. He was out of Measure set upon fol-" lowing his Humour, but unreasonably feeble to those " whom he trusted, chiefly to the Queen, and (it may be " added also) to the Clergy. He had a high Notion of the "Regal Power, and thought that every opposition to it " was Rebellion. He minded little things too much, and " was more concerned in drawing up a Paper than in " fighting a Battle. He had a firm aversion to Popery, " but was much inclined to a middle Way between Protef-" tants and Papists, by which he lost one without gaining " the other. At his Death he shewed a calm and compo-" fed Firmness which amazed all people, and so much the " more, because it was not natural to him, and was there-" fore by his Friends imputed to an extraordinary Measure " of supernatural Affistance."

After his Majesty's Death the Episcopal Clergy did all His Works they could to canonize him for a Martyr; they printed his Sayings, his Prayers, his Meditations, and Forms of "Devotion under his Sufferings," with his Picture in the

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most devout and heavenly Posture. His Works, confisting of fundry Declarations, Remonstrances, and other Papers, have been printed in a most pompous and elegant form; among which one is of very suspected authority, if not absolutely spurious, I mean his "Entir Barowing, " i. e. " Eikoon Basilike, or the Portraiture of his sacred Majesty " in his Solitude and Sufferings," faid to be written with the King's own Hand: It was first printed in the year 1640, and passed through fifty Editions in divers Languages within twelve months. No Book ever raised the King's Reputation to high as this, which obliged the new Council of State to employ the famous Mr. Milton to destroy its Credit, which he attempted, in a Treatife under the Title of Emaio Kharns [Eikono Clastese] or an answer to a Book entitled, Eikoon Basilike, printed by Du Garde, 1652, but the fraud was not fully discovered till some years af-

Exar Baoulux tpurious Perform-

The Grounds and Evidences of the spuriousness of this Book are these, i. That Lord Clarendon, in his History of the Grand Rebellion, makes no mention of it. 2. Bishop Burnet fays the Duke of York, afterwards King James II. Bayle's Die. told him in the year 1673, that the Book called Eikoon TaleMilton. Basilike was not of his Father's Writing, but that Dr. Gau-His Life, p. den writ it; that after the Restoration, the Doctor brought the Duke of Somerfet to the King and to the Duke of York, who both affirmed, they knew it to be his [the Doctor's] writing, and that it was carried down by the Earl of Southampton, and shewed the King during the Treaty of Newport, who read and approved it. 3. The Earl of Anglesey gave it under his Hand, that King Charles II. and the Duke of York declared to him in the Year 1675, that they were very fure the faid Book was not written by the King their Father, but by Dr. Gauden, Bishop of Exeter. 4. Dr. Gauden himself, after the Restoration, pleaded the Merit of this Performance in a Letter to Lord Chancellor Hyde, who returned for answer, that the particular he mentioned fi. e. of his being the Author of that Book] was communicated to him as a fecret; I am forry (fays his Lordship) that it was told me, for when it ceases to be a secret it will please no body but Mr. Milton. 5. Dr. Walker, a Clergyman of the Church of England, after invoking the great God, the fearcher of Hearts, to witness to the Truth of what he declares, fays, in his Treatife entitled, " A true Account of the Author of Eikoon Basilike," " I know and believe the Eook was written by Dr. Gauden, except Chap. 16th

Crit. Hift.

"and 24th, by Dr. Duppa. Dr. Gauden (fays he) acquainted me with his design, and shewed me the heads
of several Chapters, and some of the Discourses. Some
time after the King's Death I asked him, whether his Crit. Hist.
Majesty had ever seen the Book? he replied, I know it p. 189.
certainly no more than you; but I used my best endeaarts, p. 283.
wours that he might, for I delivered a copy of it to the
Marquis of Hertford, when he went to the Treaty of
the Isle of Wight"——Dr. Gauden delivered the MS.
to this Walker, and Walker carried it to the Press; it was
copied by Mr. Gifford, and both the Doctor's Son and his
Wife aftirm, that they believe it was written in the House
where they lived.

Notwithstanding all this Evidence Mr. Archdeacon Eachard says, the Book is incontestably the King's; and Bishop Kennet adds, that those who pretend Eikoon Basilikè was a Sham put upon the World, are a Set of Men that delight to judge and execute the Royal Martyr over again by murdering his Name. Dr. Hollingworth, Dugdale, Wagstaffe, and others, have endeavoured to invalidate the above-mentioned Authorities, by shewing that Dr. Gauden was not capable of writing such a Book; but surely, the Evidence already produced is as strong and convincing as

any thing of this Nature can possibly be.

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The King's Trial and Execution in fuch an illegal and Books pubunheard of manner struck the whole Christian World with lished for Astonishment. The Prince of Wales, then in Holland, the King's encouraged the learned Salmafius to write a Latin Treatife, Death. entitled, "Defensio Regia, or a Defence of King Charles I. " dedicated to his Son Charles II. which was answered by Milton in a Book, entitled, " Defensio pro Populo Angli-" cano, or a Defence of the People of England," writ in an elegant but severe Stile. This Book, says Mr. Bayle, made the Author's Name famous over all the learned World. Another Performance appeared about the fame Time, entitled, "Clamor Regii Sanguinis ad Cœlum; or, "The Cry of the King's Blood to Heaven." It was writ in Latin by Peter du Moulin, jun. and answered by Milton in the fame Language. But to fatisfy the English Reader, Mr. John Goodwin published a small Treatise, which he called "A Defence of the Sentence passed upon the late "King by the High Court of Justice—wherein the Justice " and Equity of the faid Sentence is demonstratively affer-" ted, as well from clear Texts of Scripture as Principles " of Reason, Grounds of Law, Authorities and Presi-

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King Charles I. 1648.

16. p. 20.

" as well foreign as domeflick;" a very weak and income clusive Performance | for admitting our Author's Principles that " the original of Government is from the People. " and that Magistrates are accountable to them for their "Administration," they are not applicable to the present Case, because the Officers of the Army had neither the Voice of the People, nor of their Representatives in a free Parliament; the House of Commons was purged, and the House of Lords quite shut up, in order to make way for this outrage upon the Conflitution. Our Author was fo fensible of this Objection, that in order to evade it he advances this ridiculous Conclusion, that " though the erect-" ing an high Court of Justice by the House of Commons " alone be contrary to the Letter, yet it being for the Peoole's Good it is sufficient that it is agreeable to the Spirit " of the Law." But who gave a few Officers of the Army Authority to judge what was for the People's Good, or to act according to the Spirit of a Law in contradiction to the Letter? This would expose every Man's Life and Estate to the Will and Pleasure of the most arbitrary Tyrant, and introduce a Rule of Government so justly complained of in the former Part of this Reign, in opposition to a Rule of Law. The President Bradshaw, in his Speech at pronouncing Sentence, goes upon the same general Topicks, that the People are the origin of Civil Power, which they transfer to their Magistrates under what Limitations they think fit, and that the King himself is accountable to them for the abuse of it; but if this were true, it is not to the prefent purpose, because as has been observed, the King's Judges had not the confent of the People of England in their diffusive or collective Capacity. His Majesty's own Reasons against this High Court of Justice, which he would have given in Court, if he might have been heard, are, in my opinion, a fufficient answer to all that can be faid on the other fide.

"—Admitting, but not granting (fays his Majesty) that the People of England's Commission could grant your pretended power, I see nothing you can shew for that, for certainly you never asked the question of the tenth Man of the Kingdom; and in this way you manifestly wrong even the poorest Plough-man, if you demand not with sire consent; nor can you pretend any colour for this your pretended Commission without consent at least of the major part of England, of whatsoever Quality or Condition, which I am sure you never went about to

" feek, so far are you from having it-Nor must I forget " the privileges of both Houses of Parliament, which this Charles L. " Day's Proceedings do not only violate, but likewife oc-" casion the greatest breach of the publick Faith that I be-" lieve ever was heard of, with which I am far from charg-" ing the two Houses-Then for any thing I can see, the " higher House is totally excluded; and for the House of " Commons it is too well known, that the major part of " them are detained, or deterred from fitting-And after all, " how the House of Commons can erect a Court of Judi-" cature, which was never one itself, as is well known to

King

" all Lawyers, I leave to God and the World to judge."---King Charles therefore died by the Hands of Violence, Authors of or by the military Sword, assumed and maintained in an are the King's bitrary manner, by a few desperate Officers of the Army, Death. and their Dependants, of fundry Denominations as to Religion, without any regard to the ancient constitution of their Country, or the fundamental Laws of Society; for by the former, the King cannot be tried for his Life before any inferior Court of Justice; nor could they feign any Pretence for the latter, without the express consent of the majority of the Nation, in their personal or representative Capacities, which these Gentlemen never consulted. But fince all Parties have endeavoured to throw off the Odium of this Fact from themselves, it may not be improper to set before the Reader the Sentiments of our best Historians upon this Head, leaving every one to draw what conclusion from them he pleases.

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Not to infift upon the King's fervile Fondness for his of the Queen and her Friends; his resolute Stiffness for his old King and Principles of Government in Church and State; his un- his Divines. timely and ungracious manner of yielding to what he could p. 335. not avoid; his distant and referved Behaviour towards those Coke's that were only capable of ferving him, and his manifest Detect. p. doubling between the Parliament and Army, which fome very reasonably apprehend were the principal Causes of all his Misfortunes, Mr. Whitlock and Mr. Coke lay a good deal of blame on his Majesty's Chaplains; the latter reproaches them with infifting peremptorily to the last upon the Divine Right of Episcopacy; and the former for contimual whispering in the King's Ears the importance of prelerving the Revenues of the Church to the hazard of the King and Kingdom; and furely if these warm and eager Divines could have difintangled his Majesty's Conscience which Mr. Whitlock apprehends was not fully fatisfied) as

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King Charles Line 1648.

as foon as the Cavaliers had seen dispersed, and the Scots beaten out of the Field, the mischief that followed might have been prevented. I will not take upon me to say how far their influence might reach, though his Majesty's profound deference to their Judgment was notorious; but the conviction does not seem impracticable, when it is remember'd the King was of opinion, that "what he yielded "through the necessity of his Affairs was not binding when "he should be at liberty;" but neither his Majesty nor his Clergy foresaw the event.

Of the PresbyteriMost of the Writers on the King's Side, as well as the Preachers after the Refloration, in their Anniversary Sermons, have with great ingratitude charged the " Presby-" terians with bringing the King to the Block," contrary to the strongest and most convincing evidence; for though their Stiffness for the divine Right of Presbytery, and their antipathy to Liberty of Confcience, is not to be justified, yet I apprehend enough has been faid in the foregoing pages to vindicate them from this unrighteous charge; if the zeal of the Presbyterians for their Discipline and Covenant was culpable, the Behaviour of the King and his Divines in the Opposition was no less so, considering he was a Prifoner, and in the Hands of a victorious Parliament; neither fide were sensible of the danger till it was too late, but when the Storm was ready to break over their heads, I do not fee what Men could do more in their circumstances to divert it, than the Presbyterians did; they preached and prayed, and protested against it in the most publick manner; many of them refigned their Preferments because they would not take the Engagement to the new Commonwealth; they groaned under all the fucceeding changes of Government, and had a principal Share in the Restoration of the Royal Family in the year 1660, without which these Anniversary Declaimers would never have had an opportunity of pelting them with their ecclefiaftical Artillery as they have done.

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The forementioned Writers, together with Mr. Rapin, in his late History of England, load the Independants, as a religious Sect, with all the Guilt of cutting off the King's Head; and with being in a Plot from the beginning of the Civil War to destroy equally King, Monarchy, Episcopacy, and Presbyterianism; but this Writer not being acquainted with their religious Principles constantly consounds the Independants with the Army, which was made up of a number of Sectaries, the Majority of whom were not of that distinguish-

King

diftinguishing Character. There were no doubt among the Independents, as well as among other Parties, Men of Republican Principles, who had a large Share in the Reproach of this day; but besides what has been observed, of fome of their number joining with the Presbyterians in protesting against putting the King to death, the Divines of this Perswasion had no difference with the Presbyterians, or moderate Episcopalians, about Forms of Civil Government; the Officers would have contributed their part toward restoring his Majesty to his Throne, when he was with the Army, upon more equal terms than some others, if they had not discovered his designs to destroy them when it should be in his power. In their last Propositions they confented to the restoring the King upon the Foot of a Toleration for themselves and the Episcopal Party; leaving the Presbyterians in Possession of the Establishment. Both Whitlock and Welwood observe, that at the very time of the King's Trial the prevailing Party were not determined what Form of Government to fet up, " Many having thoughts " of making the Duke of Gloucester King;" which his Mem. p. 99. Majesty being informed of, forbid the Duke, in his last interview, to accept the Crown while his elder Brothers were living. And though Mr. Rapin fays, that after the force P. 563. put upon the Members of Parliament on the 6th and 7th of December, the House consisted of none but Independent Members, 'tis certain to a Demonstration, that there were then left in the House Men of all Parties, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptifts, and others; fo little Foundation is there for this Writer's conclusion, that the Independents, and these only, put the King to Death.

Dr. Lewis du Moulin, Hiftory Professor in Oxford, who Sentiments lived through these times, says, "That no party of Men, of Dr. Du Moulin. " as a religious Body, were the Actors of this Tragedy, Vind. Prot.

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" but that it was the contrivance of an Army, which, like Relig. p. 53, " that of King David's in the Wilderness, was a Medley or 59.

" Collection of all Parties that were discontented; some " Courtiers, fome Presbyterians, fome Episcopalians; few " of any Sect, but most of none, or else of the Religion of

" Tho. Hobbs and Dr. Scarborough; not to mention the " Papists, who had the greatest hand in it of all." The same hearned Professor, in his Book entitled, "The Conformity " of the Independant discipline with that of the Primitive

"Christians," published 1680, had a chapter entitled, "An "Answer to those who accuse the Independants for having

" an immediate hand in the death of King Charles I." but Vol. III.

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1648. Of Mr. Baxter. Baxter's Life, p. 63.

434 King

Charles I.

es gion thought it was no policy to trust a conquered King, " and therefore were wholly for a Parliamentary Government without a King; of these (says he) some were " for an Aristocracy, and others for a Democracy, and " some thought they ought to judge the King for all the "Blood that had been shed; the Vanists, the Indepen-" dants, and other Sects, with the Democratical Party be-" ing left by Cromwell to do the business under the Name " of the Parliament of England."

Bo. Burnet. Hift. Life and Times. Vel. I. p. 46, 47.

Bishop Burnet says, that " Ireton was the Person that " drove it on, for Cromwell was all the while in suspense " about it; Ireton had the Principles and Temper of a " Cashus, he stuck at nothing that might turn England in-" to a Commonwealth; Fairfax was much distracted in " his mind, and changed purposes every day; the Pres-" byterians, and the Body of the City were much against " it, and were every day fasting and praying for the King's " Preservation. There were not above eight Thousand " of the Army about the Town, but these were the most " engaged in Enthusiasm, and were kept at prayer in their " way almost Day and Night, except when they were upon " duty, so that they were wrought up to a pitch of fury that " struck Terror into all People."

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Part. III. p. 188.

of the Pa- Mr. Eachard, and some others, are of opinion, that great numbers of Papists, under hopes of Liberty of Conscience, or of destroying Episcopacy, joined with foreign Priests and Jesuits against the King. The celebrated Author of Foxes and Firebrands has this remarkable passage; " Let all true Protestants who defire fincerely to have an " happy Union, recollect what a blemish the Emissaries " of Rome have cast upon those Protestants named Presbyterian and Independent, Rome faying the Presbyterians " brought Charles the First's Head to the Block, and In-" dependants cut it off; whereas it is certain, that the " Members and Clergy of Rome, under diffenting Shapes, " contrived this Murder. Nay, the good King himself " was informed, that the Jesuits in France, at a general " meeting, resolved to bring him to Justice, and take off " his Head by the power of their Friends in the Army." Bishop Bramhall, in a Letter to Archbishop Usher, dated July 20, 1654, adds, "Thus much to my Knowledge " have I feen and heard, fince my leaving your Lordship,

1b. p. 168, 169.

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nip, hick " which I myself could hardly have credited had not mine " Eyes feen fure Evidence of the fame (viz.) that when " the Romish Orders which were in disguise in the Parlia-" ment Army writ to their several Convents, and especi-" ally to the Sorbonists, about the Lawfulness of taking " away the King's Life, it was returned by the Sorbonists, " that it was lawful for any Roman Catholick to work a "change in Governments for the Mother Church's Ad-" vancement, and chiefly in an heretical Kingdom, and fo, " lawful to make away with the King." Mr. Prynne Necest. adds, "That Mr. Henry Spotswood saw the Queen's Vind. p. 45. "Confessor on Horseback among the crowd in the Habit " of a Trooper, with his drawn Sword flourishing it over " his head in triumph, as others did, when the King's "Head was just cut off; and being asked how he could " be present at so sad a Spectacle, answered, there were " above forty more Priests and Jesuits there besides him-" felf, and when the fatal blow was given he flourished "his Sword, and faid, Now the greatest Enemy we have "in the World is dead." But this Story does not feem Fox and to me very probable, nor easy to believe that the Papists Firebrand, hould triumph in the Death of a King who was their Part II. Friend and Protector in prosperity, and whose Sufferings p. 86. are in a great measure chargeable upon his too great attachment to their Interest.

King

But the strongest, and most authentick Testimony, is Sentimente " the Act of Attainder of the King's Judges at the Re- of the Con-" storation of King Charles II." the preamble to which vention fets forth, "That the execrable Murder of his Royal Parliament. "Father was committed by a Party of wretched Men chap. 30. "desperately wicked, and harden'd in their Impiety, who " having first plotted and contrived the ruin of this ex-"cellent Monarchy, and with it the true Protestant Religion, which had long flourished under it, found it necellary, in order to carry on their pernicious and traiterous Defigns, to throw down all the Bulwarks and Fences of Law, and to subvert the very Being and Constitution of Parliament——And for the more easy eftecting their attempts on the Person of the King himielf, They first seduced some part of the then Army into a Compliance, and then kept the rest in subjection, partly for hopes of preferment, and chiefly for fear of lofing their Employments and Arrears, till by thefe, and other more odious arts and devices, they had fully strengthned themselves in Power and Faction; which being Ff 2

King Charles T. 1648.

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Tributation

" done, they declared against all manner of Treaties with " the Person of the King, while a Treaty with him was " fublifting; they remonstrated against the Parliament for " their Proceedings; they seized upon his Royal Person " while the Commissioners were returned to London with is his Answers, which were voted a sufficient Foundation of for Peace; they then feeluded and imprisoned feveral " Members of the House of Commons, and then there " being left but a small Number of their own Creatures " (not a tenth Part of the Whole) they sheltered them-" felves under the Name and Authority of Parliament, " in that Name prepared an Ordinance for the Trial of is his Majesty; which being rejected by the Lords they of paffed alone in the Name of the Commons of England, " and purfued it with all possible Force and Cruelty till " they murdered the King, before the Gates of his own " Palace. Thus (fay they) the Fanatick Rage of a few " Miscreants, who were neither true Protestants nor good "Subjects, stands imputed by our Adversaries to the " whole Nation; we therefore renounce, abominate, " and protest against it-"

A mos If this be a true State of the Case it is evident, that the King's Death was not chargeable upon any religious party, or Sect of Christians, as such; nor upon the the People of England affembled in a free Parliament, but upon the Council of Officers and Agitators, who being made desperate by the reftless Behaviour of the Cavaliers, and ill conduct of the feveral Parties concerned in the Treaty of Newport, plotted the the Deftruction of the King and Constitution, and accomplished it by the power of the Sword; that it was but a small part of the Army that were seduced into a compliance, and these kept the rest in subjection till the others had executed their pernicious purpofes; fo that though the Wisdom of the Nation has thought fit to perpetuate the Memory of this unhappy day by an Anniversary Fast, as " that which may be instructive both to Princes and Subjects," yet if we may believe the Declaration of his Majesty at his Trial, or the Act of Parliament that restored his Successor, the putting the King to Death was not the Act of the People of England, nor of their legal Representatives, and therefore ought not to be remembered as a National Sin. of Edition A but the west time to

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PPENDIX.

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THE ARTICLES

ARTICLES

Of the

Church of England.

ARTICLE I. Of Faith in the Holy Trinity. THERE there is but One living and true God, Holy Ghoft.

Of the

Church of England.

Revised and altered by the Affembly of Divines, at Westminster in the Year 1643, with Scripture References.

ARTICLE I. Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.

THERE is but a One li- a Ifa. 46.9. ving and true God b, 1 Cor. 8. everlasting, without Body, everlasting c, without Body, 4,6. b Jer. Parts, or Passions; of infinite Parts d, or Passions e, of infi- 10. 10. Power, Wisdom, and Good- nite Power f, Wisdom 8, and 1 Thes. 1. nels, the Maker and Prefer- Goodnels "; the Maker and 9. Pfal. ver of all things both visible Preserver of all things both 90. 2. and invisible. And in Unity visible and invisible. And in 26. d Deu. of this Godhead there be Unity of this Godhead there 4 15, 16. three Persons of one Sub- be three Persons of one Sub- John 4.24. stance, Power, and Eternity, stance, Power, and Eternity; with Luke the Father, the Son, and the the Father, the Son, and the 24. 39. Holy Ghost k. e Acts 14-

1. 17. f Jer. 32. 17, 27. Mar. 10. 27. 8 Pfal. 147. 5. Rom 11. 33. h Pfal. 119, 68. with Mat. 19. 17. i Neh. 9. 6. Col. 1. 16, 17. k Mat. 3. 16, 17. Chap. 28. 19. 1 John 4. 7. 2 Cor. 13. 14.

ARTI-

Articles revifed.

Articles of the Ch. of England

ARTICLE II.

Of the Word, or Son of God, which was made very Man.

The Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father 1, the very m and e-1 Prov. 8. ternal God", of one Sub-22-31. Joh. 1. 12, stance with the Father o, took Man's Nature in the Womb m 1 John of the bleffed Virgin, of her 5. 20. Substance?; fo that two whole Rom. 9. 5. and perfect Natures, that is John 17. to fay, the Godhead and the 5. Heb.1. Manhood, were joined toge-Pfal. 45.6. ther in one Person, never to P John 10. be divided, whereof is one 30. Heb. Christ, very God and very Man 9, who for our fakes tru-1. 3. P John 1. ly suffered most grievous Tor-14. Ifa. 7. ments in his Soul from God , 14. Luke was crucified, dead, and bu-1. 35. ried, to reconcile his Father Gal. 4. 4 to us t, and to be a Sacrifice, 9 Ifa.7.14 not only for original Guilt, but with Mat. also for actual Sins of Men". 1. 23.

ARTICLE II. Of the Word, or Son of God, which was made very Man.

The Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and eternal God, of one Substance with the Father, took Man's Nature in the Womb of the bleffed Virgin, of her Substance; so that two whole and perfect Natures, that is to fay, the Godhead and Manhood, were joined together in one Person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God and very Man, who truly fuffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a Sacrifice, not only for original Guilt, but also for all actual Sins of Men.

Rom. 1. 3, 4. Heb. 13. 8. Isa. 53. 10, 11. Mark 14. 33, 34. 1 Pet. 2. 24. Phil. 2. 8. 1 Cor. 15. 3, 4. Ezek 16. 63. Rom. 3. 25. 2 Cor. 5. 12. F Ha. 53. 10. Eph. 5. 2. 1 John 1. 7. Heb. 9. 26.

ARTICLE III.

As Christ died for us, and Of the going down of Christ was buried, so it is to be believed that he continued in the Pfal. 16. State of the Dead, and under 10. with the Power and Dominion of Acts 2. Acts 2. Death w, from the time of his 24,25,26, Death and Burial until his *Rom. 6. Refurrection ; which hath been otherwise expressed thus, 9. Mat. He went down into Hell. 12. 40.

ARTICLE III. into Hell.

As Christ died for us, and was buried: So also is it to be believed, that he went down into Hell.

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Articles of the Ch. of England.

Articles revised.

ARTICLE IV.

Of the Resurrection of Christ. Christ did truly rife again from Death, and took again his Body, with Flesh, Bones, and all Things appertaining to the Perfection of Man's Nature, wherewith he ascended into Heaven, and there fitteth, until he return to judge all Men at the last Day.

ARTICLE IV.

Of the Resurrection of Christ. Christ did truly rise again y 1 Cor. from Death , and took again 15. 4. his Body, with Flesh, Bones, Rom. 8. and all Things appertaining 34. Pfal. to the Perfection of Man's 16. 10. Nature 2, wherewith he a- with Acts feended into Heaven, and Luke 24. there fitteth 2, until he return 34. Luk. to judge all Men at the 24. 39. general Refurrection of the with John

Body at the last Day d. 20. 25,27. ^a Pfal. 68. 18. with Eph. 4. 8. Pfal. 110. 1. with Acts 2. 34, 35. Mar. 19. 10. Rom. 8. 34. ^b Acts 3. 21. Pfal. 110. 1. with 1 Cor. 15. 25, 26. Acts 1. 11. ° 2 Cor. 5. 20. Acts 17. 31. d Exod. 3. 6. with Luke 20. 37, 38. Acts 24. 14, 15. 1 Cor. 15. 12. to the end: John 5. 28, 29.

ARTICLE V. Of the Holy Ghoft.

The Holy Ghoft, proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one Substance, Majesty and Glory, with the Father and the Son, very and eternal God.

ARTICLE V.

Of the Holy Ghost. The Holy Ghost is very and eternal God, of one Substance , Majesty , and . 2 Sam. Glory with the Father and 23. 2. the Son s, proceeding from with verse the Father and the Son h. 3. Ifa. 6. 5, 8. with

Acts 28. 25. Acts 5. 3, 4. 1 Cor. 3. 16. 1 Cor. 6. 19. f Job 26. 13. Job 33. 4. 1 Cor. 12th Chap. Mat. 28. 19. 2 Cor. 13. 14. 21 Cor. 12. 11. Eph. 1. 17. and 1 Cor. 2. 8. with 1 Pet. 4. 14. 1 John 15. 26. Mat. 10. 20, and 1 Cor. 2. 11, 12. with Gal. 4. 6. and Rom. 8. 9. and Phil. 1. 9. John 16. 14. Isa. 11. 2. Isa, 61. 1. Gen. 1. 2: 2 Chron. 15. 1.

ARTICLE VI.

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Of the Sufficiency of the holy Scriptures for Salvation.

Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to SalvatiARTICLE VI.

Of the Sufficiency of the holy Scriptures for Salvation.

Holy Scripture containeth Rom. 1. all things necessary to Salvati- 2. 2 Tim. on; so that whatsoever is not onk, so that whatsoever is not 3. 15. read therein, nor may be pro- read therein, nor may be pro- 2 Pet. 1. ved thereby, is not to be re- ved thereby, is not to be be- 20. 21. k Pfal. 19.

2 Tim. 3. 15, 16, 17. Jam. 1. 21, 25, Acts 20. 32.

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Articles revised.

lieved as an Article of Faith, or necessary to Salvation 1.

1 Prov. · By the Name of holy Scrip-30. 5, 6, ture we understand all the Ca-Ifa. 8, 20. nonical Books of the Old and Acts 26. New Testament, which fol-22. with low, we reduce the soul of the long to the soul of the ver. 20, 27. Gal. 1. 8, 9. Various, Scherewich he no John 5.

Of the Old Te- Of the New ftament, Testament, Genesis, The Gospel of

All which Books, as they are commonly received, we do receive, and acknowledge them to be given by the Inspiration of God, and in that regard to be of most certain Credit, and highest Authoriclomal (vol. of o

babilance, Majeffy , and og Sam. Glory with the father and et a. .

the Sur ', proceeding from with worfe

BE MERE. 10. 2 Cor. 12.14. 4 1 Cor. ARTICLE VII. ARTICLE VII. Of the Old Testament.

the Lades and the Son L.

The Old Testament is not contrary to the New, in the PActs 26. Doctrine contained in them "; 2 Pet. 3.2. for both in the Old and New Luke 24. Testament everlasting Life is 44. Rom. Offered to Mankind by Christ, 3. 31. Gal, who is the only Mediator be-3. 21, 23, tween God and Man o, being 24. Gen. .: Joh chasveolied w in

3. 15.Gen. 22. 18. with Gal. 3. 8, 14. 1 Cor. 10. 2, 3, 4. Luke 1. 69, 70. Acts 3. 24. Ifa.53. Chap. Dan. 9 17. Rom. 8.34. 1 John 2. 1. Heb. 7. 25. 1 Tim. 2. 5 John 14.6. a Tim g ap 16, 17 Jam a 21, 25 Ada 20, 3

quired of any Man, that it should be believed as an Article of the Faith, or be thought requifite or necessary to Salvation. In the Name of the holy Scripture we do understand those canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any

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Articles of the Ch. of England.

doubt in the Church. Of the Names and Number of the Canonical Books.

Genesis, Leviticus, Exodus, &c. St. Matthew, &c. Exodus, Numbers, &c.

And the other Books (as Hierome faith) the Church doth read for example of Life and instruction of Manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any Doarine: Such are these following,

Third of Esdras, Book of Tobias, Fourth of Efdras, Judith, &c. 6

All the Books of the New Testament, as they are commonly received, we do receive, and account them for Canonical.

Of the Old Testament.

The Old Testament is not contrary to the New; for both in the Old and New Testament everlasting Life is offered to Mankind by Christ, who is the only Mediator between God and Man, being both God and Man. Wherefore

they

Articles of the Ch. of England.

given from God by Moses, as rary Promises 9. touching Ceremonies and no Christian Man whatsoever the Commandments, which are called moral.

Articles revised.

they are not to be heard which both God and Man P. Where P Gal. 4. fain that the old Fathers did fore they are not to be heard, 4, 5. Acts look only for transitory Pro- which feign, that the old Fa-20. 28. mises. Although the Law there did look only for tempo-Phil. 2. 7,

Although the Law given Acts 26. Rites, do not bind Christian from God by Moses, as touch-6,7. Rom. Men, nor the Civil Precepts ing Ceremonies and Rites, do 4. 11. Gal. thereof ought of Necessity to not bind Christians'; nor the 11.10, 16, be received in any Common- civil Precepts given by Moses, 35. wealth; yet notwithstanding such as were peculiarly fitted Gal. 4. to the Commonwealth of the 9, 10. Col is free from the Obedience of Jews, are of necessity to be 2. 14, 16, received in any Common- 17. Heb. wealth; yet notwithstanding 9. 9, 10. no Christian Man whatsoever Acts 25. is free from the obedience of 9, 10, 25. the Commandments which are 17. 8called Moral t. By the Moral 13. Rom. Law we understand all the 13. 1, 5. Ten Commandments taken in Tit. 3. 1. their full extent. 1 Pet. 2.

13, 14.

Mat. 5. 17, to the end. Rom. 13. 8, 9, 10. Eph. 6, 1, 2, 3. Jam. 2. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. Rom. 7. 25. Rom. 3. 31. Mat. 7. 12.

ARTICLE VIII.

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Of the three Creeds.

The three Creeds, Nice Creed, Athanasius Creed, and that which is commonly called the Apostles Creed, ought thoroughly to be received and believed; for they may be proved by most certain Warrants of holy Scripture.

ARTICLE IX.

Of Original or Birth Sin.

but it is the Fault and Corrup-

ARTICLE IX.

Of Original or Birth Sin. " Pfal. 51. Original Sin standeth not Original Sin standeth not in 5. Joh. 3. in the following of Adam (as the following of Adam, as the 5.6. the Pelagians do vainly talk) Pelagians do vainly talk w ; w Job 14 4. Job 15.

14. Rom. 6.6. Joh. 3. 3, 5, 7.

Articles revised. but, together with his first 2 Rom. 5. Sin imputed 2, it is the Fault 12 --- 19. and Corruption of the Nature Gen. 2. of every Man, that naturally 17. with is propagated from Adam 1 Cor. 15. whereby Man is wholly deprived of original Righteoufness , 2. 13. and is of his own Nature incli-Rom. 7. 18. Eccl. ned only to Evil 2. So that the Lust of the Flesh, called in 7. 29. Gen. 6. Greek proving oaguos, which c. Gen. fome do expound the Wifdom, 8. 21. Jer. some Sensuality, some the Af-17. 9fection, fome the defire of the Rom. 7. 8. Flesh, is not subject to the James 1. Law of God 2, and therefore 14. ª Rom. in every Person born into this 8. 7. 1 World it deserveth God's Cor. 2. 14. Col. 1. Wrath and Damnation b. And 21. b Eph, this infection of Nature doth 2. 3. Rom. remain, yea in them that are regenerate c, whereby the 8. 6, 7. e Prov. Flesh lusteth always contrary 20.9 to the Spirit d. And although Rom. 7. there is no Condemnation for 17, 20, them that are regenerate, and 23, 25. 4 Gal. 5. do believe, yet the Apostle doth confess, that Concupis-Rom, 8. cence and Lust is truly and properly Sin f. 1, 13. John 3. 13. f Rom. 8.17, 20.

Articles of the Ch. of England. tion of the Nature of every Man, that naturally is engendered of the Off-spring of Adam, whereby Man is very far gone from original Righteoufness, and is of his own Na-ture enclined to Evil, so that the Flesh lusteth always contrary to the Spirit, and therefore in every Person born into this World, it deserveth God's Wrath and Damnation. And this infection of Nature doth remain, yea in them that are regenerated, whereby the Luft' of the Flesh, called in Greek pedrapa oagues, which some do expound the Wisdom, some Senfuality, fome the Affection, fome the Defire of the Flesh, is not subject to the Law of And although there is God. no Condemnation for them that believe and are baptized, yet the Apostle doth confess that Concupifcence and Luft hath of itself the Nature of

ARTICLE X. Of Free Will.

The Condition of Man after the Fall of Adam is fuch, that he cannot turn or prepare himself, by his own natural Strength and good Works, to Eph. 2. Faith and Calling upon God ; wherefore we have no Power

ARTICLE X. Of Free Will.

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The Condition of Man after the Fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself, by his own natural Strength and good Works to Faith and Calling upon God. Wherefore we have no Power

ault and Corrup-

1,5 1 Cor. 2.

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14. Eph. 2. 8, 9, 10. John 6. 44, 65. 1.6 John 2 10 10 10 10

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to do good Works pleasant to do good Works pleasing and acceptable to God, with- and acceptable to God b, h Rom. & out the Grace of God by without the Grace of God by 8. Heb. Christ preventing us, that we Christ, both preventing us, 11.6. may have a Good-will, and that we may have a good Ezek. working with us, when we have that Good-will.

Will, and working fo effectuEzek. 36.
ally in us, as that it determineth our Will to that which is
good 1, and also working with
32. with us when we have that Will Heb. 8. unto good k.

Phil. 2.12.

13. John 6. 45. Eph. 1. 19, 20. 1 Cor. 4. 7. * Heb. 13. 21. Phil, 1, 6. Heb. 12, 22. 1 Pet. 5. 10. 1 Theff. 5. 23, 24. 1 Kings 8. 57, 58.

ARTICLE XI. Of the Justification of Man. Of the Justification of Man

We are accounted Righte-Ment of our Lord and Savi-Comfort, as more largely is expressed in the Homily of Justification.

ARTICLE XI. before God.

We are justified, that is, ous before God, only for the we are accounted Righteous before God, and have Remifour Jefus Christ, by Faith, sion of Sins , not for, nor by 1 Rom. 4. and not for our own Works our own Works or Deferv- 5, 6, 7. or Deservings. Wherefore, ings ", but freely by his Pfal. 32. that we are justified by Faith Grace, only for our Lord 1, 2. only is a most wholesome and Saviour Jesus Christ's Rom. 3. Doctrine, and very full of fake o, his whole Obedience 20. Gal. and Satisfaction being by God 2. 16. Gal. imputed unto us p, and Christ 3. 10, 11. with his Righteousness, being n Rom. 3. apprehended and rested on by 24. Tit. 3. Faith only 9. The Doctrine 7. of Justification by Faith only . Rom. 3. is an wholfome Doctrine, and 24, 25. very full of Comfort, not-Rom. 5. 1. withstanding God doth not 2 Cor. 5. torgive them that are impe- 18, 19. nitent, and go on still in their ? Rom. 5. Trespasses.

9, 17, 18, 19. Rom.

3, 25, 26. Rom 4. 6, 24. 2 Cor. 5. 21. 9 Rom. 3, 22, 25, 26, 28. Gal. 2. 16. Ifa. 28. 16. with Rom. 9. 33. and 1 Pet 2. 6. Phil. 3. 9. r 2 Tim. 1. 13. Rom. 5. 1, 2, 8, 11. Rom. 15, 13. 1Pet. 1. 8. · Pfal. 68. 20, 21. Exod. 34. 6, 7. Luke 13. 3. 5.

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Articles revised.

ARTICLE XII. Of Good Works.

Good Works, which are Gal. 5, the Fruits of Faith , and fol- which are the Fruits of Faith, 6. James low after Justification u, can-2. 17, 18. not put away our Sins w, and endure the Severity of God's and endure the Severity of Judgment; yet are they, not-God's Judgment, yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God.

7, 8. Eph 2. 8,9,10 ons x, in the Sight of God in Christ, and do spring out Rom. 3. pleafing and acceptable unto necessarily of a true and lively 20, 21, him in and for Christ y; and do Faith, in so much that by them Rom 4.4. spring out necessarily of a true a lively Faith may be as evi--9. Dan. and lively Faith , in fo much dently known as a Tree dif-9. 18, 19. that by them a lively Faith cerned by the Fruit. Neh. 13. may be evidently known, as 22. Pfal. a Tree discerned by the 143. 2. Fruits 2. Job 9. 14, bodillor of a alf

Articles of the Ch. of England.

ARTICLE XII. Of Good Works.

Albeit that good Works, and follow after Justification, cannot put away our Sins, and endure the Severity of

15, 19, 20. Exod. 28. 38. Rev. 8. 3, 4. 1 Pet. 2. 5. Heb. 13. 16, 20. 21. Col. 1. 10. Phil. 4. 18. 2 James 2. 16. 1 John 1. 4. 2 James 2. 18, 19. John 15. 4, 5. 1 John 2, 3, 5. Mat. 12, 33.

ARTICLE XIII.

Of Works before Justification. Of Works before Justification. .comoli Works done before Justification by Christ, and Rege- Grace of Christ, and the Inneration by his Spirit, are not spiration of his Spirit, are not Tit. 1. pleafing unto God b, for as pleafant to God, for as much 15, 16. much as they fpring not of as they fpring not of Faith Mat 7. 18. Faith in Jesus Christ c; nei- in Jesus Christ, neither do Rom. 8.8. ther do they make Men meet Prov. 15. to receive Grace, or (as the 8. 26. School Authors fay) deserve Prov. 21. Grace of Congruity 4; yea of Congruity; yea rather, for 27. Rom. Grace of Congruity ; yea of Congruity; yea rather, for rather, for that they are not that they are not done as God Heb. 11. done as God hath willed and hath willed and commanded 5, 6. Gal. commanded them to be done, them to be done, we doubt 5, 6. they are finful .

ARTICLE XIII.

Works done before the they make Men meet to receive Grace, or (as the School Authors fay) deferve Grace not but they have the Nature of Sin.

13. Rom. 8. 7, 8. Hag. 2. 14. Ifa. 58. 1-5. Ifa. 6 2. 3.

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Articles of the Ch. of England.

ARTICLE XIV.

Of the Works of Supererogation.

Voluntary Works besides, mandments, which they call Works of Supererogation, rogancy and Impiety. For by them Men do declare that they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for his fake than of bounden Duty is required; whereas Christ faith plainly, When ye have done all that are commanded to you, fay, We be unprofitable Servants.

Articles revised.

ARTICLE XIV.

Of Works of Superero-

gation. Voluntary Works, besides over and above God's Com- over and above God's Commandments, which they call Works of Supererogation, cannot be taught without Ar- cannot be taught without Arrogancy and Impiety f; for by f Mat. 5. them Men do declare that 48. Mar. they do not only render unto 12, 30,31. God as much as they are Phil. 4. bound to do; but that they 8, 9. do more for his fake than of 5 Job 9.2, bounden Duty is required ; 3, 20, 21.
whereas Christ saith plainly Pfal. 143. whereas Christ faith plainly, 2.Prov.20.

When you have done all 9. Phil. 3. " those Things that are com- 8-15. " manded you, fay, We are h Luke 17. " unprofitable Servants, we 10, with " have done that which was ver. 7,8,9. " our Duty to do ".

ARTICLE XV.

Of Christ alone without Sin. Christ in the Truth of our

Nature, was made like unto us in all things (Sin only except) from which he was clearly void, both in his Flesh and in his Spirit. He came to be a Lamb without fpot, who by Sacrifice of himfelf oncemade, should take away the Sins of the World; and Sin (as St. John faith) was not in him. But all we the rest (although bapand if we say we have no Sin, and " if we say we have no 19.

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ARTICLE XV.

Of Christ alone without Sin.

Christ in the Truth of our Nature was made like unto us in all Things, Sin only excep-ted, from which he was clear- 1 Ifa. 53. ly void both in his Flesh and in 3, 4, 5. his Spirit *: He came to be the Heb. 2. Lamb without spot 1, who by Heb. 5,15. Sacrifice of himfelt m once k Luke 1. made n, should take away the 35, with Sins of the World o; and Sin Acts 3.14. (as St. John saith) was not in John 14. him P. But all we the rest, al- 30. 2 Cor. tized, and born again in Christ) though baptized and regene- 5. 21.

yet offend in many Things; rate, yet offend in many things; Heb. 7. 26.

and if we say we have a 25 and if we say we have no 1 Pet. 1.

¹¹ John 3. 5.

[&]quot;Eph. 5. " Heb. 9. 26, 28. Heb. 10.10, 12. " John 1. 29.

Articles revised.

" Sin, we deceive ourselves, " and the Truth is not in us 9.

Voluntary Works, thetides

over and above Cod's Lon-

mandiments, which they call Works of Supereroration.

Articles of the Ch. of England. we deceive ourselves, and the Truth is not in us.

Administ White bender,

9 James 3. 2. 1 John 1. 8, 10.

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Charles Herle, Prolocutor. Henry Robrough, Scriba. Adoniram Byfield, Scriba.

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N. B. The Assembly proceeded no further in the Revisal

APPENDIX.

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H T What you have done of g. Pink 3. DIRECTORY

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PUBLICK WORSHIP of GOD,

Agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster; examined and approved, Anno 1645, by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; and ratified by Act of Parliament the same Year.

The PREFACE.

- IN the beginning of the bleffed Reformation, our wife and pious Ancestors took care to set forth an Order for
- redress of many things, which they then, by the Word, discovered to be Vain, Erroneous, Superstitious, and Ido-
- latrous, in the publick worship of God. This occasion
 - ed many godly and learned Men to rejoice much in the
 - Book of Common-Prayer, at that time let forth; because
 - the Mass, and the rest of the Latin Service being removed, the publick Worship was celebrated in our own
 - Tongue; many of the common People also received be
 - nefit by hearing the Scriptures read in their own Language,
 - which formerly were unto them as a Book that is fealed. · Howbeit,

Howbeit, long and fad experience hath made it manifeft, that the Liturgy used in the Church of England (notwithstanding all the Pains and religious Intentions of the Compilers of it) hath proved an offence, not only to ma-'ny of the godly at Home, but also to the reformed 'Churches abroad. For, not to speak of urging the reading of all the Prayers, which very greatly increased the Burden of it; the many unprofitable and burthensome ' Ceremonies contained in it, have occasioned much mis-' chief, as well by disquieting the Consciences of many godly Ministers and People, who could not yield unto them, as by depriving them of the Ordinances of God, ' which they might not enjoy without conforming or fub-' scribing to those Ceremonies. Sundry good Christian's have been, by means thereof, kept from the Lord's Table, and divers able and faithful Ministers debarred from the Exercise of their Ministry (to the endangering of ma-'ny thousand Souls, in a Time of such scarcity of faithful ' Pastors) and spoiled of their Livelihood, to the undoing of them and their Families. Prelates and their Faction 'have laboured to raise the estimation of it to such an 'height, as if there were no other Worship, or way of 'Worship of God amongst us, but only the Service-book; ' to the great hindrance of the preaching of the word, and (in some places, especially of late) to the justling of it 'out, as unnecessary; or (at best) as far inferior to the ' reading of Common-Prayer, which was made no better ' than an Idol by many ignorant and superstitious People, who pleasing themselves in their presence at that Service, and their Lip-labour in bearing a part in it, have thereby 'harden'd themselves in their Ignorance and Carelesness of ' faving Knowledge and true Piety.

'In the mean time, Papists boasted, that the Book was a compliance with them in a great part of their Service; and so were not a little confirmed in their Superstition and Idolatry, expecting rather our Return to them, than endeavouring the Reformation of themselves: In which expectation they were of late very much encouraged, when, upon the pretended warrantableness of imposing of the former Ceremonies, new ones were daily obtruded

upon the Church.

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Add hereunto (which was not foreseen, but since hath come to pass) that the Liturgy hath been a great means, as on the one hand to make and increase an idle and unedifying Ministry, which contented itself with set Forms made

to their hands by others, without putting forth themselves to exercise the gift of Prayer, with which our Lord Jesus Christ pleaseth to furnish all his Servants whom he calls to that Office: So on the other side, it hath been (and ever would be, if continued) a matter of endless Strife and Contention in the Church, and a Snare both to many godly and faithful Ministers, who have been persecuted and silenced upon that occasion, and to others of hopeful parts, many of which have been, and more still would be diverted from all Thoughts of the Ministry to other Studies; especially in these later Times, wherein God vouchsafeth to his People more and better means for the discovery of Error and Supersition, and for attaining of Knowledge in the Mysteries of Godlines, and Gifts in

Preaching and Prayer. Upon these, and many the like weighty considerations, in Reference to the whole Book in general, and because of divers Particulars contained in it; not from any Love to Novelty, or Intention to disparage our first Reformers (of whom we are perswaded, that, were they now alive, they would join with us in this Work, and whom we acknowledge as excellent Instruments raised by God, to begin the purging and building of his House, and defire they may be had of us and Posterity in everlasting Remembrance, with thankfulness and honour;) but that we may, in some Measure, answer the gracious providence of God, which at this time calleth upon us for further Reformation, and may fatisfy our own confciences, and answer the expectation of other reformed Churches, and the defires of many of the godly among ourselves, and withal give fome publick Testimony of our endeavours for Uniformity in divine Worship, which we have promised in our 'Solemn League and Covenant: We have, after earnest ' and frequent calling upon the Name of God, and after much confultation, not with Flesh and Blood, but with his holy Word, refolved to lay afide the former Liturgy, with the many Rites and Ceremonies formerly used in the "Worship of God; and have agreed upon this following Directory for all the parts of publick Worship, or ordianary and extraordinary Times.

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Wherein our care hath been, to hold forth fuch things
as are of divine Institution in every Ordinance; and other
things we have endeavoured to set forth according to the
Rules of Christian Prudence; agreeable to the general

Rules of the Word of God: Our meaning therein be-

ing only, that the general Heads, the Sense and Scope of the Prayers, and other parts of publick Worship, being known to all, there may be a consent of all the Churches, in those things that contain the substance of the Service and Worship of God; and the Ministers may be hereby directed in their Administrations, to keep like soundness in Doctrine and Prayer; and may, if need be, have some help and furniture; and yet so, as they become not hereby slothful and negligent in stirring up the Gifts of Christ in them; but, that each one, by Meditation, by taking heed to himself and the flock of God committed to him, and by wise observing the ways of divine Providence, may be careful to surnish his Heart and Tongue with surther, or other materials of Prayer and Exhortation, as shall be needful upon all Occasions.

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Of the Assembling of the Congregation, and their Behaviour in the publick Worship of God.

WHEN the Congregation is to meet for publick Worfhip, the people (having before prepared their Hearts thereunto) ought all to come, and join therein; not absenting themselves from the publick Ordinances through Negligence, or upon pretence of private Meetings.

Let all enter the Assembly, not irreverently, but in a grave and seemly manner, taking their Seats or Places without Adoration, or bowing themselves towards one Place or other

The Congregation being affembled, the Minister, after solemn calling on them to the worshipping of the great Name of God, is to begin with Prayer.

"In all Reverence and Humility acknowledging the incomprehensible Greatness and Majesty of the Lord (in
whose Presence they do then in a special manner appear)
and their own Vileness and Unworthiness to approach so
mear him, with their utter Inability of themselves to so
great a Work; and humbly beseeching him for Pardon,
Assistance and Acceptance in the whole Service then to
be performed; and for a Blessing on that particular Portion of his Word then to be read: And all in the Name
and Mediation of the Lord Jesus Christ."

The Publick Worship being begun, the People are wholto attend upon it, forbearing to read any thing, except
what the Minister is then reading or citing; and abstaining
much more from all private Whisperings, Conferences, SaVol. III.

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APPENDIX.

lutations, or doing Reverence to any Persons present, or coming in; as also from all gazing, sleeping, and other indecent behaviour, which may disturb the Minister or People, or hinder themselves or others in the Service of God.

It any, through Necessity, be hindered from being prefent at the beginning, they ought not, when they come into the Congregation, to betake themselves to their private Devotions, but reverently to compose themselves to join with the Assembly, in that Ordinance of God which is then in Hand.

Of publick Reading of the holy Scriptures.

Reading of the Word in the Congregation, being Part of the publick Worship of God, (wherein we acknowledge our dependance upon him, and subjection to him) and one means fanctified by him for the edifying of his People, is to be performed by the Pastors and Teachers.

Howbeit, such as intend the Ministry, may occasionally both read the Word, and exercise their Gift in Preaching in the Congregation, if allowed by the Presbytery thereunto.

All the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament (but none of those which are commonly called Apocrypha) shall be publickly read in the vulgar Tongue, out of the best allowed Translation, distinctly, that all may hear and understand.

How large a Portion shall be read at once, is left to the Wisdom of the Minister; but it is convenient, that ordinarily one Chapter of each Testament be read at every Meeting; and sometimes more, where the Chapters be short, or the coherence of Matter requireth it.

It is requisite that all the Canonical Books be read over in Order, that the People may be better acquainted with the whole Body of the Scriptures; and ordinarily, where the reading in either Testament endeth on one Lord's Day, it is to begin the next.

We commend also the more frequent Reading of such Scriptures, as he that readeth shall think best for edification of his Hearers, as the Book of Psalms, and such like.

. When the Minister, who readeth, shall judge it necessary to expound any part of what is read, let it not be done until the whole Chapter or Pfalm be ended; and regard is always to be had unto the time, that neither Preaching,

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nor other Ordinance, be straitned, or render'd tedious. Which Rule is to be observed in all other publick Performances.

Beside publick reading of the holy Scriptures, every Perfon that can read, is to be exhorted to read the Scriptures privately, (and all others that cannot read, if not disabled by Age, or otherwise, are likewise to be exhorted to learn to read) and to have a Bible.

Of publick Prayer before the Sermon.

A Fter reading of the Word (and finging of the Psalm) the Minister who is to preach, is to endeavour to get his own, and his Hearers Hearts to be rightly affected with their Sins, that they may all mourn in Sense thereof before the Lord, and hunger and thirst after the Grace of God in Jesus Christ, by proceeding to a more full confession of Sin, with Shame and holy confusion of Face, and to call upon the Lord to this Effect:

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" To acknowledge our great Sinfulness, First, by Rea-" fon of original Sin, which (befide the guilt that makes us " liable to everlafting Damnation) is the Seed of all other "Sins, hath depraved and poisoned all the Faculties and " Powers of Soul and Body, doth defile our best Actions, " and (were it not restrained, or our Hearts renewed by " Grace) would break forth into innumerable Transgressi-" ons, and greatest Rebellions against the Lord, that ever " were committed by the vilest of the Sons of Men. " next, by reason of actual Sins, our own Sins, the Sins " of Magistrates, of Ministers, and of the whole Nation, " unto which we are many ways accessory: Which Sins of " ours receive many fearful Aggravations, we having bro-" ken all the Commandments of the holy, just, and good "Law of God, doing that which is forbidden, and leav-"ing undone what is enjoined; and that not only out of " Ignorance and Infirmity, but also more presumptuously, " against the Light of our Minds, Checks of our Consci-"ences, and Motions of his own holy Spirit to the con-" trary, fo that we have no Cloke for our Sins; yea, not "only despising the Riches of God's Goodness, Forbearance, and Long-suffering, but standing out against many "Invitations and Offers of Grace in the Gospel; not endeavouring, as we ought, to receive Christ into our Hearts by Faith, or to walk worthy of him in our " Lives.

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APPENDIX.

"To bewail our blindness of Mind, hardness of Heart, "Unbelief, Impenitency, Security, Lukewarmness, Bar"renness; our not endeavouring after Mortification and
Newness of Life; nor after the exercise of Godliness in
the Power thereof: And that the best of us have not so
fedfastly walked with God, kept our Garments so unfpotted, nor been so zealous of his Glory, and the good
of others, as we ought: And to mourn over such other
Sins, as the Congregation is particularly guilty of, notwithstanding the manifold and great Mercies of our God,
the Love of Christ, the Light of the Gospel, and Reformation of Religion, our own Purposes, Promises,
Vows, solemn Covenant, and other special Obligations
to the contrary.

"To acknowledge and confess, that, as we are convinced of our guilt, so, out of a deep Sense thereof, we judge ourselves unworthy of the smallest Benefits, most worthy of God's siercest Wrath, and of all the Curses of the Law, and heaviest judgments inslicted upon the most rebellious Sinners; and that he might most justly take his Kingdom and Gospel from us, plague us with all forts of spiritual and temporal Judgments in this Life, and after cast us into utter Darkness, in the Lake that burneth with Fire and Brimstone, where is Weeping and

" Gnashing of Teeth for evermore.

"Notwithstanding all which, to draw near to the Throne of Grace, encouraging ourselves with hope of a gracious answer, of our Prayers, in the Riches and All-sufficiency of that only one Oblation, the Satisfaction and Intercession of the Lord Jesus Christ, at the right Hand of his Father and our Father; and, in Confidence of the exceeding great and precious Promises of Mercy and Grace in the New Covenant, through the same Mediator thereof, to deprecate the heavy Wrath and Curse of God, which we are not able to avoid, or bear; and humbly and earnessly to supplicate for Mercy in the free and full Remission of all our Sins, and that only for the bitter Sufferings and precious Merits of that our only Saviour Jesus Christ.

"That the Lord would vouchfafe to shed abroad his
"Love in our Hearts by the Holy Ghost; seal unto us,
"by the same Spirit of Adoption, the full Assurance of our
"Pardon and Reconciliation; comfort all that mourn in
"Zion, speak Peace to the wounded and troubled Spirit,
and bind up the Broken-hearted: And as for secure and

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"presumptuous Sinners, that he would open their Eyes, convince their Consciences, and turn them from Darkness unto Light, and from the Power of Satan unto
God, that they also may receive forgiveness of Sin, and
an Inheritance among them that are sanctified by Faith

" in Christ Jesus.

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"With Remission of Sins through the Blood of Christ, to pray for Sanctification by his Spirit; the Mortification on of Sin dwelling in, and many times tyrannizing over us; the quickning of our dead Spirits, with the Life of God in Christ; Grace to fit and enable us for all Duties of Conversation and Callings towards God and Men; Strength against Temptations, the sanctified use of Blessings and Crosses, and Perseverance in Faith and

" Obedience unto the End.

"To pray for the Propagation of the Gospel and Kingdom of Christ to all Nations, for the Conversion of the Jews, the Fulness of the Gentiles, the Fall of Antichritt, and the hastening of the second coming of our Lord; " for the Deliverance of the distressed Churches abroad " from the Tyranny of the Antichristian Faction, and " from the cruel Oppressions and Blasphemies of the "Turk; for the bleffing of God upon all the Reformed "Churches, especially upon the Churches and Kingdoms " of Scotland, England, and Ireland, now more strictly " and religiously united in the Solemn National League and "Covenant; and for our Plantations in the remote parts " of the World: More particularly for that Church and "Kingdom whereof we are Members, that therein God " would establish Peace and Truth, the Purity of all his "Ordinances, and the power of Godliness; prevent and " remove Herefy, Schism, Profaneness, Superstition, Se-" curity, and Unfruitfulness under the Means of Grace; "heal all our Rents and Divisions, and preserve us from " the Breach of our Solemn Covenant.

"Majesty, that God would make him rich in Blessings, both in his Person and Government; establish his Throne in Religion and Righteousness, save him from evil Counsel, and make him a blessed and glorious Instrument, for the Conversation and Propagation of the Gospel, for the Encouragement and Protection of them that do well, the Terror of all that do Evil, and the great Good of the whole Church, and of all his Kingdoms; for the Conversion of the Queen, the religious Education of the

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" Prince, and the rest of the Royal Seed; for the Comor forting the afflicted Queen of Bohemia, Sifter to our Sovereign; and for the Restitution and Establishment of " the illustrious Prince Charles, Elector Palatine of the "Rhine, to all his Dominions and Dignities; for a Blef-" fing upon the High Court of Parliament (when fitting in " any of these Kingdoms respectively) the Nobility, the " subordinate Judges and Magistrates, the Gentry, and " all the Commonalty; for all Pastors and Teachers, that "God would fill them with his Spirit, make them exem-" plarily Holy, Sober, Just, Peaceable and Gracious in their Lives; Sound, Faithful, and Powerful in their " Ministry; and follow all their Labours with abundance of Success and Bleffings; and give unto all his "People Pastors according to his own Heart; for the "Universities, and all Schools and Religious Semina-" ries of Church and Commonwealth, that they may flou-" rish more and more in Learning and Piety; for the par-" ticular City or Congregation, that God would pour out " a Bleffing upon the Ministry of the Word, Sacraments and Discipline, upon the Civil Government, and all the " feveral Families and Persons therein; for Mercy to the 66 Afflicted, under any inward or outward Diffress; for " seasonable Weather, and fruitful Seasons, as the Time may require; for averting the Judgment that we either " feel or fear, or are liable unto, as Famine, Pestilence, " the Sword, and fuch like.

"And, with Confidence of his Mercy to his whole Church, and the acceptance of our Persons, through the Merits and Mediation of our High Priest the Lord Jesus, to profess that it is the desire of our Souls to have Fellowship with God, in the reverend and conscionable Use of his holy Ordinances; and, to that purpose, to pray earnestly for his Grace, and effectual Assistance to the Sanctification of his holy Sabbath, the Lord's Day, in all the Duties thereof, publick and private, both to ourselves and to all other Congregations of his People, ac-

" cording to the Riches and Excellency of the Gospel, this Day celebrated and enjoyed.

"And, because we have been unprofitable Hearers in Times past, and now cannot of ourselves receive, as we fhould the deep things of God, the Mysteries of Jesus Christ, which require a spiritual Discerning; to pray, that the Lord who teacheth to profit, would graciously please to pour out the Spirit of Grace, together with the

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"outward Means thereof, causing us to attain such a measuch fure of the Excellency of the Knowledge of Christ Jesus
our Lord, and, in him, of the things which belong to
our Peace, that we may account all things but as Dross
in Comparison of him: And that we tasting the first
Fruits of the Glory that is to be revealed, may long for
a more full and perfect Communion with him, that
where he is, we may be also, and enjoy the sulness of
those Joys and Pleasures which are at his Right Hand for
evermore.

" More particularly, that God would in special Manner " furnish his Servant (now called to dispense the Bread of "Life unto his Houshold) with Wisdom, Fidelity, Zeal, " and Utterance, that he may divide the Word of God " aright, to every one his Portion, in Evidence and De-" monstration of the Spirit and Power; and that the Lord " would circumcife the Ears and Hearts of the Hearers, to " hear, love and receive with Meekness the ingrafted Word, " which is able to fave their Souls; make them as good "Ground to receive in the good Seed of the Word, and " strengthen them against the Temptations of Satan, the " Cares of the World, the hardness of their own Hearts, " and whatfoever else may hinder their profitable and fav-" ing hearing; that so Christ may be so formed in them, " and live in them, that all their Thoughts may be " brought into Captivity to the Obedience of Christ, and " their Hearts established in every good Word and Work " for ever."

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We judge this to be a convenient Order, in the ordinary publick Prayers; yet so, as the Minister may defer (as in prudence he shall think meet) some part of these Petitions, till after his Sermon, or offer up to God some of the Thanksgivings hereafter appointed, in his Prayer before his Sermon.

Of the Preaching of the Word.

PReaching of the Word being the Power of God unto Salvation, and one of the greatest and most excellent Works belonging to the Minstry of the Gospel, should be so performed, that the Workman need not be ashamed, but may save himself and those that hear him.

It is presupposed (according to the Rules for Ordination) that the Minister of Christ is in some good measure gisted for so weighty a Service, by his skill in the original Languages, and in such Arts and Sciences as are Handmaids

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unto Divinity; by his Knowledge in the whole Body of Theology, but most of all in the holy Scriptures, having his Senses and Heart exercised in them above the common Sort of Believers; and by the illumination of God's Spirit, and other Gifts of Edification, which (together with Reading and Studying of the Word) he ought still to seek by prayer, and an humble Heart, resolving to admit and receive any truth not yet attained, whenever God shall make it known unto him. All which he is to make use of, and improve, in his private Preparations, before he deliver in publick what he hath provided.

Ordinarily, the Subject of his Sermon is to be some Text of Scripture, holding forth some Principle or Head of Religion, or suitable to some special Occasion emergent; or he may go on in some Chapter, Psalm, or Book of the holy

Scripture, as he shall see fit.

Let the Introduction to his Text be brief and perspicuous, drawn from the Text itself, or Context, or some pa-

rallel place, or general Sentence of Scripture.

If the Text be long (as in Histories and Parables it sometimes must be) let him give a brief Sum of it; if short, a Paraphrase thereof, if need be: In both, looking diligently to the Scope of the Text, and pointing at the chief Heads and Grounds of Doctrine, which he is to raise from it.

In analysing and dividing his Text, he is to regard more the Order of Matter, than of Words; and neither to burden the Memory of the Hearers in the Beginning with too many Members of Division, not to trouble their Minds with

obscure Terms of Art.

In raising Doctrines from the Text, his Care ought to be First, That the Matter be the Truth of God. Secondly, That it be a Truth contained in, or grounded on that Text, that the Hearers may discern how God teacheth it from thence. Thirdly, That he chiefly insist upon those Doctrines which are principally intended, and make most for the Edification of the Hearers.

The Doctrine is to be expressed in plain Terms; or, if any thing in it need Explication, is to be opened, and the Consequence also from the Text cleared. The parallel places of Scripture confirming the Doctrine are rather to be plain and pertinent, than many, and (if need be) somewhat insisted upon, and applied to the purpose in hand.

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The Arguments or Reasons are to be solid; and, as much as may be, convincing. The Illustrations, of what kind soever, ought to be full of Light, and such as may convey the Truth into the Hearer's Heart with spiritual

Delight.

If any Doubt, obvious from Scripture, Reason, or Prejudice of the Hearers, seem to arise, it is very requisite to remove it, by reconciling the seeming Differences, answering the Reasons, and discovering and taking away the Causes of Prejudice and Mistake. Otherwise, it is not fit to detain the Hearers with propounding or answering vain or wicked Cavils, which as they are endless, so the propounding and answering of them doth more hinder than

promote Edification.

He is not to rest in general Doctrine, although never so much cleared and confirmed, but to bring it home to special Use, by Application to his Hearers; which albeit it prove a Work of great Difficulty to himself, requiring much Prudence, Zeal, and Meditation, and to the natural and corrupt Man will be very unpleasant; yet he is to endeavour to perform it in such a manner, that his Auditors may seel the Word of God to be quick and powerful, and a Discerner of the Thoughts and Intents of the Heart; and that if any Unbeliever or ignorant Person be present, he may have the Secrets of his Heart made manifest, and give Glory to God.

In the use of Instruction or Information in the Knowledge of some Truth, which is a Consequence from his Doctrine, he may (when convenient) confirm it by a few firm Arguments from the Text in hand, and other Places of Scripture, or from the Nature of that Common-Place in

Divinity, whereof that Truth is a Branch.

In Confutation of false Doctrines, he is neither to raise an old Herefy from the Grave, nor to mention a blasphemous Opinion unnecessarily: But if the People be in danger of an Error, he is to confute it foundly, and endeatour to satisfy their Judgments and Consciences against all Objections.

In exhorting to Duties, he is, as he feeth Cause, to teach also the Means that help to the Performance of

them.

In Dehortation, Reprehension, and publick Admonition which require special Wisdom) let him, as there shall be cause, not only discover the nature and greatness of the sin, with the Misery attending it, but also shew the Dan-

ger his Hearers are in to be overtaken and surprized by it, together with the Remedies and best Way to avoid it.

In applying Comfort, whether general against all Temptations, or particular against some special Troubles or Terrors, he is carefully to answer such Objections, as a troubled Heart and afflicted Spirit may suggest to the contrary.

It is also sometimes requisite to give some Notes of trial (which is very profitable, especially when performed by able and experienced Ministers, with Circumspection and Prudence, and the Signs clearly grounded on the holy Scripture) whereby the Hearers may be able to examine themselves, whether they have attained those Graces, and performed those Duties to which he exhorteth, or be guilty of the Sin reprehended, and in danger of the Judgments threatened, or are such to whom the Consolations propounded do belong; that accordingly they may be quicken'd and excited to Duty, humbled for their Wants and Sins, affected with their Danger, and strengthned with Comfort, as their Condition upon Examination shall require.

And, as he needeth not always to profecute every Doctrine which lies in his Text, so he is wifely to make Choice of such Uses, as by his Residence and conversing with his Flock, he findeth most needful and seasonable; and, amongst these, such as may most draw the Souls to Christ, the Fountain of Light Holiness and Comfort.

This Method is not prescribed as necessary for every Man, or upon every Text; but only recommended, as being found by Experience to be very much blessed of God, and very helpful for the Peoples Understandings and Memories.

But the Servant of Christ, whatever his method be is to perform his whole Ministry,

1. Painfully, not doing the Work of the Lord negli-

2. Plainly, that the meanest may understand, delivering the Truth, not in the enticing Words of Man's Wisdom, but in Demonstration of the Spirit and of Power, lest the Cross of Christ should be made of none Effect; abstaining also from an unprofitable Use of unknown Tongues, strange Phrases, and Cadences of Sounds and Words, sparingly citing Sentences of Ecclesiastical, or other human Writers, Ancient or Modern, be they never so elegant.

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3. Faithfully, looking at the Honour of Christ, the Conversion, Edification and Salvation of the People, not at his own Gain, or Glory, keeping nothing back which may promote those holy Ends, giving to every one his own Portion, and bearing indifferent Respect unto all, without neglecting the Meanest, or sparing the Greatest in their Sins.

4. Wisely, framing all his Doctrines, Exhortations, and especially his Reproofs, in such a manner as may be most likely to prevail, shewing all due Respect to each Man's Person and Place, and not mixing his own Passion or Bit-

terness.

5. Gravely, as becometh the Word of God, shunning all such Gesture, Voice and Expressions, as may occasion the Corruptions of Men to despise him and his Ministry.

6. With loving Affection, that the People may fee all coming from his godly Zeal, and hearty Defire to do them

good. And.

7. As taught of God, and perfuaded in his own heart, that all that he teacheth is the Truth of Christ; and walking before his Flock, as an Example to them in it; earnestly, both in private and publick, recommending his Labours to the Blessing of God, and watchfully looking to himself and the Flock, whereof the Lord hath made him Overfeer: So shall the Doctrine of Truth be preserved uncortupt, many Souls converted and built up, and himself receive manifold Comforts of his Labours, even in this Life, and afterward the Crown of Glory laid up for him in the World to come.

Where there are more Ministers in a Congregation than one, and they of different Gifts, each may more especially apply himself to Doctrine or Exhortation, according to the Gift wherein he most excelleth, and as they shall agree be-

tween themfelves.

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Of Prayer after Sermon.

THE Sermon being ended, the Minister is, "To give
"Thanks for the great Love of God, in sending his
"Son Jesus Christ unto us; for the Communication of his
"Holy Spirit; for the Light and Liberty of the glorious
"Gospel, and the rich and heavenly Blessings revealed
"therein; as namely, Election, Vocation, Adoption, Justification, Sanctification, and hope of Glory; for the
"admirable Goodness of God, in freeing the Land from
"Antichristian Darkness and Tyranny, and for all other
"National

"National Deliverances; for the Reformation of Religion; for the Covenant; and for many Temporal Blef.

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fings.

"To pray for the Continuance of the Gospel, and all "Ordinances thereof, in their Purity, Power and Liber-

ty: To turn the chief and most useful Heads of the Ser-

" abide in the Heart and bring forth Fruit.

"To pray for Preparation for Death and Judgment, and a Watching for the Coming of our Lord Jesus "Christ: To entreat of God the Forgiveness of the Ini-

" quities of our holy Things, and the Acceptation of our fpiritual Sacrifice, through the Merit and Mediation of our great High Priest and Saviour the Lord Jesus

man wights of name

" Chrift."

And because the Prayer which Christ taught his Disciples; is not only a Pattern of Prayer, but itself a most comprehensive Prayer, we recommend it also to be used in the

Prayers of the Church.

And whereas, at the Administration of the Sacraments, the holding Publick Fasts, and Days of Thanksgiving, and other special occasions, which may afford Matter of special Petitions and Thanksgivings, it is requisite to express somewhat in our publick Prayers (as at this Time, it is our Duty to pray for a Blessing upon the Assembly of Divines, the Armies by Sea and Land, for the Desence of the King, Parliament and Kingdom;) Every Minister is herein to apply himself in his Prayer, before or after Sermon, to those Occasions; but for the Manner, he is left to his Liberty, as God shall direct and enable him, in Piety and Wisdom to discharge his Duty.

The Prayer ended, let a Plalm be fung, if with Conveniency it may be done. After which (unless some other Ordinance of Christ, that concerneth the Congregation at that Time, be to follow) let the Minister dismiss the Con-

gregation with a folemn Bleffing.

The Administration of the Sacraments.

And first, Of Baptism.

BAptism, as it is not unnecessarily to be delayed, so it is not to be administer'd in any Case by any private Person, but by a Minister of Christ, called to be the Steward of the Mysteries of God.

Nor is it to be administer'd in private Places, or privately, but in the place of Publick Worship, and in the Face of the Congregation, where the People may most conveniently see and hear, and not in the places where Fonts, in the Time of Popery, were unfitly and superstitiously placed.

The Child to be baptized, after Notice given to the Minister the Day before, is to be presented by the Father, or (in case of his necessary Absence) by some Christian Friend in his Place, professing his earnest Desire that the Child may

be baptized.

Before Baptism the Minister is to use some Words of Instruction, touching, the Institution, Nature, Use, and Ends

of this Sacrament: Shewing,

"That it is instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ; that it " is a Seal of the Covenant of Grace, of our ingrafting " into Christ, and of our Union with him, of Remission " of Sins, Regeneration, Adoption, and Life eternal. "That the Water in Baptism representeth and signifieth, " both the Blood of Christ, which taketh away all Guilt of " Sin, original and actual; and the fanctifying Vertue of " the Spirit of Christ against the Dominion of Sin, and the "Corruption of our finful Nature: That Baptizing, or "Sprinkling and Washing with Water, signifieth the "Cleanfing from Sin by the Blood, and for the Merit of "Christ, together with the Mortification of Sin, and Ri-" fing from Sin to Newness of Life, by vertue of the " Death and Resurrection of Christ: That the Promise is " made to Believers and their Seed; and that the Seed " and Posterity of the Faithful, born within the Church, " have, by their Birth, Interest in the Covenant, and Right " to the Seal of it, and to the outward Privileges of the " Church, under the Gospel, no less than the Children of " Abraham in the time of the Old Testament; the Cove-" nant of Grace, for Substance, being the same; and the "Grace of God, and the Confolation of Believers, more plentiful than before: That the Son of God admitted "little Children into his Presence, embracing and blessing them, saying, "For of such is the Kingdom of God:" "That Children, by Baptism, are solemnly received into " the Bosom of the visible Church, distinguished from the "World, and them that are without, and united with " Believers; and that all who are baptized in the name " of Christ, do renounce, and, by their Baptism, are "bound to fight against the Devil, the World, " the Flesh: That they are Christians, and fæderally holy ~ before

APPENDIX.

" before Baptism, and therefore are they baptized: That
" the inward Grace and Vertue of Baptism, is not tied
" to that very Moment of Time wherein it is administer" ed, and that the Fruit and Power thereof reacheth to
" the whole Course of our Life; and that outward Bap" tism is not so necessary, that thro' the want thereof the
" Infant is in danger of Damnation, or the Parents guilty,
" if they do not contemn nor neglect the Ordinance of
" Christ, when and where it may be had."

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In these, or the like Instructions, the Minister is to use his own Liberty and godly Wisdom, as the Ignorance or Errors in the Doctrine of Baptism, and the Edification of the People shall require.

He is also to admonish all that are present,

"To look back to their Baptism; to repent of their "Sins against their Covenant with God; to stir up their "Faith; to improve and make the right Use of their Bap-"tism, and of the Covenant sealed thereby betwixt God and their Souls."

He is to exhort the Parent,

"To consider the great Mercy of God to him and his Child; to bring up the Child in the Knowledge of the "Grounds of the Christian Religion, and in the Nurture and Admonition of the Lord; and to let them know the Dan-

" ger of God's Wrath to himself and Child, if he be negligent; requiring his solemn Promise for the Performance

" of his Duty."

This being done, Prayer is also to be joined with the Word of Institution, for sanctifying the Water to this spiritual Use; and the Minister is to pray to this or the like Effect.

"That the Lord, who hath not left us as Strangers without the Covenant of Promise, but called us to the Privileges of his Ordinances, would graciously vouchfase to sanctify and bless his own Ordinance of Baptism at this Time: That he would join the inward Baptism of his Spirit with the outward Baptism of Water; make this Baptism to the Infant a Seal of Adoption, Remission of Sin, Regeneration, and eternal Life, and all other Promises of the Covenant of Grace: That the

** Child may be planted into the Likness of the Death and
** Resurrection of Christ; and that the Body of Sin being
** destroyed

" destroyed in him, he may serve God in Newness of Life

" all his Days."

Then the Minister is to demand the Name of the Child, which being told him, he is to say (calling the Child by his Name.)

I baptize thee in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

As he pronounceth these Words he is to baptize the Child with Water; which, for the manner of doing it, is not only lawful but sufficient, and most expedient to be, by pouring or sprinkling of the Water on the Face of the Child, without adding any other Ceremony.

This done, he is to give thanks, and pray to this or the

like purpose;

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"Acknowledging with all Thankfulness, that the Lord is "True and Faithful in keeping Covenant and Mercy; that he is Good and Gracious, not only in that he numbereth us among his Saints, but is pleased also to bestow upon our Children this singular Token and Badge of his Love in Christ: That, in his Truth and special Providence, he daily bringeth some into the Bosom of his Church, to be Partakers of his inestimable Benefits, purchased by the Blood of his dear Son, for the Continuance and Increase of his Church.

" And praying, That the Lord would still continue, and " daily confirm more and more this his unspeakable Fa-" your: That he would receive the Infant, now baptized, " and folemnly entered into the Houshold of Faith, into his " Fatherly Tuition and Defence, and remember him with " the Favour that he sheweth to his People: That, if he " shall be taken out of this Life in his Infancy, the Lord, " who is rich in Mercy, would be pleased to receive him "up into Glory; and if he live, and attain the Years of "Discretion, that the Lord would so teach him by his "Word and Spirit, and make his Baptism effectual to him, " and so uphold him by his Divine Power and Grace. "that by Faith he may prevail against the Devil, the "World, and the Flesh, till in the End he obtain a full " and final Victory, and so be kept by the Power of God " through Faith unto Salvation, through Jesus Christ our " Lord."

Of the Celebration of the Communion, or Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

THE Communion, or Supper of the Lord, is frequently to be celebated: But how often, may be considered, and determined by the Ministers, and other Church-Governor of each Congregation, as they shall find most convenient for the Comfort and and Edification of the People committed to their Charge. And when it shall be administered, we judge it convenient to be done after the Morning Sermon.

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The Ignorant and Scandalous are not fit to receive this

Sacrment of the Lord's Supper.

Where this Sacramant cannot with Convenience be frequently administer'd, it is requisite that publick Warning be given the Sabbath Day before the Administration thereof: And that either then, or on some Day of that Week, something concerning the Ordinance, and the due Preparation thereunto, and Participation thereof, be taught; that, by the diligent use of all Means sanctified of God to that End, both in publick and private, all may come better prepared to that heavenly Feast.

When the day is come for Administration, the Minister, having ended his Sermon and Prayer, shall make a short Ex-

hortation .

"Expressing the inestimable Benefit we have by this Sacrament; together with the Ends and Use thereof: Setting forth the great Necessity of having our Comforts and
Strength renewed thereby, in this our Pilgrimage and

Warfare: How necessary it is, that we come unto it with Knowledge, Faith, Repentance, Love, and with

" hungring and thirsting Souls after Christ and his Benetifts: How great the Danger to eat and drink unwor-

" thily.

"Next, he is, in the Name of Christ, on the one Part, to warn all fuch as are Ignorant, Scandalous, Profane, or that live in any Sin or Offence against their Know-

" ledge or Conscience, that they presume not to come to that holy Table; shewing them, That he that Eateth

" and Drinketh Unworthily, Eateth and Drinketh Judgment unto himself: And on the other part, he is in

" especial Manner to invite and encourage all that labour under the Sense of the Burden of their Sins, and Fear of

Wrath, and defire to reach out unto a greater Pro-

" gress in Grace than yet they can attain unto, to come to the Lord's Table; assuring them, in the same Name, of Ease, Refreshing, and Strength, to their weak and weat ried Souls."

After this Exhortation, Warning, and Invitation, the Table being before decently covered, and so conveniently placed, that the Communicants may orderly sit about it, or at it, the Minister is to begin the Action with sanctifying and blessing the Elements of Bread and Wine set before him (the Bread in comely and convenient Vessels, so prepared, that being broken by him, and given, it may be distributed among the Communicants: The Wine also in large Cups;) having first in a few Words shewed, That those Elements, otherwise common, are now set apart and sanctified to this holy Use, by the Word of Institution and Prayer.

Let the Words of Institution be read out of the Evangelists, or out of the first Epistle of the Apostle Paul to the Corinthians, Chap. xi. verse 23. "I have received of the "Lord, &c." to the 27th Verse, which the Minister may,

when he feeth requifite, explain and apply.

Let the Prayer, Thanksgiving, or Blessing of the Bread and Wine, be to this Effect;

W I T H humble and hearty acknowledgment of the Greatness of our Misery, from which neither Man nor Angel was able to deliver us, and of our great Unworthiness of the least of all God's Mercies; to give Thanks to God for all his Benefits, and especially for that great Benefit of our Redemption, the Love of God the Father, the Sufferings and Merits of the Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, by which we are delivered; and for all Means of Grace, the Word and Sacraments; and for this Sacrament in particular, by which Christ, and all his Benefits, are applied and sealed up unto us, which, notwithstanding the denial of them unto others, are in great Mercy continued unto us, after so much and long abuse of them all.

" abuse of them all.
" To profess, that there is no other Name under Hea" ven by which we can be saved, but the Name of Jesus

"Christ, by whom alone we receive Liberty and Life, have Access to the Throne of Grace, are admitted to eat and drink at his own Table, and are fealed up by his Spirit to an Affurance of Happiness and everlasting

" Life.

Vol. III.

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APPENDIX.

"Earnestly to pray to God, the Father of all Mercies, and God of all Consolation, to vouchsafe his gracious Presence, and the effectual Working of his Spirit in us.

" and so to sanctify these Elements, both of Bread and "Wine, and to bless his own Ordinance, that we may

" receive, by Faith, the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ crucified for us, and so to feed upon him, that he may

be one with us, and we with him; that he may live in us, and we in him, and to him, who hath loved us, and

" given himself for us."

All which he is to endeavour to perform with suitable Affections, answerable to such an holy Action, and to stir up the like in the People.

The Elements being now fanctified by the Word and Prayer, the Minister, being at the Table, is to take the Bread in his Hand, and say, in these Expressions (or other the like, used by Christ, or his Apostle upon this Occasion:)

"According to the holy Institution, Command, and Example of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, I take this

"Bread, and having given Thanks, I break it, and give it unto you (There the Minister, who is also himself to

" communicate, is to break the Bread and give it to the Communicants:) Take ye, eat ye; This is the Body of

"Christ which is broken for you; Do this in Remembrance

" of him."

In like manner the Minister is to take the Cup, and say, in these Expressions (or other the like, used by Christ, or the Apostle, upon the same Occasion;)

"According to the Institution, Command, and Exam"ple of our Lord Jesus Christ, I take this Cup, and give

" it unto you (Here he giveth it to the Communicants)
"This Cup is the New Testament in the Blood of Christ,

which is shed for the Remission of the Sins of many;

" Drink ye all of it."

After all have communicated, the Minister may, in a few

Words, put them in mind,

" Of the Grace of God, in Jesus Christ, held forth in this Sacrament; and exhort them to walk worthy

The Minister is to give solemn Thanks to God,

" For his rich Mercy, and invaluable Goodness vouch" fased to them in that Sacrament; and to entreat for Par-

don for the Defects of the whole Service, and for the

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" gracious Affistance of his good Spirit, whereby they may
be enabled to walk in the Strength of that Grace, as becometh those who have received so great Pledges of Salvation."

The Collection for the poor is so to be ordered that no part of the Publick Worship be thereby hindered.

Of the Sanctification of the Lord's Day.

THE Lord's Day ought to be so remembered beforehand, as that all worldly Business of our ordinary Callings may be so ordered, and so timely and seasonably laid aside, as they may not be Impediments to the due Sanctifying of

the Day when it comes.

The whole Day is to be celebrated as Holy to the Lord, both in publick and private, as being the Christian Sabbath. To which end, it is requisite that there be a holy Cessation, or resting all the day, from all unnecessary Labours; and an Abstaining, not only from all Sports and Pastimes, but also from all worldly Words and Thoughts.

That the Diet on that Day be so ordered, as that neither servants be unnecessarily detained from the Publick Worhip of God, nor any other Persons hindered from the sanc-

tifying that Day.

That there be private Preparation of every Person and Family, by Prayer for themselves, and for God's Affistance of the Minister, and for a Blessing upon his Ministry; and by such other holy Exercises, as may further dispose them to amore comfortable Communion with God in his Publick Ordinances,

That all the People meet so timely for Publick Worhip, that the whole Congregation may be present at the Beginning, and with one Heart solemnly join together in all Parts of the Publick Worship, and not depart till after the

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That what Time is vacant, between, or after the foleman Meetings of the Congregation in Publick, be spent in Reading, Meditation, Repetition of Sermons; (especially by alling their Families to an Account of what they have teard) and Catechizing of them, holy Conferences, Praysfor a Blessing upon the Publick Ordinances, Singing of Palms, Visiting the Sick, relieving the Poor, and such like Duties of Piety, Charity and Mercy, accounting the Sabath a Delight.

The Solemnization of Marriage.

Lthough Marriage be no Sacrament, nor peculiar to A the Church of God, but common to Mankind, and of Publick Interest in every Commonwealth; yet, because fuch as marry are to marry in the Lord, and have special need of Instruction, Direction, and Exhortation, from the Word of God, at their entering into fuch a new Condition; and of the Bleffing of God upon them therein; we judge it expedient, that Marriage be folempized by a lawful Minister of the Word, that he may accordingly counsel them and pray for a Bleffing upon them.

Marriage is to be betwixt one Man and one Woman only; and they, such as are not within the Degrees of Confanguinity or Affinity prohibited by the Word of God; and the Parties are to be of years of Discretion, fit to make their own Choice, or, upon good Grounds, to give their mutual

Before the Solemnizing of Marriage between any Perfons, their Purpose of Marriage shall be published by the Minister, three feveral Sabbath days, in the Congregation at the Place or Places of their most usual and constant Abode respec-And of this Publication, the Minister who is to join them in Marriage, shall have sufficient Testimony, before he proceed to solemnize the Marriage.

Before that Publication of fuch their Purpose (if the Parties be under Age) the Confent of the Parents, or others under whose Power they are (in case the Parents be dead) is to be made known to the Church Officers of that Congre-

gation, to be recorded.

The like is to be observed in the Proceedings of all others, although of Age, whose Parents are living, for their first Marriage. And in after Marriages of either of those Parties, they shall be exhorted not to contract Marriage without first acquainting their Parents with it (if with Conveniency it may be done) endeavouring to obtain their Con-

Parents ought not to force their Children to marry with out their free Consent, nor deny their own Consent without

just Cause.

After the Purpose or Contract of Marriage hath been thus published, the Marriage is not to be long deferred Therefore the Minister, having had convenient Warning and nothing being objected to hinder it, is publickly to fo lemnize it in the Place appointed by Authority for Publick

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Worship, before a competent Number of credible Witnesfes, at some convenient Hour of the Day, at any time of the Year, except on a Day of publick Humiliation. we advise that it be not on the Lord's Day.

And because all Relations are sanctified by the Word and Prayer, the Minister is to pray for a Bleffing upon them, to

this Effect:

" Acknowledging our Sins, whereby we have made our-" felves less than the least of all the Mercies of God, and " provoked him to imbitter all our Comforts; earnestly, " in the Name of Christ, to entreat the Lord (whose Pre-" fence and Favour is the Happiness of every Condition, " and sweetens every Relation) to be their Portion, and to " own and accept them in Christ, who are now to be join-" ed in the honourable Estate of Marriage, the Covenant " of their God: And that, as he hath brought them to-" gether by his Providence, he would fanctify them by his " Spirit, giving them a new Frame of Heart, fit for their " new Estate; enriching them with all Graces whereby they " may perform the Duties, enjoy the Comforts, undergo " the Cares, and refift the Temptations which accompa-" ny that Condition, as becometh Christians."

The Prayer being ended, it is convenient that the Minister do briefly declare unto them out of the Scrip-

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"The Institution, Use, and Ends of Marriage, with "the Conjugal Duties, which, in all Faithfulness, they " are to perform each to the other; exhorting them to " fludy the holy Word of God, that they may learn to " live by Faith, and to be content in the midst of all Mar-" riage-cares and Troubles, fanctifying God's Name, in " a thankful, fober, and holy Use of all conjugal Comforts; " praying much with, and for one another; watching over, and provoking each other to Love and good "Works; and to live together as the Heirs of the Grace " of Life."

After folemn charging of the Persons to be married before the great God, who fearcheth all hearts, and to whom they must give a strict Account at the last day, that if either of them know any Cause, by Precontract, or otherwise, why they may not lawfully proceed to Marriage, that they now discover it: The Minister (if no Impediment be acknowedged) shall cause first the Man to take the Woman by the

nght Hand, faying these Words,

" I N. do take thee N. to be my married Wife, and " do, in the Prefenc of God, and before this Congregation.

or promise and covenant to be a loving and faithful Husband " unto thee, until God shall separate us by Death."

Then the Woman shall take the Man by his right Hand,

and fay these Words,

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" I N. do take thee N. to be my married Husband, " and I do, in the Presence of God, and before this Con-" gregation, promise and covenant to be a loving, faithful,

" and obedient Wife unto thee, until God shall seprate us

" by Death."

Then, without any further Ceremony, the Minister shall, in the Face of the Congregation, pronounce them to be Hufband and Wife, according to God's Ordinance; and so conclude the Action with Prayer, to this Effect;

"That the Lord would be pleased to accompany his own "Ordinance with his Bleffing, befeeching him to enrich

" the Persons now married, as with other Pledges of his "Love, so particularly with the Comforts and Fruits of

"Marriage, to the Praise of his abundant Mercy, in and

" through Christ Jefus,"

A Register is to be carefully kept, wherein the Names of the Parties fo married, with the Time of their Marriage, are forthwith to be fairly recorded in a Book, provided for that Purpose, for the Perusal of all whom it may concern.

Concerning Visitation of the Sick.

T is the Duty of the Minister, not only to teach the People committed to his Charge in publick; but privately and particularly to admonish, exhort, reprove, and comfort them upon all feasonable Occasions, so far as his Tme, Srength, and personal Safety will permit.

He is to admonish them, in Time of Health, to prepare for Death; and, for that Purpose, they are often to confer with their Minister about the Estate of their Souls; and in Time of Sickness, to defire his Advice and Help, timely and feafonably, before their Strength and Understanding fail them.

Times of Sickness and Affliction are special Opportunities put into his Hand by God, to Minister a Word in Season to weary Souls: Because then the consciences of Men are, or should be more awaken'd to bethink themselves of their spiritual Estates for Eternity; and Satan also takes advantage then, to load them more with sore and heavy Temptations: Therefore the Minister being sent for, and repairing to the Sick, is to apply himself with all Tenderness and Love, to administer some spiritual Good to his Soul, to this Effect.

He may, from the Confideration of the present Sickness, instruct him out of Scripture, that diseases come not by Chance, or by Distempers of Body only, but by the wise and orderly Guidance of the good Hand of God, to every particular person smitten by them. And that, whether it be laid upon him out of displeasure for Sin, for his Correction and Amendment, or for Trial and Exercise of his Graces, or for other special and excellent Ends, all his Sufferings shall turn to his Profit, and work together for his Good, if he sincerely labour to make a sanctified use of God's Visitation, neither despising his chastening, nor waxing weary of his Correction.

If he suspect him of ignorance, he shall examine him in the principles of Religion, especially touching Repentance and Faith; and, as he seeth Cause, instruct him in the Nature, Use, Excellency, and Necessity of those Graces; as also touching the Covenant of Grace, and Christ the Son of God, the Mediator of it, and concerning Remission of

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He shall exhort the sick Person to examine himself, to search and try his former Ways, and his Estate towards. God.

And if the fick Person shall declare any Scruple, Doubt, or Temptation that are upon him, Instructions and Reso-

lutions shall be given to fatisfy and fettle him.

If it appear that he hath not a due Sense of his Sins, Endeavours ought to be used to convince him of his Sins, of the Guilt and Desert of them; of the Filth and Pollution which the Soul contracts by them; and of the Curse of the Law, and Wrath of God, due to them; that he may be truly affected with, and humbled for them: And withal to make known the danger of deserring Repentance, and of neglecting Salvation at any time offered; to awaken his Conscience, and rouze him up out of a stupid and secure Condition, to apprehend the Justice and Wrath of God, before whom none can stand, but he that, being lost in himselt, syeth hold upon Christ by Faith.

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APPENDIX

If he have endeavoured to walk in the ways of Holinefs: and to ferve God in Uprightness, although not without many Failings and Infirmities; or if his Spirit be broken with the Sense of Sin, or cast down through Want of the Sense of God's Favour, then it will be fit to raise him up, by setting before him the Freeness and Fulness of God's Grace, the Sufficiency of Righteousness in Christ, the gracious Offers in the Gospel, that all who repent and believe with all their Heart in God's Mercy through Christ, renouncing their own Righteousness, shall have Life and Salvation in him : It may be also useful to shew him, that Death hath in it no fpiritual Evil to be feared by those that are in Christ, because Sin, the Sting of Death, is taken away by Christ, who hath delivered all that are his, from the Bondage of the fear of Death, triumphed over the Grave, given us Victory, is himself enter'd into Glory, to prepare a Place for his People: fo that neither Life nor Death shall be able to separate them from God's Love in Christ, in whom such are fure, though now they must be laid in the Dust, to obtain a joyful and glorious Resurrection to eternal Life,

Advice also may be given, as to beware of an ill-grounded Perswasson on Mercy, or on the Goodness of his Condition for Heaven, so to disclaim all merit in himself, and to cast himself wholly upon God for Mercy, in the sole Merits and Mediation of Jesus Christ, who hath engaged himself never to cast off them who in Truth and Sincerity come unto him. Care also must be taken, that the sick Person be not cast down into Despair, by such a severe Representation of the Wrath of God due to him for his Sins, as is not mollified by a seasonable propounding of Christ and his Merit, for a Door of Hope to every penitent Believer.

When the fick Person is best composed, may be least disturbed, and other necessary Offices about him least hindered, the Minister, if desired, shall pray with him, and for him, to this Effect;

" Confessing and bewailing of Sin original and actual, the miserable Condition of all by Nature, as being Chil-

dren of Wrath, and under the Curfe; acknowledging that all Diseases, Sicknesses, Death, and Hell itself, are

the proper Issues and Effects thereof; imploring God's

"Mercy for the fick Person through the Blood of Christ; beseeching that God would open his Eyes, discover unto

" him his Sins, cause him to see himself lost in himself,

" make known to him the Cause why God smiteth him, reveal Jesus Christ to his Soul for Righteousness and Life,

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" give unto him his Holy Spirit to create and strengthen " Faith, to lay hold upon Christ, to work in him comfort-" able Evidences of his Love, to arm him against Temp-" tations, to take off his Heart from the World, to fancti-" fy his present Visitation, to furnish him with Patience " and Strength to bear it, and to give him Perseverance in " Faith to the End.

" That if God shall please to add to his Days, he would " youchfafe to blefs and fanctify all Means of his Recovery, " to remove the Disease, renew his Strength, and enable " him to walk worthy of God, by a faithful Remembrance " and diligent observing of such Vows and Promises of Ho-" lines and Obedience, as Men are apt to make in Times " of Sickness, that he may glorify God in the remaining

" part of his Life.

" And if God have determined to finish his Days by the " present Visitation, he may find such Evidence of the " Pardon of all his Sins, of his interest in Christ, and eter-" nal Life by Christ, as may cause his inward Man to be re-" newed, while his outward Man decayeth; that he may " behold Death without Fear, cast himself wholly upon " Christ without doubting, defire to be dissolved and to be " with Christ, and so receive the end of his Faith, the " falvation of his Soul, through the only Merits and Inter-" cession of the Lord Jesus Christ, our alone Saviour, and " All-fufficient Redeemer."

The Minister shall admonish him also (as there shall be Cause) to set his House in Order, thereby to prevent inconveniencies; to take care for the payment of his Debts, and to make Restitution or Satisfaction where he hath done any Wrong; to be reconciled to those with whom he hath been at Variance, and fully to forgive all Men their Trespasses against him, as he expects forgiveness at the Hand of God.

Laftly, The Minister may improve the present Occasion to exhort thole about the fick Person, to consider their own Mortality, to return to the Lord, and make peace with him; in Health to prepare for fickness, death, and judgment; and all the Days of their appointed time to to wait until their change come, that when Christ, who is our Life, shall appear, they may appear with him in Glory.

Concerning Burial of the Dead.

WHEN any Person departeth this Life let the dead Body, upon the Day of Burial, be decently attended from the House to the Place appointed for publick Burial, and there immediately interred, without any Ceremony.

And because the Customs of kneeling down, and praying by, or towards the dead Corps, and other such usages, in the place where it lies, before it be carried to Burial, are superstitious; and for that, praying, reading, and singing, both in going to, and at the Grave, have been grossy abused, are no way beneficial to the Dead, and have proved many ways hurtful to the Living, therefore let all such Things be laid aside.

Howbeit, we judge it very convenient, that the Christian Friends which accompany the dead Body to the place appointed for publick Burial, do apply themselves to Meditations, and Conferences suitable to the occasion: And that the Minister, as upon other Occasions, so at this time, if he be present, may put them in Remembrance of their

Duty and first bed for Svidence stud

That this shall not extend to deny any civil Respects or Deferences at the Burial, suitable to the Rank and Condition of the Party deceased, while he was living.

Concerning Publick folemn Fasting.

WHEN some great and notable Judgments are either inflicted upon a People, or apparently imminent, or by some extraordinary Provocations notoriously deserved; as also, when some special Blessing is to be sought and obtained, publick solemn Fasting (which is to continue the whole Day) is a duty that God expecteth from the Nation

or People. and and and well as the state of the state of

A religious Fast requires total Abstinence, not only from all Food (unless bodily Weakness do manifestly disable from holding out till the Fast be ended, in which Case, somewhat may be taken, yet very sparingly, to support Nature, when ready to faint) but also from all worldly Labour, Discourses and Thoughts, and from all bodily Delights (although at other Times lawful) rich Apparel, Ornaments, and such like, during the Fast; and much more from whatever is in the Nature, or Use, scandalous and offensive, as gaudish Attire, lascivious Habits, and Gestures, and other Vanities of either Sex; which we recommend to all Minsters, in their Places, diligently and zealously to reprove, as at other Times, so especially at a Fast, without respect of Persons, as there shall be occasion.

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Before the publick Meeting, each Family and Person apart, are privately to use all religious Care to prepare their Hearts to such a solemn Work, and to be early at the Con-

gregation.

So large a portion of the Day, as conveniently may be, is to be spent in publick Reading and Preaching of the Word, with singing of Psalms sit to quicken Affections suitable to such a Duty, but especially in Prayer, to this or

the like Effect :

" Giving Glory to the great Majesty of God, the Crea-" tor, Preserver, and supreme Ruler of all the World. " the better to affect us thereby with an holy Reverence and " Awe of him; acknowledging his manifold, great, and " tender Mercies, especially to the Church and Nation, the " more effectually to foften and abase our Hearts before " him; humbly confessing of fins of all forts, with their " feveral Aggravations; justifying God's righteous Judg-" ments, as being far less than our Sins do deserve; yet " humbly and earnestly imploring his Mercy and Grace " for ourselves, the Church and Nation, for our King, and " all in Authority, and for all others for whom we are " bound to pray (according as the present Exigent requir-" eth) with more special Importunity and Enlargement than " at other Times; applying, by Faith, the Promises and " Goodness of God, for Pardon, Help, and Deliverance " from the Evils felt, feared, or deserved; and for obtain-"ing the Bleffings which we need and expect; together " with a giving up of ourselves wholly and for ever unto " the Lord."

In all these, the Ministers, who are the Mouths of the People unto God, ought so to speak from their Hearts, upon serious and thorough Premeditation of them, that both themselves and their People may be much affected, and even melted thereby; especially with sorrow for their Sins, that it may be indeed a Day of deep Humiliation and afflict-

ing of the Soul.

Special choice is to be made of such Scriptures to be read, and of such Texts for preaching, as may best work the Hearts of the Hearers to the special Business of the Day, and most dispose them to Humiliation and Repentance; insisting most on those Particulars which each Minister's Observation and Experience tells him are most conducing to the Edification and Reformation of that Congregation to which he preacheth.

Before

Before the close of the publick Duties, the Minister is, in his own and the Peoples Names, to engage his and their Hearts to be the Lord's with professed Purpose and Resolution to reform whatever is amiss among them, and more particularly such Sins as they have been more remarkably guilty of; and, to draw nearer unto God, and to walk more closely and faithfully with him in new Obedience, than ever before.

He is also to admonish the People with all Importunity, that the Work of that Day doth not end with the publick Duties of it, but that they are so to improve the Remainder of the Day, and of their whole Life, in reinforcing upon themselves and their Families in private, all those godly Affections and Resolutions which they professed in Publick, as that they may be settled in their Hearts for ever, and themselves may more sensibly find that God hath smelt a sweet Savour in Christ from their Performances, and is pacified towards them, by answers of Grace, in pardoning of Sin, in removing of Judgments, in averting or preventing of Plagues, and in conferring of Blessings, suitable to the Conditions and Prayers of his People, by Jesus Christ.

Beside solemn and general Fasts enjoined by Authority, we judge, that at other Times Congregations may keep Days of Fasting, as Divine Providence shall administer unto them special Occasions. And also, that Families may do the same, so it be not on Days wherein the Congregation to which they do belong is to meet for Fasting, or other

publick Duties of Worship.

Concerning the Observation of Days of Publick Thanksgiving.

W HEN any fuch Day is to be kept let Notice be given of it, and of the Occasion thereof, some convenient time before, that the people may the better prepare

themselves thereunto.

This Day being come, and the Congregation (after private Preparations) being affembled, the Minister is to begin with a Word of Exhortation, to stir up the People to the Duty for which they are met, and with a short Prayer for God's Assistance and Blessing (as at other Conventions for publick Worship) according to the particular Occasion of their Meeting.

Let him then make some pithy Narration of the Deliverance obtained, or Mercy received, or of whatever hath

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occasioned that assembling of the Congregation, that all may better understand it, or be minded of it, and more affected with it.

And because finging of Pfalms is of all other the most proper Ordinance for expressing of Joy and Thanksgiving, let some pertinent Psalm or Psalms be sung for that purpose, before or after the reading of some Portion of the Word, suitable to the present Business.

Then let the Minister, who is to preach, proceed to further Exhortation and Prayer before his Sermon, with special Reference to the present Work: After which, let him preach upon some Text of Scripture pertinent to the Occation.

The Sermon ended, let him not only przy, as at other times after preaching is directed, with remembrance of the Necessities of the Church, King, and State (if before the Sermon they were omitted) but enlarge himself in due and solemn Thanksgiving for former Mercies and Deliverances, but more especially for that which at the present calls them together to give Thanks: With humble Petition for the Continuance and Renewing of God's wonted Mercies, as need shall be, and for fanctifying Grace to make a right use thereof. And so, having sung another Psalm suitable to the Mercy, let him dismiss the Congregation with a Blessing, that they may have some convenient time for their repast and refreshing.

But the Minister (before their Dismission) is solemnly to admonish them, to beware of all Excess and Riot, tending to Gluttony or Drunkenness, and much more of these Sins themselves, in their Eating and Refreshing; and to take care that their Mirth and Rejoicing be not Carnal, but Spiritual, which may make God's Praise to be glorious, and themselves humble and sober; and that both their feeding and rejoicing may render them more cheerful and enlarged, surther to celebrate his Praises in the Midst of the Congregation, when they return unto it, in the remaining Part of that Day.

When the Congregation shall be again assembled, the like Course in Praying, Reading, Preaching, Singing of Psalms, and Offering up of more Praise and Thanksgiving, that is before directed for the Morning, is to be renewed and continued so far as the Time will give leave.

At one, or both of the publick Meetings that Day, a Collection is to be made for the Poor (and in the like manner upon the Day of publick Humiliation) that their Loins

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may bless us, and rejoice the more with us. And the people are to be exhorted, at the end of the latter Meeting, to spend the Residue of that Day in holy Duties, and Testifications of Christian Love and Charity one towards another, and of Rejoicing more and more in the Lord; as becometh those who make the Joy of the Lord their Strength.

Of Singing of Pfalms.

I T is the Duty of Christians to praise God publickly, by finging of Psalms together in the Congregation, and also privately in the Family.

In finging of Psalms, the Voice is to be tunably and gravely ordered: but the chief care must be, to sing with Understanding, and with Grace in the Heart, making Melody unto the Lord.

That the whole Congregation may join herein, every one that can read is to have a Psalm-book; and all others, not disabled by Age, or otherwise, are to be exhorted to learn to read. But for the present, where many in the Congregation cannot read, it is convenient that the Minister, or some other fit Person appointed by him, and the other Ruling Officers, do read the Psalm Line by Line, before the Singing thereof.

An Appendix, touching Days and Places for Publick Wor-

THERE is no Day commanded in Scripture to be kept holy under the Gospel, but the Lord's Day, which is the Christian Sabbath.

Festival Days, vulgarly called Holy Days, having no Warrant in the Word of God, are not to be continued.

Nevertheless, it is lawful and necessary, upon special emergent Occasions, to separate a Day or Days for publick Fasting or Thanksgiving, as the several eminent and extraordinary dispensations of God's Providence shall administer Cause and Opportunity to his People.

As no place is capable of any Holiness, under pretence of whatsoever Dedication or Consecration; so neither is it subject to such Pollution by any Superstition formerly used, and now laid aside, as may render it unlawful or inconvevient for Christians to meet together therein for the publick Worship of God. And therefore we hold it requisite, that the places of publick Assembling for Worship among us, should be continued, and employed to that Use. The

The Contents of the Directory for the Publick Worship of ... God.

THE Preface.

Of the Assembling of the Congregation.

Of Publick Reading of the holy Scripture.

Of Publick Prayer before the Sermon.

Of Preaching of the Words

Of Prayer after Sermon.

Of the Sacrament of Baptism.

Of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

Of the Sanctification of the Lord's Day.

Of the Solemnization of Marriage.

Of the Visitation of the Sick.

Of Burial of the Dead.

Of Publick folemn Fasting.

Of the Observation of Days of Publick Thanksgiving.

Of Singing of Psalms.

An Appendix, touching Days and Places of Publick Wor-

APPENDIX.

NUMB. III.

THE

Form of Presbyterial Church Government,

Agreed upon by the Affembly of Divines at Westminster; examined and approved, Anno 1645, by the General Affembly of the Church of Scotland, &c.

The PREFACE.

Government is, whose Name is called Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace, of the increase of whose Government

APPENDIX.

Government and Peace there shall be no End, who sits upon the Throne of David, and upon his Kingdom, to order it, and to establish it with Judgment and Justice, from henceforth even for ever, having all Power given unto him in Heaven and in Earth by the Father, who raifed him from the Dead, and fet him at his own right Hand, far above all Principalities and Power, and Might and Dominion, and every Name that is named, not only in this World, but also in that which is to come, and put all Things under his Feet, and gave him to be the Head over all Things to the Church, which is his Body, the Fullness of him that filleth all in all; he being ascended up far above all Heavens, that he might fill all Things, received Gifts for his Church, and gave Offices necessary for the Edification of his Church, and perfecting of his Saints b.

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Of the Church.

THERE is one general Church visible held forth in the New Testament, I Cor. xii. 12, 13, 28. together with the rest of the Chapter.

The Ministry, Oracles, and Ordinances of the New Testament, are given by Jesus Christ to the general Church visible, for the gathering and perfecting of it in this Life, until his second coming, i Cor. xii. 28. Eph. iv. 4, 5. compared with Ver. 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, of the same Chapter.

Particular visible Churches, Members of the general Church, are also held forth in the New Testament, Gal. i. 21, 22. Rev. i. 4, 20. and Rev. ii. 1. Particular Churches, in the primitive Times, were made up of visible Saints, viz. of such as, being of Age, professed Faith in Christ, and Obedience unto Christ, according to the Rules of Faith and Life, taught by Christ and his Apostles; and of their Children, Acts ii. 38, 41. Acts ii. verse last, compared with Acts v. 14. I Cor. i. 2. compared with 2 Cor. ix. 13. Acts ii. 39. I Cor. vii. 14. Rom. ix. 16. and so forward; Mark x. 14. compared with Mat. xix. 13, 14. Luke xviii. 15, 16.

b Mat. xxviii. 18, 19, 20. Eph. i. 20, 21, 22, compared with Eph. iv, 8, 11. and Pfal. lxviii, 18.

Of the Officers of the Church.

THE Officers which Christ hath appointed for the Edification of his Church, and the perfecting of the Saints, are,

Some extraordinary, as Apostles, Evangelists, and Pro-

phets, which are ceased.

Other ordinary and perpetual, as Pastors, Teachers, and other Church Governors, and Deacons.

Paftors.

THE Pastor is an ordinary and perpetual Officer in the Church, Jer. iii. 15, 16, 17; prophesying of the time of the Gospel. 1 Pet. v. 2, 3, 4. Eph. iv. 11, 12, 13.

First, It belongs to his Office.

To pray for and with his Flock, as the Mouth of the People unto God, Acts, vi. 2, 3, 4. Acts xx. 36; where preaching and prayer are joined as several Parts of the same Office. James v. 14, 15. The Office of the Elder, that is the Pastor, is to pray for the Sick, even in private, to which a Blessing is especially promised; much more therefore ought he to perform this in the publick Execution of his Office, as a part thereof, 1 Cor. xiv. ver. 15, 16.

To read the Scripture publickly; for the proof of which, 1. That the Priests and Levites in the Jewish Church were trusted with the publick Reading of the Word, as is proved, Deut. xxx. 9, 10, 11. Neh. viii. 1, 2, and 13.

2. That the Ministers of the Gospel have as ample a Charge and Commission to dispense the Word, as well as other Ordinances, as the Priests and Levites had under the Law, proved, Isa. lxvi. 21. Mat. xxiii. 34. where our Saviour intituleth the Officers of the New Testament, whom he will send forth, by the same names of the Teachers of the Old.

Which Propositions prove, that therefore (the Duty being of a moral Nature) it followeth by just Consequence, that the publick Reading of the Scriptures belongeth to the Pastor's Office.

To feed the Flock, by preaching of the Word, according to which he is to teach, convince, reprove, exhort, and comfort, i Tim. iii. 2. 2 Tim. iii. ver. 16, 17. Tit. i. 9.

To Catechife, which is a plain laying down the first principles of the Oracles of God, Heb. v. 12. or of the Doctrine of Christ, and is a part of Preaching.

Vol. III.

APPENDIX.

To dispense other Divine Mysteries, I Cor. iv. 1, 2.

To administer the Sacraments, Matth. xxviii. 19, 20. Mark xvi. 15, 16. 1 Cor. xi. 23, 24, 25. compared with 1 Cor. x. 16.

To bless the People from God, Numb. vi. 23, 24, 25, 26, compared with Rev. xiv. 5. (where the same Blessings, and Persons from whom they come, are expressly mentioned). Is Ixvi. 21. where, under the names of Priests and Levites, to be continued under the Gospel, are meant Evangelical Pastors, who therefore are by Office to bless the People, Deut. x. 8. 2 Cor. xiii. 14. Eph. i. 2.

To take Care of the Poor, Acts xi. 30. Acts iv. 34, 35, 36, 37. Acts vi. 2, 3, 4. 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2, 3, 4. Gal. ii. 9, 10.

And he hath also a ruling Power over the Flock as a Pastor, 1 Tim. v. 17. Acts xx. 17, and 28. 1 Thess. v. 12. Heb. xiii. 7, 17.

Perturate the American

Teacher or Doctor.

THE Scripture doth hold out the Name and Title of Teacher, as well as of the Pastor, 1 Cor. xii. 28. Eph. iv. 11.

Who is also a Minister of the Word as well as a Pastor, and hath power of Administration of the Sacraments.

The Lord having given different Gifts, and divers Exercises according to these Gifts, in the Ministry of the Word, Rom. xii. 6, 7, 8. 1 Cor. xii. 1, 4, 5, 6, 7. though these different Gifts may meet in, and accordingly be exercised by one and the same Minister, 1 Cor. xiv. 3. 2 Tim. iv. 2 Tit. i. 9. yet, where be several Ministers in the same Congregation, they may be defigned to feveral Imployments, accordding to the different Gifs in which each of them doth most excel, Rom. xii. 6, 7, 8. 1 Pet. iv. 10, 11. And he that doth more excel in Exposition of Scriptures, in teaching found Doctrine, and in convincing Gainfayers, than he doth in Application, and is accordingly imployed therein, may be called a Teacher, or Doctor, (the places alledged by the Notation of the Word do prove the Proposition) Nevertheless, where is but one Minister in a particular Congregation, he is to perform fo far as he is able the whole Work of the Ministry, as appeareth in 2 Tim. iv. 2. Tit. i. 9. before alledged, 1 Tim. vi. 2.

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A Teacher or Doctor is of most excellent Use in Schools and Universities; as of old in the Schools of the Prophets, and at Jerusalem, where Gamaliel and others taught as Doctors.

Other Church Governors.

As there were in the Jewish Church Elders of the People joined with the Priests and Levites in the Government of the Church (as appeareth in 2 Chron. xix. 8, 9, 10.) So Christ, who hath instituted a Government, and Governors Ecclesiastical in the Church, hath surnished some in his Church, beside the Ministers of the Word, with Gists for Government, and with Commission to execute the same when called thereunto, who are to join with the Minister in the Government of the Church, Rom. xii. 7, 8. 1 Cor. xii. 28. Which Officers Reformed Churches commonly call Elders.

Deacons.

THE Scripture doth hold out Deacons as distinct Officers in the Church, Phil. i. 1. I Tim. iii. 8.

Whose Office is perpetual, I Tim. iii. 8. to ver. 15. Acts vi. 1, 2, 3, 4. To whose Office it belongs not to preach the Word, or administer the Sacraments, but to take special Care in distributing to the Necessities of the Poor, Acts vi. 1, 2, 3, 4. and the Verses following.

Of particular Congregations.

IT is lawful and expedient that there be fixed Congregations, that is, a certain Company of Christians to meet in one Assembly ordinarily for publick Worship. When Believers multiply to such a number, that they cannot conveniently meet in one place, it is lawful and expedient that they should be divided into distinct and and fixed Congregations, for the better Administration of such Ordinances as belong unto them, and the Discharge of mutual Duties, 1 Cor. xiv. ver. 26. "Let all Things be done unto Edifying;" and Verses 33, and 40.

The ordinary Way of dividing Christians into distinct Congregations, and most expedient for Edification, is by

the respective Bounds of their Dwellings.

APPENDIX.

First, Because they who dwell together, being bound to all kind of moral Duties one to another, have the better Opportunity thereby to discharge them; which moral Tye is perpetual, for Christ came not to destroy the Law, but to fulfil it, Deut. xv. 7, 11. Mat. xxii. 39. Mat. v. 17.

Secondly, The Communion of Saints must be so ordered, as may stand with the most convenient Use of the Ordinances, and Discharge of moral Duties, without respect of persons, 1 Cor. xiv. 26. "Let all Things be done unto Edify-

" ing." Heb. x. 24, 25. James ii. 1, 2

Thirdly, The Pastor and People must so nearly cohabit together, as that they may mutually perform their Duties to each other with most Conveniency.

In this Company some must be set apart to bear Office.

Of the Officers of a particular Congregation.

FOR Officers in a fingle Congregation, there ought to be one at the least, both to labour in the Word and Doctrine, and to Rule, Prov. xxix. 18. 1 Tim. v. 17. Heb. xiii. 7.

It is also requisite that there should be others to join in

Government, 1 Cor. xii. 28.

And likewise it is requisite that there be others to take special Care for the Relief of the Poor, Acts vi. 2, 3.

The number of each of which is to be proportioned ac-

cording to the Condition of the Congregation.

These Officers are to meet together at convenient and set Times, for the well ordering the Affairs of that Congregation, each according to his Office.

It is most expedient that in these Meetings, one whose Office is to labour in the Word and Doctrine, do moderate

in their proceedings, 1. Tim. v. 17.

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Of the Ordinances in a particular Congregation.

THE Ordinances in a fingle Congregation, are Prayer, Thanksgiving, and Singing of Psalms, I Tim. ii. I. I. Cor. xiv. 15, 16. The Word read (although there follow no immediate Explication of what is read) the Word expounded and applied, Catechising, the Sacraments administer'd, Collection made for the Poor, dismissing the People with a Blessing.

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Of Church Government, and the feveral Sorts of Affemblies for the fame.

CHRIST hath instituted a Government, and Governors Ecclesiastical in the Church: To that purpose the Apostles did immediately receive the Keys from the Hand of Jesus Christ, and did use and exercise them in all the Churches of the World upon all Occasions.

And Christ hath since continually furnished some in his Church with Gifts of Government, and with Commission,

to execute the fame, when called thereunto.

It is lawful and agreeable to the Word of God, that the Church be governed by feveral forts of Assemblies, which are Congregational, Classical, and Synodical.

Of the Power in common of all these Assemblies.

IT is lawful and agreeable to the Word of God, that the feveral Assemblies before mentioned have power to convene, and call before them any Person within their several Bounds, whom the Ecclesiastical Business which is before them doth concern; proved by Matth. Chap. xviii.

They have power to hear and determine fuch Causes and

Differences, as do orderly come before them.

It is lawful and agreeable to the Word of Gord, that all the faid Assemblies have some power to dispense Church Censures.

Of Congregational Affemblies, that is, the Meeting of the Ruling Officers of a particular Congregation for the Government thereof.

THE Ruling Officers of a particular Congregation have power authoritatively, to call before them any Member of the Congregation, as they shall see just Occasion.

To enquire into the Knowledge and Spiritual Estate of the several Members of the Congregation.

To Admonish and Rebuke.

Which three Branches are proved by Heb.xiii. 17.1 Thest.

v. 12, 13. Ezek. xxxiv. 4.

Authoritative Suspension from the Lord's Table of a person not yet cast out of the Church, is agreeable to the Scripture.

First, Because the Ordinance itself must not be pro-

faned.

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Secondly,

Secondly, Because we are charged to withdraw from those

that walk diforderly.

Thirdly, Because of the great Sin and Danger, both to him that comes unworthily, and also to the whole Church, Matth. vii. 6. 2 Thess. iii. 6, 14, 15. 1 Cor. xi. 27. to the end of the Chapter, compared with Jude ver. 23. 1 Tim. v. 22. And there was Power and Authority, under the Old Testament, to keep unclean Persons from holy Things, Levit. xiii. 5. Numb. ix. 7. 2 Chron. xxiii. 19.

The like Power and Authority, by way of Analogy, con-

tinues under the New Testament.

The Ruling Officers of a particular Congregation, have Power authoritatively to suspend from the Lord's Table a Person not yet cast out of the Church.

First, Because those who have Authority to judge of, and admit such as are fit to receive the Sacrament, have Authority to keep back such as shall be found unworthy.

Secondly, Because it is an Ecclesiastical Business of ordi-

nary Practice belonging to that Congregation.

When Congregations are divided and fixed they need all mutual help from one another, both in regard of their intrinsical Weaknesses and mutual Dependance; as also, in regard of Enemies from without.

The sease the D to Of Claffical Affemblies.

THE Scripture doth hold out a Presbytery in a Church, both in the first Epistle to Timothy, Chap. iv. ver. 14.

And in Acts xv. verfes 2, 4, 6.

A Presbytery consisteth of Ministers of the Word, and such other publick Officers as are agreeable to, and warranted by the Word of God, to be Church Governors, to join with the Ministers in the Government of the Church; as appeareth, Rom. xii. 7, 8. 1 Cor. xii. 28.

The Scripture doth hold forth, that many particular Congregations may be under one Presbyterial Govern-

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This Proposition is proved by Instances.

I. First, Of the Church of Jerusalem, which consisted of more Congregations than one, and all these Congregations were under one Presbyterial Government.

This appeareth thus:

Congregations than one, as is manifest.

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Pirft, By the Multitude of Believers mentioned in divers places. Both before the Dispersion of the Believers there, by means of the perfecution (mentioned in the Acts of the Apolles, Chap. viii. in the beginning thereof) witness, Chap. verse 11. Chap. ii. verse 41, 46, and 47. Chap. iv. 4. Chap. v. 14. Chap. vi. of the same Book of the Acts, Verses 1, 7. And also after the dispersion, Acts ix. 31. Chap. xii. 24. Chap. xxi. ver. 20. of the same Book.

Secondly, By the many Apostles and other Preachers in the Church of Jerusalem: And if there were but one Congregation there, then each Apostle preached but seldom; which will not consist with Chap. vi. ver. 2. of the Acts of

the Apostles.

Thirdly The Diversity of Languages amongst the Believers, mentioned both in the second and fixth Chapters of the Acrs, doth argue more Congregations than one in that Church

2. Secondly, All those Congregations were under one Presbyterial Government; because, First, they were one Church, Acts viii. 1. and Chap. ii. 47. compared with Chap. v. 11. Chap. xii. 5. and Chap. xv. 4. of the same Book.

Secondly, The Elders of the Church are mentioned, Acts xi. 30. Chap. xv. 4, 6, 22. and Chap. xxi. 17, 18. of the fame Book.

Thirdly, The Apostles did the ordinary Acts of Presbyters, as Presbyters in that Kirk; which proveth a Presby-

terial Church before the Dispersion, Acts vi.

Fourthly, The feveral Congregations in Jerusalem being one Church, the Elders of that Church are mentioned as meeting together for Acts of Government, Acts xi. 30. Acts xv. 4, 6, 22. and Chap. xxi. 17, 18. and so forward; which proves that those feveral Congregations were under one Presbyterial Government.

And whether these Congregations were fixed, or not fixed, in regard of Officers or Members, it is all one as to

the truth of the Proposition.

Nor doth there appear any material difference betwixt the feveral Congregations in Jerusalem, and the many Congregations now in the ordinary Condition of the Church, as to the point of Fixedness required of Officers or Members.

3. Thirdly, Therefore the Scripture doth hold forth, that many Congregations may be under one Preibyterial Government.

APPENDIX.

II. Secondly, By the Instance of the Church of Ephesus;

1. That they were more Congregations than one in the Church of Ephesus, appears by Acts xx. 31. where is mention of Paul's Continuance at Ephesus in preaching for the space of three years; and Acts xix. 18, 19, 20. where the special Effect of the Word is mentioned; and Verse 10, and 17. of the same Chapter, where is a Reason of Paul's Stay at Ephesus until Pentecost; and Verse 19, where is mention of a particular Church in the Hause of Aquila and Priscilla then at Ephesus; as appears, Acts xviii. 19, 24, 26. All which laid together doth prove, that the Multitude of Believers did make more Congregations than one in the Church of Ephesus.

2. That there were many Elders over these many Congregations, as one Flock, appeareth, Acts xx. 17, 25, 28, 30, 36, 37.

3. That these many Congregations were one Church, and that they were under one Presbyterial Government, appeareth, Rev. ii. the first six Verses, joined with Acts xx. ver. 17, 18.

Of Synodical Assemblies.

THE Scripture doth hold out another Sort of Assemblies, for the Government of the Church, beside Classical and Congregational, all which we call Synodical, Acts xv. Pastors and Teachers and other Church Governors (as also other fit Persons, when it shall be deemed expedient) are Members of those Assemblies which we call Synodical, where they have a lawful Calling thereunto.

Synodical Assemblies may lawfully be of several Sorts, as

Provincial, National, and Occumenical.

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It is lawful and agreeable to the Word of God, that there be a Subordination of Congregational, Classical, Provincial, and National Assemblies, for the Government of the Church.

Of Ordination of Ministers.

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NDER the Head of Ordination of Ministers is to be considered, either the Doctrine of Ordination, or the the power of it.

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Touching the Doctrine of Ordination.

No Man ought to take upon him the Office of a Minifler of the Word, without a lawful Calling, John iii. 27. Rom. x. 14, 15. Jer. xiv. 14. Heb. v. 4.

Ordination is always to be continued in the Church, Tit.

i. 5. 1 Tim. v. 21, 22.

Ordination is the folemn fetting apart of a Person to some publick Church-Office, Numb. viii. 10, 11, 14, 19, 22.

Acts vi. 3, 5, 6.

Every Minister of the Word is to be ordained by Imposition of Hands, and Prayer with Fasting, by those preaching Presbyters, to whom it doth belong, I Tim. v. 22. Acts xiv. 23. and Acts xiii. 3.

It is agreeable to the Word of God, and very expedient, that such as are to be ordained Ministers, be designed to some particular Church, or other Ministerial Charge, Acts

ziv. 23. Tit. 1. 5. Acts xx. 17, and 28.

He that is to be ordained Minister, must be duly qualified, both for life and Ministerial Abilities, according to the Rules of the Apostle, 1 Tim. iii. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. and Tit. i. 5, 6, 7, 8, 0.

He is to be examined and approved by those by whom he is to be ordained, I Tim. iii. ver. 7, and 10, and Chap. v.

ver. 22.

No Man is to be ordained a Minister for a particular Congregation, if they of that Congregation can shew just Cause of Exception against him, 1 Tim. iii. 2. Tit. i. 7.

Touching the Power of Ordination.

ORdination is the Act of a Presbytery, 1 Tim. iv. 14.

The power of ordering the whole Work of Ordination, is in the whole Presbytery, which when it is over more Congregations than one, whether those Congregations be fixed op not fixed, in regard of Officers or Members, it is indifferent, as to the point of Ordination, 1 Tim. iv. 14.

It is very requifite that no fingle Congregation, that can conveniently affociate, do affume to itself all and sole power

in Ordination.

1. Because there is no Example in Scripture, that any single Congregation, which might conveniently affociate, did assume to itself all and sole Power in Ordination; neither is there any Rule which may warrant such a Practise.

2. Because

2. Because there is in Scripture Example of an Ordination in a Presbytery over divers Congregations; as in the Church of Jerusalem, where were many Congregations; these many Congregations were under one Presbytery, and this Presbytery did ordain.

The Preaching Presbyters orderly associated, either in Cities or neighbouring Villages, are those to whom the Imposition of Hands doth appertain, for those Congregations with-

in their Bounds respectively.

Concerning the Doctrinal Part of Ordination of Ministers.

1. No Man ought to take upon him the Office of a Minister of the Word, without a lawful Calling, Joh. iii. 27. Rom. x. 14, 15. Jer. xiv. 14. Heb. v. 4.

2. Ordination is always to be continued in the Church,

Tit. i. 5. 1 Tim. v. 21, 22.

3. Ordination is the folemn fetting Apart of a Person to some publick Church Office. Numb. viii. 10, 11, 14, 19,

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22. Acts, vi. 3, 5, 6.

4. Every Minister of the Word is to be ordained by Impofition of Hands and Prayer, with Fasting, by those Preaching Presbyters to whom it doth belong, 1 Tim. v. 22. Acts xiv. 23. Acts xiii. 3.

5. The Power of ordering the whole Work of Ordination is in the whole Presbytery, which, when it is over more Congregations than one, whether those Congregations be fixed, or not fixed, in regard of Officers or Members, it is indifferent as to the Point of Ordination, 1. Tim. iv. 14.

6. It is agreeable to the Word, and very expedient, that fuch as are to be ordained Ministers, be defigned to some particular Church, or other Ministerial Charge, Acts xiv. 23.

Tit. i. 5. Acts xx. 17, and 28.

7. He that is to be ordained Minister must be duly qualified, both for Life and Ministerial Abilities according to the Rules of the Apostle, 1. Tim. iii. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. Tit. i. 5, 6, 7, 8. 9.

8. He is to be examined, and approved of by those by whom he is to be ordained, 1 Tim. iii. 7, 10. 1 Tim. v. 22.

9. No Man is to be ordained a Minister for a particular Congregation, if they of that Congregation can shew just Cause of Exception against him, 1 1 im. iii. 2. Tit. i. 7.

10. Preaching Presbyters orderly affociated, either in Cities

Cities, or neighbouring Villages, are those to whom the Imposition of Hands do appertain, for these Congregations within their Bounds respectively, I Tim. iv. 14.

be done, until a fettled Order may be had, yet keeping as near as possibly may be to the Rule, 2 Chron. xxix. 34, 35, 36. 2 Chron. xxx. 2, 3, 4, 5.

12. There is at this Time, (as we humbly conceive) an extraordinary Occasion for a Way of Ordination for the pre-

fent Supply of Ministers.

The Directory for the Ordination of Ministers.

It being manifest by the Word of God, that no Man ought to take upon him the Office of a Minister of the Gospel, until he be lawfully called and ordained thereunto; and that the Work of Ordination is to be performed with all due Care, Wisdom, Gravity, and Solemnity; we humbly tender these

Directions as requifite to be observed.

First, He that is to be ordained, being either nominated by the People, or otherwise commended to the Presbytery for any Place, must address himself to the Presbytery, and bring with him a Testimonial of his taking the Covenant of the Three Kingdoms: of his Diligence and Proficiency in his Studies; what Degrees he hath taken in the University, and what hath been the time of his Abode there; and withal of his Age, which is to be twenty four Years; but especially of his Life and Conversation.

2. Which being considered by the Presbytery, they are to proceed, to enquire touching the Grace of God in him, and whether he be of such Holiness of Life, as is requisite in a Minister of the Gospel; and to examine him touching his Learning and Sufficiency, and touching the Evidences of his Calling to the holy Ministry, and in particular, his fair and

direct Calling to that Place.

The Rules for Examination are thefe,

" 1. That the Party examined be dealt withal in a brother" ly Way, with Mildness of Spirit, and with special Respect
" to the Gravity, Modesty, and Quality of every one.

"nal Tongues, and his Trial to be made by reading the Hebrew and Greek Testaments, and rendering some Portion
of some into Latin; and if he be desective in them, En-

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APPENDIX.

quiry shall be made more strictly after his other Learn-

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"3. What Authors in Divinity he hath read, and is best acquainted with. And Trial shall be made in his Know- ledge of the Grounds of Religion, and of his Ability to defend the orthodox Doctrine contained in them, against all unfound and erroneous Opinions, especially those of

"the present Age: of his Skill in the Sense and Meaning
of such Places of Scripture, as shall be proposed unto
him, in Cases of Conscience, and in the Chronology of

" the Scripture, and the ecclefiastical History.

"4. If he hath not before preached in Publick, with Approbation of such as are able to judge, he shall, at a competent Time assigned him, expound before the Presupport bytery such a Place of Scripture as shall be given him.

5. "He shall also, within a competent Time, frame a Discourse in Latin, upon such a Common Place or Controversy in Divinity, as shall be assigned him, and exhi-

bit to the Presbytery such Theses as express the Sum

" thereof, and maintain a Dispute upon them.

6. "He shall preach before the People, the Presbytery, or some of the Ministers of the Word appointed by them, being present.

7. " The proportion of his Gifts in relation to the Place

" unto which he is called fhall be confidered.

8. " Beside the Trial of his Gists in Preaching, he shall "undergo an Examination in the Premises two several Days, and more, if the Presbytery shall judge it neces-

se fary.

46 9. And as for him that hath formerly been ordained 46 a Minister, and is to be removed to another Charge, he

" shall bring a Testimonial of his Ordination, and of his Abilities and Conversation, whereupon his Fitness for that

"Place shall be tried by his Preaching there, (if it shall be judged necessary) by a further Examination of him."

3. In all which he being approved, he is to be fent to the Church where he is to ferve, there to preach three several Days, and to converse with the People, that they may have Trial of his Gifts for their Edification, and may have Time and Occasion to enquire into, and the better to know his Life and Conversation.

4. In the last of these three Days appointed for the Trial of his Gifts in Preaching, there shall be sent from the Presbytery Presbytery to the Congregation, a publick Intimation in Writing, which shall be publickly read before the People, and after affixed to the Church Door, to signify that such a Day, a competent Number of the Members of that Congregation, nominated by themselves, shall appear before the Presbytery, to give their Consent and Approbation to such a Man to be their Minister; or otherwise, to put in, with all Christian Discretion and Meekness, what Exceptions they have against him; and if, upon the Day appointed, there be no just Exception against him, but the People give their Consent, then the Presbytery shall proceed to Ordination.

5. Upon the Day appointed for Ordination, which is to be performed in that Church, where he that is to be ordained is to serve, a solemn Fast shall be kept by the Congregation, that they may the more earnestly join in Prayer, for a Blessing upon the Ordinance of Christ, and the Labours of his Servant for their Good. The Presbytery shall come to the Place, or at least three or four Ministers of the Word shall be sent thither from the Presbytery; of which one, appointed by the Presbytery, shall preach to the people, concerning the Office and Duty of Ministers of Christ, and how the people ought to receive them for their Work's sake.

6. After the Sermon, the Minister who hath preached, shall, in the Face of the Congregation, demand of him who is now to be ordained, concerning his Faith in Christ Jesus, and his Perswasion of the Truth of the Reformed Religion according to the Scripture; his sincere Intentions and Ends in desiring to enter into this Calling; his diligence in Prayer, Reading, Meditation, Preaching, Ministring the Sacraments, Discipline, and doing all Ministerial Duties towards his Charge; his Zeal and Faithfulness in maintaining the Truth of the Gospel, and Unity of the Church, against Error and Schism; his care that himself and his Family may be unblameable, and Examples to the Flock; his Willingness and Humility, in Meekness of Spirit, to submit unto the Admonitions of his Brethren and Discipline of the Church; and his Resolution to continue in his Duty

against all Trouble and Persecution.

7. In all which having declared himself, professed his Willingness, and promised his Endeavours, by the help of God; the Minister likewise shall demand of the People, concerning their Willingness to receive and acknowledge him, as the Minister of Christ; and to obey, and submituate him, as having Rule over them in the Lord; and to

maintain, encourage, and affift him in all the Parts of his Office.

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8. Which being mutually promised by the People, the Presbytery, or the Ministers sent from them for Ordination, shall solemnly set him apart to the Office and Work of the Ministry, by laying their Hands on him, which is to be accompanied with a short Prayer or Blassing, to this Effect;

"Thankfully acknowledging the great Mercy of God, in fending Jesus Christ for the Redemption of his People;

"and for his Alcention to the right Hand of God the Father, and thence pouring out his Spirit, and giving gifts to Men, Apostles, Evangelists, Prophets, Pastors, and

"Teachers, for the gathering and building up of his "Church; and for fitting and inclining this Man to this

" great Work *; to entreat him to fit him with his holy "Spirit, to give him (who in his Name we thus fet apart to

" this holy Service) to fulfil the Work of his Ministry in all

"Things, that he may both fave himself, and his People

" committed to his Charge."

9. This, or the like Form of Prayer and Blessing being ended, let the Minister who preached briesly exhort him, to consider of the Greatness of his Office and Work, the Danger of Negligence both to himself and his People, the Blessing which will accompany his Faithfulness in this Life, and that to come; and withal exhort the People to carry themselves to him, as to their Minister in the Lord, according to their folemn Promise made before; and so by Prayer commending both him and his Flock to the Grace of God, after singing of a Psalm let the Assembly be dismissed with a Blessing.

10. If a Minister be defigned to a Congregation, who hath been formerly ordained Presbyter according to the Form of Ordination which hath been in the Church of England, which we hold for Substance to be valid, and not to be disclaimed by any who have received it; then there being a cautious Proceeding in Matters of Examination, let

him be admitted without any new Ordination.

11. And in case any Person already ordained Minister in Scotland, or in any other Reformed Church, be designed to another Congregation in England, he is to bring from that Church to the Presbytery here, within which that Congregation is, a sufficient Testimonial of his Ordination, of his

^{*} Here let them impose Hands on his Head.

his Life and Conversation while he lived with them, and of the Causes of his Removal; and to undergo such a Trial of his Fitness and Sufficiency, and to have the same Course held with him in other Particulars, as is set down in the Rule immediately going before, touching Examination and Admission.

12. That Records be carefully kept in the several Presbyteries, of the Names of the Persons ordained, with their Testimonials, the Time and Place of their Ordination, of the Presbyters who did impose Hands upon them, and of the

Charge to which they are appointed.

13. That no Money or Gift of what Kind foever shall be received from the Person to be ordained, or from any on his Behalf, for Ordination, or ought else belonging to it, by any of the Presbytery, or any appertaining to any of them, upon what pretence soever.

"Thus far of ordinary Rules and Course of Ordination in the ordinary Way; that which concerns the extraordinary Way, requisite to be now practifed,

" followeth.

1. In these present Exigences, while we cannot have any Presbyteries formed up to their whole Power and Work, and that many Ministers are to be ordained for the Service of the Armies and Navy, and to many Congregations where there is no Minister at all; and where (by Reason of the publick Troubles) the People cannot either themselves enquire, and find out one who may be a faithful Minister for them, or have any with fafety fent unto them, for fuch a folemn Trial as was before mentioned in the ordinary Rules, especially when there can be no Presbytery near unto them, to whom they may addrefs themselves, or which may come or fend to them a fit Man to be ordained in that Congragation, and for that People: And yet notwithstanding, it is requisite that Ministers be ordained for them, by some, who, being set apart themselves for the Work of the Ministry, have power to join in the fetting apart others who are found fit and worthy. In those cases, until, by God's Bleffing, the aforefaid Difficulties may be in some good Measure removed, let some godly Ministers in or about the City of London, be defigned by publick Authority, who being affociated, may ordain Ministers for the City and the Vicinity, keeping as near to the ordinary Rules forementioned as possibly they may; and let this Association be for no other intent or purpose, but only for the Work of Ordination.

2. Let the like Affociation be made by the same Authority in great Towns, and the neighbouring Parishes in the several Counties, which are at the present quiet and undisturbed, to do the like for the Parts adjacent.

3. Let fuch as are chosen, or appointed for the Service of the Armies or Navy, be ordained as aforefaid, by the affociated Ministers of London, or some others in the Country.

4. Let them do the like when any Man shall duly and lawfully be recommended to them for the Ministry of any Congregation, who cannot enjoy Liberty to have a Trial of his Parts and Abilities, and desire the help of such Ministers so associated, for the better surnishing of them with such a Person, as by them shall be judged fit for the Service of that Church and People.

The Contents of the Form of Presbyterial Church Government.

THE Preface.
Of the Church.

Of the Officers of the Church.

Pastors.

Teacher or Doctor.

Other Church Governors.

Deacons.

Of particular Congregations.

Of the Officers of a particular Congregation.

Of the Ordinances in a particular Congregation.

Of Church Government, and the several Sorts of Assemblies for the same.

Of the Power in Common of all these Assemblies.

Of Congregational Assemblies, that is, the meeting of the Ruling Officers of a particular Congregation, for the Government thereof.

Of Claffical Assemblies.

Of Synodical Assemblies.

Of Ordination of Ministers.

Touching the Doctrine of Ordination. Touching the Power of Ordination.

Concerning the Doctrinal Part of the Ordination of Mini-

The Directory for the Ordination of Ministers.

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INDEX.

A.

BJURATION Oath, for discovering Papists,
Page 31.
Accommodation, grand Committee of, between

the Presbyterians and Independents, and their proceedings, 238.

Afternoon Sermons, of suppressing them, 175,176.
Agitators in the Army, 312.

Agreement of the People, 330, 418.

Salutal Duris

Altars, of confectating them, 155, 156, 158. Of their Antiquity, Situation, and Railing them in, ibid. 159, 160. Of their Furniture, 161, 162. Antiquity of bowing towards them, 164, 165.

Anabaptists, none in the Assembly of Divines, 116. Their rise and progress in England, 125. Their Confession of Faith, 127. Their Character, ibid. Their Sufferings, 127. Remarks, 129.

Annotations that go under the Name of the Assembly of Divines, 386, 387.

Answer to the Reasons of the London Clergy, containing a Cenfure on the Presbyterians, and defending universal Liberty of Conscience, 245.

Antapologia, against the Independants, 114.

Antinomianism, censur'd by the Assembly of Divines, 54.

Anti-Toleration, a Pamphlet so call'd, 246.

Apologetical Narration of the Independents, 111. Remarks, 114. Archbishops and Bishops, &c. Ordinances for abolishing them, and for the Sale of their Lands, 284, 285.

Arminianism encourag'd by Laud, 169.

Army, the King's Character of it, and the Ravages they committed, 86.

Vol. III,

Kk

Army,

Army, the Parliament's, their Character and good Discipline, p. 88. New modell'd, 210. Rise of Enthusiam in it, 211, 212. Their strict Discipline, ibid. Their separate Views, 310. Controversy between the Parliament and them, 311. They seize the King at Holmby, 313. Their Declaration, 314. They impeach eleven Members of the House of Commons, 315. Several Members retire to them, 317. They march to London, 318. Reasons for deserting the King, 322. Their Proposals, 324. They unite with the Parliament, 330. They are distaisfy'd with the Treaty of Newport, 414. Their Proceedings, ibid. They seize the King a second Time, 415. They march to London and purge the Parliament, 416, ibid. Resolve to impeach the King, 417. Remonstrance of the Presbyterian Ministers and others against them, 418, 419, &c. Part of them, with the Remainder of the Parliament, proceed against the King, and put him to Death, 424.

Army, Scots, enters England, 85, Again under Duke Hamilton,

380. See Scots.

Arrowsmith, Dr. some Account of him, 97.

Articles of the Church of England, Alterations made in them by the Assembly of Divines, 54. See Appendix, Num. I.

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Articles of Discipline in the Assembly's Confession, rejected by the Parliament, 208.

Assembly of Divines, Steps towards calling it, 40. Ordinance for calling it, 41. Names of the Lay-Assessors, 43. A List of the Divines, 44. The King forbids their Meeting, 47. Episcopal Clergy's Reasons against the Assembly, with the Anfwers to them, 48. Their Character, 49. They meet, 50. Rules agreed on by them, ibid. Their Vow or Protestation, ibid. Regulations fent them by the Parliament, 51. Their Petition to the Parliament for a Fast, &c, 52. Their Alterations in the thirty nine Articles, 54. They censure Antinomianism, ibid. Their Letter to the Scots, 55. Scots Commissioners appointed to join them, ibid, 56. Mr. Marshal and Nye's Letter to them, ibid. Their Debates on the Solemn League and Covenant, 57, Their Exhortation to the taking of it, 62, 63. Their Letter to foreign Churches, 70. Episcopal Divines leave them, 77. The Examination and Approbation of Ministers referr'd to them, 79. An account of the several Parties amongst them, 109, &c. Their farther Proceedings, 117. Order'd to confer about Discipline, ibid. Their Proceedings and Advice about Ordination, 118, 129. They compose a Directory for publick Worship, 120. Debate about Ordination, 216. The Power to ordain given to them pro tempore, 217. They debate about the Divine Right of Preshytery, 218. About the Power of the Keys, 223. They petition against the Ordinance for Presbyteries, 234. Are threaten'd with a Premunire, 235. Questions propounded pounded to them about the Divine Right of Presbytery, p. ibid. They are terrified, and appoint a Fast, 237. They recommend a new Version of Psalms, 247. Their Sentiments of the Jus Divinum, 256. Their Proceedings upon their Confession of Faith, 296. Their larger and shorter Catechisms, 299. Scots Commissioners take leave of them, 300. Conclusion of the Assembly, 386. Their Works, ibid. Of the Annotations which go under their Name, ibid. and 387. A farther Account of their Character, ibid.

Affociations of the Presbyterian Ministers in the Country,

391.

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B

Baxter, Mr. keeps his People from taking the Solemn League and Covenant, 65. His Account of the Sectaries in the Army, 291. His Sentiments about the Author of the King's Death,

Bayly, Dr. fome Account of him, 364. Beale, Dr. fome Account of bim, 95.

Benefices, how the vacant ones were filled up, 32. Parliament nominated to them, 77.

Best, Paul, proceedings against him, 247, Birkenhead, Mr. some account of him, 365. Bishops. See Archbishops. See Episcopacy. Blasphemy and Heresy, Ordinance against, 391.

Book of Sports burnt by the common Hangman, 34. Promoted

by Archbishop Laud, 167.

Books prohibited and castrated by Land, 171. Popish ones licensed, and the importation of them connividat by him, 172.

Books publish'd for and against the King's Death, 429.

Bowing towards the Altar at the Name of Jesus, 164, 166. Bramhal, Bishop, his Account of Papists in the Parliament Army,

Brent, Sir Nath. some Account of him, 361.

Brentford taken by the King, 2.

Brooke, Lord, his Death and Character, 15.

Browne, Samuel, Efq; a Manager in Laud's Trial, 190.

Brownrigge, Dr. some Account of him 95.

Burnet, Bishop, his character of Archbishop Laud, 193. Of King Charles I. 427. His sentiments about the Authors of the King's Death, 421.

Buroughs, Rev. Mr. Jeremiah, his Declaration in the Name of the Independents, 242. His death and character, 295.

Button, Mr. fome Account of him, 371.

C.

mainded to them about the Divoc Hight of Prefigiery &

Cambridge University, their Behaviour, 89. Visitation of it, 90. Proceedings therein, 91. Covenant not tender'd to all of them, 92. Numbers ejected, ibid. Reasonableness of it, 93. Characters of the ejected Professors, 94. And of their Successors, 96. Remarks, 98. Form of Induction of the new Masters, 99. And of the Fellows, 100. State of the University afterwards, 101. Their Revenues preserv'd, 248.

Catechisms, Assembly's larger and shorter, approv'd and allow'd by

the Parliament, 299.

Cathedrals, Ordinance for feizing their Revenues, 248.

Charles I. King pursues his march to London after the Battle of Edge-Hill, i. Takes Reading and Brentford, 2. Retreats again, 3. Motives of his march, ibid Remarks, ibid. His again, 3. Motives of his march, ibid Kemarks, ibid. Lister to Duke Hamilton, 4. Encouraging Prospect of his Affairs, 5. His Truce with the Irish Rebels, 6. Parliament's Propositions to him at the Treaty of Oxford, 8. His own Proposals, 11. His Answer to the Parliament Commissioners, 12. Which breaks off the Treaty, 13. His Proclamations against the City of London, &c. 17. Success of his Affairs, 18. Makes Reprifals on the Parliamentarians in relation to the Clergy, 31 Dissolves their Monthly Fast, and appoints another, 35. Prohibits the Assembly of Divines, 48. Forbids the taking of the Covenant, 65. Brings over forces from Ireland, 67. Ill Consequences of it to his Affairs, 68. His Protestation, 69. His Reply to the Assembly's Letter to foreign Prorestants, 74. Remarks upon it, 76. He holds a Parliament at Oxford, which comes to nothing, 83, 84. His Letter to the Queen, ibid. Character of his Army, 86. Bad state of his affairs, 88. He forbids the use of the Directory, 125. Some arbitrary Clauses in his Speeches and Proclamations, 140. His Conduct in the Treaty of Uxbridge, 195, &c. More Letters of his to the Queen, 196, &c. His Instructions to his Commissioners on the Head of Religion, 199. His Concessions, 203. Remarks upon them, 205, 206. His Letter to the Duke of Ormond, 208. Queen's Ascendant over him, ibid. His Warrant to the Earl of Glamorgan about the Irish Papills, Progress of his Forces, and his Defeat in the Battle of Nafeby, 212. He foments the Divisions between the Presbyterians and Independants, 246. His melancholy Condition at Oxford, 251. He escapes to the Scots Army and surrenders himself to them, 253. Commissions the Marquis of Ormond to conclude a Peace with the Irish Papists, 254. The Scots behaviour towards him, 263. Conference between him and

0

S

Che

Chil

Chri

Chui

m

Mr. Henderson about Episcopacy, 264, &c. His first Paper upon it, ibid. His second, 266. His third, 269. His last Papers, 272. Remarks upon his Principles, ibid. Parliament's Proposition to him at Newcastle, 275. Great Intercession made with him to comply, and the Lord Chancellor of Scotland's Speech to him, 278. He refuses, 279. His Answer, ibid. His Conference with the Scots Commissioners, ibid. Scots Kirk will not trust him, 281. Their solemn Warning and Declaration about him, ibid. Proceedings of the Scots Parliament in relation to him, 282. They deliver him up to the English Parliament, ibid. Whose Commissioners receive him, and convey him to Holmby-House, 283. His pressing Letter for a personal Treaty, ibid. Remarks, ibid. In what manner he liv'd at Holmby, 284 His separate views, 309. His far ther Answer to the Propsiotions of Newcastle, 313. He is seized and carried to the Army, ibid. His Motions with them, 321. Cromwell and Ireton confer with him, ibid. His miftaken Conduct, ibid. Which proves his ruin, 322. Reasons of the Army's deserting him, ibid. He escapes from Hampton And is confin'd in the Isle of Wight, ibid. Court, 323. tive of his escape, 326. His private Treaty with the Scots, 327. His Concessions from the Isle of Wight, 328. Remarks. 329. He disapproves of the Ordinance for abolishing Christmas, &c. 332. His Clergy petition to be reftor'd to their Livings, 333. Treaty of Newport between him and the Parliament, 394. A Prayer drawn up by his Direction on that Occasion, 395. His Reply to the Parliament's Proposals, 396. His Concessions on the Article of Religion, ibid. Conference between him and the Parliament Divines, about Episcopacy, 397. His first Paper, ibid. His second, 399. His last, 402. His final Concessions, 404. Arguments and Motives to gain his Confent, 406. States of Scotland press him to consent, 408. His Speech to the Commissioners, ibid. His Letter to the Prince, 413. He is seiz'd by the Army a second time, 415. His Trial resolved on, 417. The Voice of the Nation against it, 418, &c. His Trial and Execution, 424. His Character, 426. His Works, and particularly of Eikoon Bafilike, 428, &c. Books publish'd for and against his death, 429. Who were the Authors of his death, 431. &c.

Cheynel, Dr. his Behaviour at Mr. Chillingworth's Interment, 81.

Some farther Account of him, 369.

S

s,

e

1.

of

y-

at

ers

nd

ots and

Mr.

Chillingworth, Mr. his death and character, 79.

Christmas, Order for laying aside the Observation of it, 132. Remarks, 133. Ordinance for abolishing it, &c. 331.

Church, its Discipline and Hierarchy dissolv'd, 77, 89, 284.

K k 3 Church

Church Government, Questions about the Divine Right of it, p. 235.

Sentiments of the Assembly of Divines upon it, 257. And of the London Ministers, 258.

Church Musick, 5, 165, 166.

Church of Rome, whether a true Church, 178, 182. Archbishop Laud's Design of reconciling the Church of England to it, ibid.

Churches, of the Consecration of them, 155, 156, 157.

Civil Magistrate, whether Religion may be reform'd without him,

265, 266, 267, 269.

Civil War between the King and Parliament, the Miseries and Defolations of it, 86, 87, 88. Conclusion of the first, 254. Views of the different Parties concern'd in it, 309. The second Civil War, 379, &c. Remarks on the Consuston of those Times, 384.

Clarkson, Mr. his Recantation, 129. Clayton, Dr. some Account of him, 362.

Clergy, Proceedings against them for Malignancy, &c. 27. Quality of those who were ejected, 29. Sequestration of their Estates, ibid. Their Hardships, 32. Quality of those who were put in their Room, ibid. Their Hardships from teh Solemn League and Covenant, 65. Numbers ejected, 105. Compar'd with the ejected Ministers at the Restoration, 107. Hardships on both Sides, 108. Archbishop Laud charg'd with attempting to set up an independent Power in them, 149. Parliament's Care for a regular Clergy, 214. See Committee.

Clergymen, Bill for punishing scandalous ones, 10. See Scan-

dalous.

Club men, their Rife, 86.

Colchester Siege 380.

Collins, Dr. some account of him, 94.

Colman, Mr. his death and character, 294. Comber, Dr. fome account of him, 95.

Commitments, illegal, charg'd upon Archbishop Laud, 146.

Committee of Accommodation between the Presbyterians and Inpendants, 237, &c.

Committee to examine Clergymen, 78. Their Method of Exa-

Committee for scandalous Ministers, 21. Their Proceedings, &c.

Committee for plunder'd Ministers, 24. Their Proceedings, 31.

United with that for scandalous Ministers, ibid. Various Cen-

fures on their Proceedings, ibid. and 25.

Committee for scandalous Ministers, another, and the Earl of Manchester's Warrant to them, 101. His Instructions to them, 102 His Letter to them, 103. Their method of proceeding, 104. Remarks, ibid,

Com-

D

Committee of Sequestrations, p. 90.

Committees, Country ones, 27. Their Instructions, 28. Their proceedings, 9, 30 Commutation of Penance, 147.

Comprehension attempted between the Presbyterians and Indepen-

dants to no purpose, 237.

Confession of Faith, Assembly of Divines Proceedings upon it, 296. Presented to the Parliament, who debate upon it, 297. Articles of Discipline rejected, but the whole receiv'd by the Scott, 298. Censures upon it, 299.

Convention Parliament, their Sentiments as to the Authors of the

King's Death, 435.

Convocation, of its fitting after the Parliament, 150.

Copes, of the use of them, 165, 166.

Coronation Oath, Alterations in it, objected to Archbishop Laud, 148. The King's Scruples about it with regard to the Church, 266, 267, 269, 404.

Cofins, Dr. some Account of him, 93.

Covenant or Vow to stand by the Parliament, 17.

Covenant. See Solemn League.

Council of Officers and Agitators, 312. Country Committees. See Committees.

Crifp, Dr. his death and character, 14. Cromwell, Oliver, his character, 211. His bravery and conduct in the Battle at Naseby, 213, 214. He and Ireton confer with the King about his Restoration, 321. Reasons of his deserting him, 322, 323. His Speech in Parliament, 328. He reduces in Welch, 382. Defeats the Scots Army under Duke Hamilton, 383. Returns to London, 416. His Speech on the Motion

for trying the King, 417. Crosse, Dr. some Account of him, 371.

Crosses, several pull'd down, 36.

Crucifixes. See Images.

Cudworth, Dr. some Account of him, 96.

D,

Elinquent, Ordinance for seizing their Estates, 29. Directory for Publick Worship established, 348. Preface to it, ibid. Its Variations from the Book of Common Prayer, 122. Success of it, 123. Ordinance for inforcing the Use of it, 124. Remarks, ibid. King forbids the use of it, 125. University of Oxford's Objections to it, 348. The King's Objection to it. See Appendix, Numb. II.

Directory for Ordination of Ministers, 214. See Appendix,

Numb. III.

f

Discipline. See Articles.

Dod, Mr. his death and character, 250.

Kk4

Down-

INDEX.

Downing, Dr. his Death and Character, p. 134.

Du Moulin, Mr. Lewis, some account of him, 371. His sentiments about the Authors of the King's Death, 433.

E

E Dwards Mr. his Antapologia against the Independants, 114. His Gangraena, 288. Remarks upon it, 289.

Edwards, Dr. some account of him, 366. Eikoon Basilike, a spurious Book, 428.

Elector Palatine takes the Covenant, and fits in the Assembly of Divines, 65, 129. His Answer to the Committee of Lords and Commons, 130.

Enthusiasm, Rise of it in the Army, 211. A farther account of

it, 291, 292.

Episcopacy debated in the Treaty of Uxbridge, 201. Between the King and Mr. Henderson, 264. Abolished by the Parliament, 284. Debated in the Treaty of Newport, 398. Remarks, 403. Archbishop Usher's Sentiments about it, 411.

Episcopal Clergy, their Sufferings, 19, 20. How far they contri-

buted to the King's Death, 431.

Eraftians, their Opinion of Church Government, 110. Their chief Patrons in the Assembly of Divines, and in the Parliament, 112. Their Objections to the Divine Right of Presbytery, 218.

Their Conduct, 222. Their Opinion about Suspension and Excommunication, 224.

Essex, Earl of, arrives at London after the Battle of Edge-Hill, p.1. He is defeated in Cornwall, 85. He is removed, 210. His

Death and Character, 293.

Bareti

Excommunication, Opinions of the Presbyterians, Independants, and Erastians, about it, 223. Ordinance for it, 226. See Sufpension.

Exhortation to the taking the Solemn League and Covenant, 62. Answer'd, 64.

F.

Airfax, General, his Character, 211. King's Clergy's Petition to him, 333. Counter Petition of the Presbyterian Clergy to him, 335. He suppresses the Cavaliers in Kent and Essex, 380.

Fast, Monthly, of the Parliament, 34. The King appoints another in opposition to it, 35. The Parliament's kept on Christmas Day, 132.

Feasts of Dedication, 156. Rise of them, 159.

Featly, Dr. expelled the Assembly of Divines, and taken into Custody as a Spy, 76. His Death, 249. His Challenge in Defence

fence of the Church of England, p. 249. His Character and

last Prayer, 250, ibid.

Fell, Dr. Vice Chancellor of Oxford, treats the Parliament's Vifitors with Contempt, 350, 351. Is depriv'd of his Vice-Chan-cellorship, and taken into Custody, 352. Some farther account of him, 364

Fellows, form of inducting the new ones at Cambridge, 100. Fifths of their Estates allow'd to the Wives and Children of Delinquents, 30. And of ejected Clergymen, 107.

Finch, Rev. Mr. his Case, 24.

Five Points, of the Declaration forbidding to preach on them.

Foreign Protestants, of Archbishop Laud's discouraging them, 177,

French and Dutch Churches diffurb'd by Laud, 183.

And the Abel Committee of Course the St. halls

Gauden, Dr. his Protestation against trying the King, 418. The Author of Eikoon Bafilike, 428.

General Affembly of Scotland, their Reasons to induce the Convention of States to affift the English Parliament, 55.

General and particular Baptists, 126. Gillibrand's Almanack, 171, 173.

Glamorgan, Earl of, his Treaty with the Irish Papists, 209.

Gloria Patri, of standing up at it, 166.

Goodwin, Mr. John, some account of him and his Writings, 307. His Reply to Mr. Jenkins, 308. He writes in defence of the King's Death, 429, 430.

Goring, Lord, his Character, 86.

Great Seal, a new one order'd to be made by the Parliament, 83.

Greaves, Mr. fome account of him, 366.

Greenville, Sir Richard, his Character and Behaviour in the war, 86.

Greenwood, Dr. some account of him, 368.

TAbernfield's Plot, Archbishop Laud's Conduct in relation to it, 184.

Hakewell, Dr. some account of him, 361. Hamilton, Duke, enters England with the Scots Army, 381. Is

defeated by Cromwell, 383.

Hammond, Dr. his Vindication, 307. Some farther account of him, 366. His Protestation against trying the King, and putting him to Death, 418.

Hampden, Mr. his Death and Character, 81. Harmar, Mr. fome account of him, 372.

Harris.

Harris, Dr. some account of him; 369.

Heads of Colleges in Oxford, that submitted to the Parliament, and kept their Places, 360. Their Characters, 361. Lift of those who were ejected, and of those who succeeded them, 365. Characters of the former, 366. Of the latter, 367. Their

Behaviour, 369. Henderson, Mr. his Speech against Bishops in the Treaty of Uxbridge, 201. His Conference with the King about Episcopacy, &c 264. His first Reply, 265 His second, 267. His third, 271. His pretended Recantation, 273. The Falleness of it,

See Blasphemy. Herefy.

Hertford, Marquis of, his Declaration concerning Church-Government, 203.

High Court of Justice for the Trial of the King, 424.

Hill, Dr. some account of him, 97.

Hill, Mr. called Conful Bibulus by Archbishop Laud, and why.

Holdsworth, Dr. some account of him, 95.

Holmby-House, the King carried thither, 283. How he lived there, 284.

Hood, Dr. some account of him, 361. Hoyle, Dr. some account of him, 367.

Mages and Crucifixes countenanced by Archbishop Laud, 152. Of their Antiquity, 154.

Impropriations, of buying them up, 175, 176.

Independants, in the Affembly of Divines, 111. Their Apologetical Narration, ibid. Vindication of them, 114. Debates with them about Ordination, 216. Their Objections to the Divine Right of Presbytery, 218. They complain of their Usage in the Assembly, 222. Their Opinion about Suspension and Excommunication, 224. Design of a Comprehension for them defeated by the management of the Presbyterians, 238. Their Proposals for a Toleration, 229. Their Reply to the Presbyterians, 230. Their fecend Reply, 239. Their Declaration at the end of the Debate, 243. They were for a limited Toleration, 246. They are courted by the King, 247. They oppose the Presbyterians Remonstrance against Sectaries, 278. The King plays them against the Scots, to bring them over to his interest, 279. Their separate Views, 310. Their Behaviour with regard to the King's Death, 423. How far they were concerned in it, 432.

Innovations in Churches, Bill against them, 9. Archbishop Laud

charged with countenancing them, 152, &c.

27

STATE Y

Ireton, confers with the King, p. 321. His Speech in Parliament, 330. Burnet's opinion of the Hand he had in the King's Death, 434.

Irish Forces brought over by the King, 67. Ill Consequences of it, 68. The Affair debated in the Treaty of Uxbridge, 198. Earl of Glamorgan concludes a Treaty with the Irish Papists, 209. As does also the Marquis of Ormond, 254. Articles of it, ibid. Parliament's Commissioners protest against it,

Jus Divinum. See Church Government.

K.

Kennet, Bishop, his Remarks on the Ordinance exhorting to Repentance, 6. On the breaking off the Treaty of Oxford, 14.

Kirk Discipline, account of it, 301. Notes.

L

Laney, Dr. some account of him, 360. Langley, Dr. some account of him, 360. Langley, Dr. some account of him, 360.

Laud, Archbishop, his superstitious Remarks on Lord Brooke's Death, 15. He is suspended by the Parliament, 77. His Trial for High Treason, 135. The Articles of Impeachment, ibid. His Answer, 137. Order and Method of the Trial, 138. Summary of the Charge, 139. Impeachment opened by Serjeant Wild, 140. The Archbishop's Speech, ibid. First Branch of the Charge, subverting the Rights of Parliament, with the Archbishop's Reply to the several Things alledged in support of it, 142, to 146. Arbitray Speeches made by him for the King. 146. Arbitrary Speeches of his own, 140. Second Charge, viz. attempting to fet afide the Laws, with the Archbishop's Reply to the several Articles, 142. Of Ship Money, Tonnage and Poundage, &c. 144. Of pulling down Houses for the repair of St. Paul's, &c. ibid. Illegal Commitments and Prohibitions in the Spiritual Courts, 146. Bribery, 147. Commutation of Penance, ibid. Alterations in the Coronation Oath. 148. Attempt to set up an independent Power in the Clergy, 149. Sitting of the Convocation after the Parliament, 150. Remarks, 151. Third general Charge, viz. attempting to alter Religion, and introduce Popish Innovations, with the Archbishop's Answers, and the Managers Replies, 152, to 184. Images and Crucifixes, 152. Confectation of Churches and Altars, and Feasts of Dedication, 1.55. His Letter to Sir Nathan. Brent, 161. Introducing divers Superstitions into divine Worship, 164, &c. Promoting the Book of Sports, 167. Remarks, p. 168. Encouraging Arminianism and Popery, 169. &c. Profecuting Puritans, &c. 175. Reconciling the Church of England with Rome, assuming Papal Titles, discouraging foreign Protestants, corresponding with Popish Priests, &c. 177. &c. Managers Conclusion, 185. Archbishop's Speech at the Close of the Trial, ibid. Points of Law debated, 186. Cenfures of his Behaviour, 188. His Character of the Witnesses, ibid. His Censures of the Managers, 189. Petitions for Justice against him, ibid. Condemn'd by Bill of Attainder, ibid. His last Speech, 190. His Prayer, 193. His Execution, ibid. His Character, ibid.

Lawrence, Dr. some account of him, 362. Lay-Affessors in the Assembly of Divines, 43.

Lay Elders, 223. Lay Preachers, Causes of their Increase, 374.

Lay Preaching, Rife of it in the Army, 211. Discouraged by the Parliament, 287.

Letter of the Assembly of Divines to foreign Protestants, 70. The King's Reply to it, 74.

Liberty of Conscience. See Toleration.

Licensers of Books, Ordinance for appointing them, 39.

Lightfoot, Dr. some account of him, 98. Lift of the Assembly of Divines, 44.

Liturgy, Reasons for setting it aside, 153.

London, Lines of Circumvallation drawn round it, 3. King's Proclamations against it, 17. Commotions there, 316. It submits to the Army upon their approach, 318. Provincial Assem-

blies there, 302, 304, 388.

London Ministers affert the divine Right of Presbytery, 258. Their Paper of Considerations and Cautions, 259. Their Testimony to Truth and against Error, 305. Their aversion to a Toleration, 3c6. Their Vindication of themselves, 319.

Lord's Day. See Sabbath.

Lords, House of, laid aside, 417, 424. Lords, House of, laid alide, 417, 424.

Love, Mr. his Sermon at Uxbridge, 197,

of Parities Vol. 144 Meetingdown Home Societies

MAnchester, Earl of, his Character, 91. Manner of his Proceeding in reforming the University of Cambridge, ibid. His Warrant to the Committee for scandalous Ministers, 101. His Instructions to them, 102. His Letter to them, 103. His Method of ejecting the scandalous or malignant Minister, and filling the vacant Benefice, 104.
Manfel, Dr. fome account of him, 305.

Martin, Dr. some account of him, 94.

anten:

Mafters Lie Act. Prometting the Book of Sports, 167

Masters turned out of the University of Cambridge, their Character, p. 92. Character of their Successors, 94. Form of inducting them, ibid. &c.

Maynard, Serjeant, one of the Managers in the Trial of Archbi-shop Laud, his handsome return to the Prince of Orange's

Compliment, 189.

Militia debated in the Treaty of Uxbridge, 198.

Ministers, Quality of those who were ejected by the Parliament, 29. Quality of those who were put in their Room, 32, 33. Committee for examining them, 78. See Committe. See Plunder'd. See Scandalous.

Ministers sent to reform the University of Oxford, 337. Their

Conduct and Success, ibid.

Minshull, Dr. some account of him, 98.

Monuments of Superstition, Removal of them, 36. Ordinance for that Purpose, ibid. Manner of the Execution of it, 37. Morgan, a Priest, executed 293. Council to the angle of the Treaty with the help the union tests.

Outline of the treaty of the treaty of Moccodings of

To nest year, o Negative Oath, University of Oxford's Objections to it,

New Discipline. See Presbytery.

New Discipline. See Presbytery.

Newbury, Battle of, 19. The second, 87.

Parliament's Profitions to the King there, 275. Which Newcastle, Parliament's Profitions to the King there, 275. Which he resules to consent to, 279. His Answer to them, 313.

Newlin, Dr. some account of him, 364.

Newport, Treaty of. See Treaty.

Nicolas, Rob. Efq; one of the Managers in Laud's Trial, 100.

Non-Addresses. See Votes. Non-Residence. See Pluralities.

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chr shall by sea up) O.

OLiver, Dr fome account of him, 364.
Ordinance of Parliament exhorting to Repentance, 6. Bishop Kennet's Remark upon it, 7.

Ordinance for Sequestration of Benefices and Estates of the Clergy, &c. 27. A farther Explanation of it, 30. The Effects of it, 31.

Ordinance for removing Monuments of Superstition, 36. Manner

of putting it in Execution, ibid.

SHEAT!

Ordinance for licenfing Books, 36. For calling an Affembly of Divines, 41. For the Committee of Sequestrations, 90. For inforcing the Use of the Directory, 124 For better Observation of the Lord's Day, 131. For the Ordination of Ministers, 214.

Ordinance for Suspension from the Sacrament, p. 226. Proviso's

in it, 227.

Ordinance for erecting Presbyteries, 230. Which does not satisfy, 231. The Scots Exceptions to it, ibid. English Presbyterians petition against it, 232. Another Ordinance for that purpose,

394. Ordinance for abolishing Archbishops and Bishops, &c. 284. And

for Sale of their Lands, 285.

Ordinance for abolishing Christmas and other Holidays, 331. King dislikes it, 332. It occasions Tumults. 333.

Ordinance against Blasphemy and Heresy, a terrible one, 391. Re-

marks, 393.

Ordination, Assembly of Divines consult about it, 118. Their Advice about it, 119. Ordinance of Parliament in pursuance thereof, ibid. Directory for it, 120. Debates about it, 122. Power of it given to the Assembly of Divines pro tempore,

Ormond, Marquis of, his Treaty with the Irish Papists, 254.

Oxford Parliament, \$3. Their Proceedings, 84. Oxford, Treaty of. See Treaty.

Oxford University, Condition of it, 336. Ministers sent to reform it, 337. Ordinance for vifiting it, 339. Abstract of their Reasons against the Covenant, &c. 340, &c. The Visitation opened, 350. They use the Visitors ill, and will not sub-mit, ibid. Visitation reviv'd, but the University will not yet Submit, 352. They are heard by their Council, but cast, 353. Their Case, in a Letter to Mr. Selden, 354. Their stubborn Behaviour, 355. Earl of Pembroke being made Chancellor, visits them in Person, ibid. And reports their Behaviour to the Payliament, ibid. Numbers rejected, 357. Infolence of the Scholars, 358. Garrison search the Colleges for Arms, 359. Scholars expell'd, ibid. Characters of Heads of Colleges, &c. who submitted, 360. Heads of Colleges, &c. ejected; List of them and their Successors, 362. Characters of those who were ejected, 364. Of their Successors, 365. Their Behaviour, 366. Vacancies in the University fill'd up, 374.

Palmer, Mr Harbard of the Puritans, 130. Palmer, Mr. Herbert, some account of him, 96. His Death and Character, 377.

Palmer, Dr. fome account of him, 370.

Papal Titles affum'd by Archbishop Laud, 180, &c.

Papists, two Thirds of their Estates seized, 30. Oath for discovering them, 31. Some in the Parliament Army, 292. Stories of their having a Hand in the King's Death, 434, 435.

Parlia-

Parliament sue for peace, p 2. The nice point of their treating with the Scots, 4. Their Ordinance exhorting to repentance, 6. Their propositions at the treaty of Oxford, 8. Their five bills, q. Plots against them, 16, 17. Low State of their affairs, 18. Their proceedings with regard to the Clergy, 21. to 34. With regard to the Sabbath, 33. Their monthly and occasional fasts, 34. Their Ordinance for removing monuments of Superstition, 36. Their orders for restraining the Press, 38. They call an assembly of Divines, 41. And send them regulations, 51. They call in the Scots, 54. Agree to the Solemn League and Covenant, 57. And take it, 61. Order the taking it throughout the Nation, 64. Their proceedings on the King's bringing over the Irish Forces, 67, 68. They order a new Great Seal to be made, 83. They nominate Men to Livings, 77. Character of their 1 rmy, 88. Divinon among their Generals, 89. They order the Assembly of Divines to confer about Church Government, 117. They establish and enforce the use of the Directory, 120, 124. Inforce the observation of the Lord's Day, 131. Abolish Christman, 132, 331. Pass a bill of attainder against Archbishop Laud, 191, Their Instructions to their Commissioners in the Treaty of Uxbridge upon the head of Religion, 200. Their reply to the King's Concessions, 205. Their Army new modelled, 210. Character of their Generals, 211. Their Care for a regular Clergy, 214. They reject the clause of the Divine Right of Presbytery, 222. Their Ordinance for Suspension from the Sacrament, 226. And for erecting Presbyteries, 230. Their reply to the Scots exceptions, 233. Their Questions propounded to the Assembly about the Jus Divinum in matters of Church Government, 235. They attempt an Accommodation between the Presbyterians and Independents, 237. Obtain a compleat conquest over the King, 253. Their management with the Presbyterians, 256, 257. Their propositions to the King at Newcastle, 275. Their Commissioners receive the King from the Scots, and convey him to Holmby, 282. They abolish Archbishops and Bishops, &c. and dispose of their Lands, 285, 286. Their proceedings to please the Presbyterians, 287. They debate on the Assembly's Confession of Faith, and reject the Articles of Discipline, 296, 297. Approve and authorize their Catechisms, 299. Controversy between them, and the Army, 311. Their furprize at the Army's feizing the King, 313. The Presbyterians amongst them resolve to oppose the Army, 315. Eleven of their Members impeached, ibid. Tumults in their House. 316. Upon which several of the Members retire to the Army, 317. Proceedings of the remainder, ibid. Which were annulled upon the Army's marching to London, 318. Remarks, 320. They agree to the proposals

21127

of the Army, p. 324. Their Votes of Non-addresses to the King, 330. Their Remonstrance, 331. They send Ministers to reform the University of Oxford, 337. They resolve on a Visitatatation of it, and pass an Ordinance for that purpose, 338, 339. They resolve to support their Visitors, 351. Presbyterians prevail amonst them in the absence of the Army, 384. They make a terrible Ordinance against blasphemy and herefy, 391. Their Ordinance for the farther establishment of Presbytery, 394. Their proposals to the King in the Isle of Wight, 397. Reply of their Divines to the King's papers about Episcopacy, 398, 400. Their Commissioners press his consent, 406. Their proceedings upon they Army's marching to London, 416. They are purg'd by the Army, ibid. Votes of the remainder, who resolve to try the King, 417. And establish a High Court of Justice for that purpose, 424.

Paske, Dr. some account of him, 94.

Paul's Cross pulled down, and some account of it, 36. Of pulling down houses for the repair of the Church, 144. Commutation of Penance for the same purpose, 147. Proverb occasion'd by it, 194.

Pembroke, Earl of, made Chancellor of Oxford, and vifits in perfon, 355. His proceedings, ibid. Reports the behaviour of the

University to the Parliament, 357.

Petition of the City Ministers for settling Discipline and Worship

Petition for unordained preachers, 375.
Pitt, Dr. fome account of him, 365.
Plots against the Parliament, 16, 17.
Plundered Ministers, Committee, 24.

Pluralities and Non-residence, Bill against them, 3, 11.

Pocock, Dr. some account of him, 362. Pope's Nuncio's in England, 179, 182.

Popish Priests, of Archbishop Laud's corresponding with them, and countenancing them, 183.

Potter, Dr. some account of him, 364. Preachers, petition for unordained ones, 375. Preaching Ministers, Committee for, 21.

Presbyterian Government, Propositions for establishing it in the Treaty of Uxbridge, 202. Divine Right of it debated, 218. Carried in the Assembly of Divines, 222. But dropt in Parliament, ibid. Several petitions to admit the Divine Right of it, ibid. It is established by way of probation, 232. Remarks, ibid. Exceptions of the Scots, and their Amendments to it proposed, 232. Parliament's Reply, 233. Questions sent to the Assembly of Divines about the Divine Right of it, 235. Remarks, 236. Attempts for a surther Establishment of it, 255, &c. London Ministers affert it to be Jure Divino,

Divino, p. 258. How far the Establishment of it prevailed, 263, 394. A Description of it as settled in Scotland, 301. Notes. University of Oxford's Objections to it, 347. It is established without Limitation of Time, 394.

Prefbyterians in the Assembly of Divines, and their chief Patrons in

the Parliament, 109.

Presbyterians, their Severity in inforcing Uniformity in the Use of the Directory, 120. Their Reply to the Independants about the Divine Right of Presbytery, 221. Their Zeal to have the Divine Right of it established, 222. Are offended at the Proviso's in the Ordinance about Suspension from the Sacrament, 220. Petition against the Ordinance for Prefbyteries, because it gave them not Power enough, 234. Defeat the Defign of a Comprehension for the Independants, 238. Their Reply to the Proposals for a Toleration, 239. They argue against the Lawfulness of a Separation, 241. Their high Notions of Uniformity, and against Liberty of Conscience, 243. Censured in a Pamphlet, 245. They petition against Sectaries, 255. Are seconded by the Scots, 256. Petition again against Sectaries, &c. 286. Their Aversion to a Toleration, 306. Their separate Views, 309. Their Proposals, 326. Counter Petition of their Clergy, and an Ordinance in their Favour, 335, 336. Their Country Affociations, 301. A terrible Ordinance passed by their Influence against Blasphemy and Heresy, ibid. Remonstrance of their Ministers against the Proceedings of the Army in relation to the King, &c. 418. Their farther Vindication, 421. Whether they are chargeable with the King's Death,

Presbyteries, Ordinance for erecting them, 230.

Press, Orders for Restraining it, 38. Abuse of it by Laud,

Prince of Wales, King's Letter to him, 413. Remarks, 414.

Professor in the University of Oxford who submitted to the Parliament, 360. Of those who were ejected, 364. Of those who succeeded them, 365. See Cambridge. See Oxford.

Prohibitions in the Spiritual Courts, 146, 147.

Province of London, classical Division of it, 331, &c.

Provincial Affembly of London, the first, 260. General Rules for it, 303. The second, and their petition to Parliament, ibid. the third, 388. The fourth, 389

Provincial Affembly of Lancashire, 389.

Prynne, Mr. his Memento against putting the King to Death,

Pfalms, new Version of, appointed, 247.

Vol. III.

LI

Puritan

Puritan Clergy, their Sufferings, p. 19, 24. Of those who were ejected at the Restoration, 105. Severely prosecuted by Archbishop Laud, 175.

Pym, Mr. his Death and Character, 82. His Vindication of himfelf, ibid.

Q.

Queen sends Arms and Ammunition to the King, 6. And en and Money, 18. Upon which the Commons impeach her of High Treason, ibid, King's Letter to her, 84. Archbishop Laud forbids the Clergy to pay for her Conversion, 181. More Letters of the King to her, 196, 198, 252. Her Letters to the King, and his answers, 207, 208. She presses him to comply with the Presbyterians, 279.

R

Reading taken by the King, 2. Retaken by the Earl of Effex, 18.

Religion, Affair of, debated in the Treaty of Uxbridge, 199. Propositions relating to it fent to the King at Newcastle, 275. State of it, 376. See Episcopacy.

Reynolds, Dr. some account of him, 367. Roberts, Dr. some account of him, 370.

Rogers, Mr, Christopher, some account of him, 363.

Rupert, Prince, his character and behaviour in the War, 86. His bad conduct in the Battle of Naseby, 213, 214. The King displeased with him, ibid.

S

SAbbath, strict observation of it, 33. Ordinance for that purpose, 131.

Saints Days, &c. abolished, 331.

云·数数100至10

Sale of Bishops Lands, 285. Ordinance for it, 215. Whether Sacrilege, 407.

Saltmarsh, Mr. his Death, and the extraordinary Circumstances attending it, 378, 379.

Sanderson, Dr. some account of him, 365. Saunders, Dr. some account of him, 361.

Scandalous Ministers, Committee for them, 21. Mr. White's century of them, 25. Other Testimonies of their character, 26. Another Committee for them, and the Earl of Manchester's Warrant empowering it to act, 101.

Scholars of the University of Oxford, their Insolence, 358. They are expelled, 359.

Scots

Scots called in by the English Parliament and Assembly of Divines, p. 54. Their reasons for assisting the Parliament, 55. They appoint a Solemn League and Covenant, 56. Their unbounded Zeal in imposing it, 61. Their Army enters England, 85. Their Exceptions to the Ordinance for erecting Presbyteries in England, 232. And the Parliament's Reply, 233. Their Declaration against Toleration, 244. The King surrenders himself to their Army, 253. Their Zeal against Sectaries, 256. Their Behaviour to the King, 263. Their Kirk will not trust him, and publish a solemn Warning and Declaration. 281. Proceeedings of their Parliament in relation to him, 282. They deliver him up, and publish their Reasons, ibid. They receive the whole Westminster Confession of Faith, 296. Their Commissioners take leave of the Assembly, 300. They appoint a Fast for the Distractions of England, 301. Account of the Discipline in their Kirk, 327. Notes. King's private Treaty with them, 381. Their Army enters England under Duke Hamilton, 388. And is defeated by Cromwell, 408. They press the King's Consent in the Treaty of Newport, 408. They protest against putting him to Death, 424.

Scripture, whether to be interpreted by Antiquity and Traditoin, 270, 271.

Seaman, Dr. some account of him, 96. Second Service, of reading it, 166.

Sectaries, Presbyterians Remonstrance against them, 255, 266. The Independents oppose it, 257. Presbyterians petition against them, 286. Farther account of them, 287. Edwards's Gangraena wrote against them, 288. Mr. Baxter's account of them, 291. Lord Clarendon's, and Bishop Bramhall's, 202.

Selden, Mr. his Speech against Suspensions and Excommunications,

Self-denying Ordinance, 211.

Separation, debates about the lawfulness of it, 218. See Toleration.

Sequestration, Ordinance for. See Ordinance.

Servants, time allotted for their Recreation, 332.

Sheldon, Dr. some account of him, 363.

Ship Money, Tonnage and Poundage, &c. promoted by Archbifhop Laud, 144.

Skippon, Major General, encourages his Soldiers, 2. His bravery in the Battle of Naseby, 213.

Solemn League and Covenant, drawn up and passed by the Scots, 56. Debates upon it in England, 57. Where it is agreed to, ibid A copy of it, ibid. Manner of taking it, 61. An exhortation to the taking of it, 62. Unreasonableness of L 1 2 imposing

imposing it, p. 62, 63. Instructions for taking it in the Country, ibid. The King forbids the taking of it, 65. The instruction in the Clergy, 66. 'Tis ordered to be read and hung up in Churches, 132. Presbyterians petition to have it imposed on the whole Nation, 286. Abstract of the University of Oxford's Reasons against it, 340. Exceptions against the Presace, ibid. Against the Covenant in general, 341. Against the first Article, ibid. Against the second, 342. Against the third, 343. Against the fourth, fifth and sixth, 344. Contradictions, and doubtful expressions in the Covenant, 345. Absurdicties in pursuing the ends of it, ibid. Of the Salvos for taking it, 346.

Spurstow, Dr. some account of him, 98.

Squire, Reverend Mr. his Case, 23.

Stage Plays put down, 376. Statutes of Oxford, 165, 167.

Stauton, Dr. some account of him, 370.

Stern, Dr. some account of him, 94

Steward, Dr. his Reply to Mr. Henderson about Bishops, 201.

Stringer, Dr. some account of him, 365.

Suspension from the Sacrament, Debates about it, 224. Ordinance for it, 226. Rules for it in Case of Ignorance, ibid. In case of Scandal, 227. Provisos in the Ordinance about it, 228.

Symmonds, Reverend Mr. his Cafe, 23.

Synods, Debates about their Subordination, 221.

T.

Axes, grievous ones on the People, 18.

Toleration, Proposals for it by the Independants, 239.

The Presbyterians Answer to them, ibid. Independants Reply, 240. Presbyterians second Reply, 241. Independants second Reply, 242. Conclusion of the Presbyterians, ibid. Conclusion of the Independants, ibid. Remarks, 243. Farther debates about Toleration, ibid. The Scots declare against it, 244. Independants for a limited one, ibid. Defence of a general one, in answer to the Reasons of the London Clergy, 245. Presbyterians Remonstrance against Toleration, 254. Seconded by the Scots, 256. London Ministers declare against it, 205.

Tombes, Mr. fome account of him, 128.

Tomkins's Plot, 16.

Treaty of Newport in the Isle of Wight, 394. Parliament's Proposals and the King's Reply, 396. Conference between the King and the Parliament Divines about Episcopacy, 397. King's

King's final Concessions, p. 404, 405, &c. Remarks, 409. Conclusion of the Treaty, 412.

Treaty of Oxford, 8, &c. Broke off, 14.

Treaty of Uxbridge, 195. The Commissioners, 197. begins, ibid. Debates about the Militia, 198. About Ireland, 199-About Religion, ibid. &c. Treaty breaks off, and the Reafons of it, 206. Remarks, 207.

Tuckney, Dr. some account of him, 97.

Turner, Dr. some account of him, 366.

Twisse, Dr. Prolocutor to the Assembly of Divines, 42. His Death and Character, 294.

Vacant Benefits See Brush Oxford filled up. 374. Vacant Benefits. See Benefits.

Vines, Dr. some account of him, 96.

Visitation of the University of Cambridge, 90, &c. See Cam-

Visitation of the University of Oxford, 336, &c. See Ox-

Uniformity, Debates about it, 242. See Toleration.

Voice of the Nation against the King's Trial and Death, 418.

Votes of no more Addresses to the King, 330. Revok'd, 384. Refumed, 417.

Usher, Archbishop, his sentiments about Fpiscopacy, and Scheme for reducing it to the form of Presbytery, 411.

Uxbridge, Treaty of. See Treaty.

W.

Alker, Dr. fome account of him, 365. Wallis, Dr. some account of him, 371. War. See Civil War.

Ward, Dr. Samuel, some account of him, 95.

Ward, Dr. Seth, some account of him, 370.

Waring, Mr. some account of him, 366.

Westfield, Bishop, his Death and Character, 133.

White, Mr. his Century of scandalous, malignant Priests, 25. His Death and Character, 209.

Whitlock, Bulftrode, Eig; his Speech in the Affembly of Divines. about the Divine Right of Presbytery, 218. About Sufpension and Excommunication, 224.

Wightwick, Mr. some account of him, 365.

Wild, Sergeant, opens the Impeachment against Archbishop Laud, 139, The Archbishop's Character of him, 189.

Wilkins, Dr. fome account of him, 367,

Wilkinson, Dr. John, some account of him, 367.

Wilkin-

Wilkinson, Dr. Henry, some account of him, 367.
Wilkinson, Mr. Henry, his Death, 378.
Wilmot, Lieutenant General, his Character, 86.
Witchcott, Dr. some account of him, 96.

Oung, Dr. fome account of him, 9/

The state of the Charles of Countries of the State of the

These is the University of O and filled and Trail

V scott Bracker, See Lenches Vices, Dr. Come account of him, 95.

maken or the University of Compility Do. ?

Service Stook

Votes of no more Address to the King, 310. Mercall, 38. Research 38. Research 38. Research 48. Research 58. R



Leash and Character, 2000 and in the Addmids of the Antiock and the Divine Right of Partierry, 218. About the Land by Coronaguacion, 224, 400 and 224, 400 and 224, 400 and 400 bits, 260.

Void Sergeart, everythe Capperchimene against Assistant Land,
the Archbelloge Checkler of him, 10;
the fores account of the cor.
the fores account of the cor.
the bank that account of him, co-

